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# Social Stratification in Late Byzantium

Christos Malatras

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Detail of the illustration of the Christmas hymn “What shall we offer Thee, O Christ” in the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos (now St Clement) in Ohrid, North Macedonia (paintings date from 1294/95). The detail shows various categories of the faithful.

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# Contents

List of Illustrations	viii
List of Abbreviations	x
Preface and Acknowledgements	xiv
Note to the Reader	xvii

Introduction: Byzantium after 1261: State, Society and Culture	1
The Subject of the Study and the Sources	11
Recent Scholarship on (Late) Byzantine Society	22
Byzantine Society before the Palaiologan Period:	
Structure and Characteristics	32
Outline	41

## Part I: The Earthly Order

1 The Social System	49
The Order ( <i>Taxis</i> ) of the Empire	50
The Dialectics of Deference and the Social Contract	58
Social Tension and the Challenges to the Established Order	67
2 Social Status	80
Social Values and Prestige	81
Status Incongruence and Social Ascent	102
3 Social Stratification	111
Estates and Orders in Byzantium	113
The Rich and the Poor, the <i>Archontes</i> and the <i>Dēmos</i>	119
The Anatomy of the <i>Archontes</i>	129
The Middle Classes and Their Urban Economic Activities	153
The Peasant World	167
Concluding Remarks	191

4	Social Associations	194
	Communities and Vertical Social Groups	195
	A Society of Circles and Social Networks	212
	The Aristocratic <i>Oikos</i> and Its Following	220
	A Fragmented Society	225
5	Social Power	231
	The Basis of Economic Power	232
	Political Power	267
	State, Church and Society . . . and the Breakdown	277
<b>Part II: Case Studies</b>		
6	Late Byzantine Provincial Society: The Example of Serres	295
	The Higher Elite in Serres and the Non-local Forces of Economic and Social Influence	298
	The Local Military Elite of Serres	306
	The Civil (Ecclesiastical) Elite of Serres	319
	The Monasteries and Local Society	342
	Urban Economic Activities and the Middle Class	347
	Social Relations in the Countryside of the Lower Strymon	351
	Late Byzantine Provincial Society	360
7	Late Palaiologan Urban Society: Constantinople at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century	391
	Byzantine Society on the Eve of Demise: Developments in the Late Fourteenth Century	391
	Economic and Social Life in Constantinople during the Siege of Bāyezid I (1394–1402)	395
	The Fortunes of the Higher and of the ‘Military’ Elite	398
	The Civil Elite	412
	The Middle Class of Constantinople	418
	The Aftermath	424
Conclusion: The Order and the Structures of the Social System		428
<b>Appendices</b>		
Tables 26–9		441–513
Glossary		515
	General Terms	515
	Late Byzantine Offices, Dignities and Epithets	517

Byzantine Emperors (1261–1453)	520
Alphabetical List of the Official Hierarchy of Titles in Pseudo-Kodinos	521
Alphabetical List of Ecclesiastical Offices	523
Bibliography	525
Primary Sources	525
Secondary Works	534
Index of Names	569
Index of Terms	577
Index of Places	587

# Illustrations

## Maps

1	The Byzantine world (c. 1330)	xix
2	The southern Balkans (c. 1410)	xx
3	Map of the region of Strymon	364

## Figures

1	A rich person among the sinners in the Last Judgement	69
2	A civil servant among the sinners in the Last Judgement	69
3	Elite mansions in Melenikon	100
4	Elite mansions in Melenikon	101
5	Elite mansions in Melenikon	101
6	The relation between the elite and the aristocracy	153
7	Levels of income of peasant families (horizontal) in <i>nomismata</i> (vertical) in Prebista (after tax)	265
8	Countryside of Prebista	266
9	Countryside of Prebista	266
10	Relief on the south wall of the fortifications of Mitylene	286
11	The cathedral of Sts Theodoroi, Serres	342
12	St Georgios Kryonerites	342
13	The monastery of St Ioannes Prodromos	343
14	The village of Lakkoi	354

## Tables

1	Senators in the Palaiologan era	133
2	Individual peasant properties on Lemnos	188
3	Family structure in Prebista	247



4	Peasant properties in Prebista	251
5	Income breakdown in Prebista	255
6	Hypothesis for rented land in Prebista	259
7	Consumption and income in Prebista	261
8	Tax categories of villages in fifteenth-century Macedonia	263
9	Governors and state officials in Serres	326
10	Ecclesiastical dignitaries of Serres	327
11	Ecclesiastical dignitaries of Zichna	330
12	Fields of the Prodromos monastery in Asomatos.	332
13	The institution of <i>adelphaton</i> in Serres	335
14	Lay real estate owners and transactions in Serres	337
15	Chotolibos	365
16	Doxompo	367
17	Eunouchou	374
18	Kato Ouska	376
19	Monospeton	378
20	Politzos	380
21	Semaltos	382
22	Trilission	384
23	Zabarnikeia	387
24	Gini indices	390
25	Patriarchate dignitaries during the siege of Bayezid I	418
26	Officials in the Palaiologan era by title	441
27	Dating of the documents in Codex B of the Monastery of Prodromos	463
28	References for Tables 10 and 11	468
29	The elite in Serres	475

## Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Acts Chilandar</i> (Petit)	L. Petit (ed.), <i>Actes de Chilandar</i> , vol. 1: <i>Actes grecs</i> (St Petersburg, 1910)
<i>Acts Chilandar I</i>	C. Giros, V. Kravari and M. Živojinović (eds), <i>Actes de Chilandar, I: Des origines à 1319</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 20 (Paris, 1998)
<i>Acts Dionysiou</i>	N. Oikonomides (ed.), <i>Actes de Dionysiou</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 4 (Paris, 1968)
<i>Acts Docheiariou</i>	N. Oikonomides (ed.), <i>Actes de Docheiariou</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 13 (Paris, 1984)
<i>Acts Esphigmenou</i>	J. Lefort (ed.), <i>Actes d'Esphigménou</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 6 (Paris, 1973)
<i>Acts Iveron III</i>	J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli (eds), <i>Actes d'Iveron, III: De 1204 à 1328</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 18 (Paris, 1995)
<i>Acts Iveron IV</i>	J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari and H. Métrévéli (eds), <i>Actes d'Iveron, IV: De 1328 au debut de XVIe siècle</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 19 (Paris, 1995)
<i>Acts Karakallou</i>	C. Pavlikianov, <i>The Byzantine Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou and Selected Acts from the Ottoman Period (1294–1835)</i> (Sofia, 2015)
<i>Acts Kastamonitou</i>	N. Oikonomides (ed.), <i>Actes de Kastamonitou</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 9 (Paris, 1978)
<i>Acts Koutloumousiou</i>	P. Lemerle (ed.), <i>Actes de Kutlumus</i> , Archives de l'Athos, 2, 2nd edn (Paris, 1988)

- Acts Lavra I* P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (eds), *Actes de Lavra, I: Des origines à 1204*, Archives de l'Athos, 5 (Paris, 1970)
- Acts Lavra II* P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (eds), *Actes de Lavra, II: De 1204 à 1328*, Archives de l'Athos, 8 (Paris, 1977)
- Acts Lavra III* P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (eds), *Actes de Lavra, III: De 1329 à 1500*, Archives de l'Athos, 10 (Paris, 1979)
- Acts Lavra IV* P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (eds), *Actes de Lavra, IV: Études historiques – Actes serbes – Compléments et index*, Archives de l'Athos, 11 (Paris, 1982)
- Acts Pantokrator* V. Kravari (ed.), *Actes du Pantocrator*, Archives de l'Athos, 17 (Paris, 1991)
- Acts Philotheou* W. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korblev (eds), *Actes de Philothée* (St Petersburg, 1913)
- Acts Philotheou (K)* V. Kravari (ed.), 'Nouveaux documents du Monastère de Philothéou', *TM* 10 (1987), 261–356
- Acts Prodromou (A)* A. Guillou (ed.), *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955)
- Acts Prodromou (B)* L. Bénou, *Le Codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome Serrès, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1998)
- Acts Protaton* D. Papachryssanthou (ed.), *Actes de Prôtaton*, Archives de l'Athos, 7 (Paris, 1975)
- Acts Saint Panteleemon* G. Dagron, P. Lemerle and S. Ćirković (eds), *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, Archives de l'Athos, 12 (Paris, 1982)
- Acts Vatopedi I* J. Bompaire, C. Giros, V. Kravari and J. Lefort (eds), *Actes de Vatopédi, I: Des origines à 1329*, Archives de l'Athos, 21 (Paris, 2001)
- Acts Vatopedi II* C. Giros, V. Kravari, J. Lefort and K. Smyrlis (eds), *Actes de Vatopédi, II: De 1330 à 1376*, Archives de l'Athos, 22 (Paris, 2006)
- Acts Vatopedi III* J. Lefort, V. Kravari, C. Giros, K. Smyrlis and R. Estangüi Gómez (eds), *Actes de Vatopédi, III: De 1377 à 1500*, Archives de l'Athos, 23 (Paris, 2019)
- Acts Xenophon* D. Papachryssanthou (ed.), *Actes de Xenophon*, Archives de l'Athos, 15 (Paris, 1986)

- Acts Xeropotamou* J. Bompaire (ed.), *Actes de Xeropotamou*, Archives de l'Athos, 3 (Paris, 1964)
- Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov) C. Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou* (Sofia, 2014).
- Acts Zographou* (Regel) W. Regel, E. Kurtz and B. Korblev (eds), *Actes de Zographou* (St Petersburg, 1907)
- Akrop. A. Heisenberg (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903), 1:3–189
- Badoer U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (eds), *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer: Costantinopoli, 1436–1440* (Rome, 1956)
- BF *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- EEBS *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- EO *Echos d'Orient*
- Greg. I. Bekker and L. Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55)
- JÖB *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- Kant. L. Schopen (ed.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32)
- Mazaris *Mazaris' Journey to Hades, or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Courts*, ed. by Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (New York, 1975)
- MM F. Miklosich and J. Müller (ed.), *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 volumes (Vienna, 1860–90)
- NE *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
- OCF *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB A. P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford, 1991)

Pach.	A. Failler and V. Laurent (eds), <i>Georges Pachymérés. Relations historiques</i> , 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000)
PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeca</i> , 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
PLP	E. Trapp (ed.) <i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> (Vienna, 1976–95)
PR I	H. Hunger and O. Kresten (eds), <i>Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315–1331</i> , vol. I (Vienna, 1981)
PR II	H. Hunger and O. Kresten (eds), <i>Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1337–1350</i> , vol. II (Vienna, 1995)
PR III	J. Koder (ed.), <i>Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363</i> , vol. III (Vienna, 2001)
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
Registro Vaticano	G. Ferrari dalle Spade (ed.), ‘Registro Vaticano’, <i>Studi Bizantini e Neellenici</i> 4 (1935), 249–67
RESEE	<i>Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici</i>
Sathas, MB	K. Sathas, <i>Μεσαιωνική βιβλιοθήκη</i> , 7 vols (Athens, 1872–94)
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TTD	Başbakanlık Arşivleri: Tapu ve Tahrir Defteri
VV	<i>Vizantiyskii Vremmenik</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

## Preface and Acknowledgements

The present book began as a refinement, revision and extension of my doctoral thesis defended in January 2013 in the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham and entitled 'Social structure and relations in fourteenth century Byzantium'. The present book bears resemblance to only about a third of the text of the doctoral thesis. The latter was restricted to fourteenth-century material, but the book has been extended to include the whole late Byzantine period. Therefore, several modifications took place regarding the results, the conclusions and the examples used for the defence of these. Secondly, a whole chapter of the doctoral thesis, about the social aspects of the second civil war, has been left out, since the results of it were published in two articles ('Social aspects' and 'Myth of the Zealots'). A mass of detailed material relating to Chapter 3 (PhD thesis, Chapter A), with prosopographic analysis and family histories, has been equally left out, lest it overwhelm the reader. On the other hand, the sections on social values and mobility (a whole new chapter, Chapter 2), on gestures, on the peasantry and the countryside, on the role of the common people, and other issues here and there, have been significantly expanded. The last chapter has also been modified to resemble more the evolution of late Palaiologan urban society, rather than capturing a single moment, that is the situation in Constantinople in c. 1400. As a result, despite some material being left out, the overall book is half again as large as the thesis. Any differences or conflict in the conclusions between the thesis and the present book need to be resolved in favour of the latter, as it reflects additional research and revision.

My deepest gratitude goes to my late teacher and supervisor Dr Ruth Juliana Macrides, who passed away in April 2019. Ruth was a real teacher and mentor and helped me in many aspects of my scholarly life, outside her 'strict' duties as a supervisor. She continued to support and encourage me for years after the completion of my PhD, offering her advice and supplying

the many reference letters that I requested. She was the first person to prompt me to edit my thesis quickly and prepare it for publication. It may have proved a much longer process after all, partly because I was occupied with other projects and partly due to my striving after perfection and my extending of the thesis, but it is finally over. It is unfortunate that she can no longer see the final products of the seed she sowed, and that she can no longer mentor any other students of Byzantine Studies, the field that she served for many decades admirably.

During the various phases of this work I have enjoyed institutional help from many sources. The Research Centre of Anatolian Civilizations of Koç University (2013–14), Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University (2014), the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation that is currently supporting my research with a fellowship, the Department of Byzantine Studies and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Cologne where I am conducting this research (2018–21), the University of Vienna and the Division for Byzantine Studies in the Austrian Academy of Sciences (2020), and the University of Thessaly (2019–21) are only the most important of these institutions. The help, suggestions and discussions (both scholarly and beyond) from which I have profited courtesy of my colleagues in these institutions are more than appreciated. A special mention is due of the fellowship I acquired in 2015–16 from TÜBİTAK, which allowed me to conduct research at Boğaziçi University, particularly for the purpose of writing this book. Professor Nevra Necipoğlu, as my advisor during this fellowship, greatly assisted its positive outcome.

I wish to thank Professor Emeritus Michael Angold for his insightful thoughts and suggestions on both my thesis (as one of its examiners) and on the first draft of this book, as well as for his willingness to engage in this process and his promptness and quality of work. The final shape of this book was much influenced by his and the anonymous second reviewer's suggestions. Not least I am indebted to Professor Niels Gaul, who went through my final manuscript and made several valuable suggestions and corrections. Professor Emeritus Jean-Claude Cheynet has also provided me with support and scholarly guidance for several years since the defence of my thesis, for which I wholeheartedly thank him.

Various other colleagues assisted me to reach the outcome of this book. Dr Brian McLaughlin read through my draft and has immeasurably aided in correcting my often poor English and providing me with many other suggestions. Associate Professor Kostas Moustakas provided me with unpublished data from Ottoman tax registers for the village of Prebista, which he personally transcribed and interpreted for my purposes, and has allowed me to use one of the maps from his doctoral thesis. Professor John

Haldon too has allowed me to use a map from his *Palgrave Atlas of the Byzantine world* (2005). Ivan Drpić has granted me the permission to use his photo of a wall painting from the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Ochrid, illustrated in the book cover. Olivier Delouis and Vasiliki Kravari sent me PDFs of some documents from the *Acts Vatopedi* III, shortly before their publication (December 2019), so that I could integrate them into my final draft. I would like to thank also the staff of the Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies 'Prof. Ivan Dujčev', who provided me with photos of Codex B of the Monastery of Prodromos and allowed me to use it for research purposes.

There are many more colleagues and friends whose help during this long process I need to appreciate, but I would probably require some more pages for this purpose. Much of our discussions about Byzantium and life with Olga Karagiorgou, Pantelis Charalampakis, Giorgos Terezakis, Claudia Sode, Maria Teresa Catalano, Martina Filosa, Diego Fittipaldi, Divna Manolova and Krystina Kubina influenced partly my arguments here and there. Without the support in everyday life of these and other personal friends, I doubt if I would have ever been able to accomplish my work. Last, but foremost, this work and the whole of my present and future would never have been achieved without the support, encouragement, trust and love of my family, my beloved parents and brother.

Köln

29 September 2020



## Note to the Reader

With the exception of a few widely known place names (for example, Constantinople, Athens, Crete, Macedonia), no English or Anglicised form of Greek names has been used; hence, never John for Ἰωάννης nor Paleologus for Παλαιολόγος. Equally, no translation or modern/medieval equivalent has been offered for Byzantine offices, except bare a few straightforward ones (emperor, tax assessor, governor, and so on), although a clarification will generally be provided. No translation or explanation of epithets, dignities or titles has been offered, unless it is relevant to the context. The reader is advised to consult the glossary for all Byzantine offices and other Greek terms used throughout the text.

For the Greek names and terms, a strict transliteration to the Latin alphabet equivalent has been adopted. The letter υ (ypsilon) is always written with y when alone, but with u when in a diphthong (αυ: au, ου: ou, and so on). The digraphs γγ and γκ are transcribed as ng and nk, respectively (so, Μαγκαφάς: Mankaphas; Νεστόγγος: Nestongos). A second exception are some vowel complexes with ου, where its strict transliteration would cause phonetic confusion in English; thus, Manuel instead of Manouel. A diaeresis has been used to denote hiatus in a diphthong, or when the English transliteration may also cause phonetic confusion (so, πρωτομαῖστωρ: *prōtomaīstōr*; Χαμαετός: Chamaëtos). Although not for centuries of any phonetic value in Greek, the rough breathing has been indicated at the beginning of the word or name with an H (for example, ἑταιρειάρχης: *hetaireiarchēs*; Ἰαλέας: Hyaleas), even in compound words and names (for example, Δισύπατος: Dishypatos).

It should be recalled that medieval Greek surnames have a feminine form – unlike modern Greek ones, which are rendered in the masculine genitive for females. Their formation, although it follows a general pattern, does not have strict rules. Thus, Komnenos = Komnene, Palaiologos = Palaiologina, Mourmouras = Mourmouraina, Tornikes = Tornikina, Akropolites = Akropolitissa. The same goes for the plural form of family

names that is often used in this volume to denote ‘the family of...’. Hence, Palaiologoi for Palaiologos, Doukai for Doukas, Laskarides for Laskaris, Metochitai for Metochites and so on.

For other medieval names the prevalent form in the linguistic background of the person has been preferred (that is, Giacomo instead of Jacob, and Guillaume instead of William). Islamic names have been transliterated according to their form in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. For modern Greek names of authors or place names, a strict phonetic transliteration has been used in accordance to the current official prescriptions. Thus my first name, Χρήστος, is officially transcribed as Christos, not Chrestos. Exception goes to authors who generally prefer to sign their English publications with a different method (for example, Λουγγής: Lounghis). Strict phonetic transliteration has been adopted in all names on the Cyrillic alphabet.

Regarding the citation of primary literary sources, I have used the pattern: name of the author, translated to English title of work and name of the editor; example: Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 24, ed. Hunger, 174–5. For avoiding overflow in the Bibliography, Byzantine authors with a large and diverse number of works, mostly edited in one collection, are abbreviated only by the name; example: Ioseph Kalothetos, ed. Tsames, 453–502. Only a few frequently used sources, such as the *Histories* of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras, or the documents from Mt Athos are thoroughly abbreviated (see under Abbreviations). In the relevant section in the Bibliography, the works are listed first according to this citation, followed by the full reference. Documentary, epigraphic and other non-literary source material are abbreviated according to the name of the editor. For secondary literature I have always used the last name of the author(s) and a shortened title of the work.

When not otherwise indicated, all translations of Greek passages are mine. Capitalisation has been kept to a minimum.





Map 2: The southern Balkans (c. 1410). Source: Created by Constantine Plakidas. Available at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_the\\_southern\\_Balkans,\\_1410.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_southern_Balkans,_1410.svg).

## **Introduction: Byzantium after 1261: State, Society and Culture**

The Byzantine world after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 comprised not only the empire itself – which included Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean apart from Crete, Euboea and Cyclades, a part of the Peloponnesos and a part of western Asia Minor – but also of populations that lived under Latin dominion in Greece, under Turkish dominion in Asia Minor and under the three other ‘breakaway’ states: the polities of Epirus and Thessaly and the Empire of Trebizond. The Byzantine borders, following the reign of Michael VIII (1259–82), progressively contracted. Asia Minor was lost to the Turkish emirates by 1337, Macedonia to the Serbians by 1347, most of Thrace to the Ottomans by 1371, Thessalonike and its hinterland to the Ottomans in 1387, while the short-lived conquests of Thessaly (1333–48) and Epirus (1338–48) did not improve or alter the situation since both areas soon fell to the expanding Serbian state. The islands too were lost: first to the Hospitallers (the Dodecanese), then to the Genoese (Samos, Chios, Tenedos) by the mid-fourteenth century, and later to the Gattilusio family (Lesbos, Samothrake, Ainos). Byzantium experienced a short-lived rejuvenation in the early fifteenth century through the re-establishment of its rule in coastal Thrace and in the area around Thessalonike and the Chalkidike. The illusion did not last long: Thessalonike was lost to the Venetians in 1423 and subsequently, in 1430, to the Ottomans. In 1453 the Byzantine state was effectively destroyed; with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the remaining islands (Lemnos and Imbros) and Thracian coastal towns submitted to the Ottomans.

This study analyses the social structure and social relations within the (shifting) borders of the Byzantine, Palaiologan, state proper. In most of the other areas there were factors at work that influenced the social structure and produced a different picture (for example, in the Turkish- and Latin-held provinces, with only a few exceptions, the Greek Orthodox population had an inferior status to the Latin or Muslim population), although

of course there were certain continuities, as has been observed.<sup>1</sup> Certain aspects of continuity were present in the transition to Ottoman rule after the conquest, especially in the rural economy and society. Nonetheless external factors – expatriation of most of the local elite and replacement by an Islamic one, different culturally, even when there was a conversion – again influenced the development of social relations and the alteration of the social structure.<sup>2</sup> Different factors also applied in the other Greek-held provinces (Thessaly and Epirus), including the part of the Peloponnesos that was under the Byzantine administration. Since 1204 Epirus and soon Thessaly were part of the dominion of the family of Komnenos Doukas, forming the so-called ‘Despotate of Epirus’ (the state was further divided into Epirus and Thessaly after 1268 between the members of the dynasty), which became a rival first to the state of Nikaia and then to the Byzantine state. The different local centres of power undoubtedly produced a dissimilar picture of social relations to those in the Palaiologan state.<sup>3</sup>

The two Greek states of Thessaly and Epirus were no longer a serious threat to the Byzantine dominion after the reign of Michael VIII and eventually, in the 1330s after three successive campaigns, they were annexed to the empire. The Serbians, taking advantage of the second civil war that

<sup>1</sup> The most important introductory study on continuity and change in the Latin-occupied former Byzantine lands is still Jacoby, ‘From Byzantium to Latin Romania’. Jacoby has also written other studies on more specific topics or areas. See also Gasparis, ‘Venetian rule on Crete’.

<sup>2</sup> In 1982 a symposium was held at Dumbarton Oaks about continuities between Byzantine and Ottoman rule, and important case studies were presented by A. Bryer, V. Dimitriades, J. Haldon, H. Lowry and others. See especially Dimitriades, ‘Ottoman Chalkidiki’ and Lowry, ‘Island of Limnos’ and ‘From lesser wars’. See also Moustakas, ‘Transition’; Terezakis, ‘Θεσσαλική κοινωνία’; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*. Nevertheless, all these studies deal with continuity of economy, social life and politics. Kyritses, ‘Αλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης’, on the other hand, has noted the significant damage to Byzantine elite culture brought by the Ottoman conquest of the empire. Kyritses bases his claim on the threefold division of late Byzantine culture (elite culture, ecclesiastical and popular culture), which quickly deteriorated, since sultans after Mehmed II (1451–80) were not eager to support learned Greek culture at their court and neither were the remnants of the urban population.

<sup>3</sup> On Epirus and Thessaly, see Magdalino, ‘Between Romaniae’; Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros*. The different social and political realities of Mystras, with the existence of a powerful local elite that was hostile to the despot – which controlled the castles and had significant duties within the state machinery – and the presence of other local centres occupied by the Franks, are narrated by Zakythinis, *Despotat grec de Morée* (mainly in his third chapter on society: 211–26) and more recently by Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, chapter 9, and Leonte, *Imperial Visions*, 199–236.

began in Byzantium in 1341, and under the leadership of Stefan Dušan, conquered the whole of Macedonia (apart from Thessalonike), Thessaly and Epirus. It was only the death of Dušan in 1355, and the consequent breakdown of his empire, that prevented further Byzantine losses. The defeat of the Serbian lords at Maritsa (the river Hebros) in 1371, and at Kosovo in 1389, by the Ottomans signalled the dominance of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. By 1393 the Turks had conquered Bulgaria in two stages. The defeat of the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 1402 brought the re-establishment of Byzantine power in parts of coastal Thrace and Macedonia, but the initiation of hostilities again in 1422 showed that there was no hope of restoring the empire.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the period was not free of political strife. The blinding of the minor Ioannes IV Laskaris by Michael VIII Palaiologos, soon after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261, brought about the enmity of Patriarch Arsenios who excommunicated Michael VIII, but the latter managed to depose Arsenios shortly after. This engendered a schism in the Church with the supporters of Arsenios, the so-called Arsenites, which was healed only several decades later, long after the death of both protagonists. During this strife the Arsenites and the lay supporters of the Laskarides in Asia Minor caused several uprisings, while the overtaking of these areas – a punishment measure by Michael VIII – weakened their defences, thus contributing to the fall of Asia Minor. The religious controversies deepened as a result of the efforts of Michael VIII to impose the Union of the Churches, to prevent a Crusade against Byzantium, following the Council of Lyons in 1274. However, after the death of Michael VIII these efforts ceased and instead Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) prosecuted the remaining unionists.

The grandson of Andronikos II, Andronikos III (r. 1328–41), declared war on his grandfather, starting thus the first civil war (1321–8). This civil war initiated a new period for the internal history of the empire. More conspiracies are attested during Andronikos III's reign, the most significant of which was instigated by Syrgiannes Palaiologos, who allied with the Serbians to usurp the Byzantine throne. But the intensity and the duration of the second civil war (1341–57), which started after the death of Andronikos III and pitched his closest friend Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos against the leaders of the regency of the minor Ioannes V (the empress Anna of Savoy, the patriarch Ioannes Kalekas and the *meḡas doux* Alexios Apokaukos), was not comparable. The countryside was devastated by the opposing forces, the Turks were introduced to the Balkans and, after 1352, they managed to gain a permanent foothold in Thrace. Revolts broke out in

<sup>4</sup> For the fifteenth-century political history of Byzantium, see Harris, *End of Byzantium*.

many cities of the empire, mainly against the supporters of Kantakouzenos. In Thessalonike, the pro-regency party, named the Zealots because of their zeal against Kantakouzenos, was particularly cruel to the Kantakouzenists. Dozens were executed, hundreds were exiled and three revolts troubled the city, until it was finally subdued in 1349, two years after the preliminary victory of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) and his establishment in Constantinople. Peace did not last long as Ioannes V reclaimed his throne. The last phase of the second civil war ended only in 1357 with the defeat of the son of Kantakouzenos, Matthaios (r. 1353–7), by Ioannes V (Ioannes Kantakouzenos had already abdicated in 1354). Historians have claimed that social factors influenced the allegiance of the supporters of the two parties; however, I believe we are dealing predominantly with another case of political opportunism, combined with some decentralising tendencies.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, a third round of civil strife broke out between Ioannes V and his second son Manuel II on the one side and Ioannes V's first son Andronikos IV and the latter's son Ioannes VII on the other; this started in 1373 and ended only in 1399 with the reconciliation between Ioannes VII, who was based in Selymbria, a town close to Constantinople, and the emperor Manuel II (r. 1391–1425). Although this conflict concerned the imperial succession, the 'enemies-allies' of Byzantium – the Ottomans, Genoa and Venice – energetically supported one side or the other. The choice of ally of each side was sometimes further defined by the social and political background of their supporters. Andronikos IV and his son Ioannes VII were supported by Genoa; therefore it was not uncommon to number in their ranks members of the elite such as Goudeles, who had orientated themselves to commerce and were business associates of the Genoese.<sup>6</sup>

The inability of the Byzantines to stop the Turkish conquest of Thrace in the 1350s and 1360s forced them to turn to Western Europe for help. In 1366–9 Emperor Ioannes V travelled around the region seeking aid. But any aid was conditional on concessions on the part of the Byzantines. The pope's demands for a union of the churches bred widespread hostility. Fury

<sup>5</sup> Malatras, 'Social aspects', and idem, 'Μύθος των Ζηλωτών'. For the older view, see Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*.

<sup>6</sup> Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 134–5, has made this connection. On the other hand, it is obvious that social roots cannot be asserted. The support by both upper and lower classes is mentioned for both groups. The most important handbook of late Byzantine political history remains Nicol, *Last centuries of Byzantium*, but also for the second half of the century useful information can be provided by Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus*; Charanis, 'Strife'; Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*; Katsoni, *Μια επταετία*; Katsoni, *Ανδρόνικος Δ΄*.



about the acknowledgement of papal supremacy in the Church, and its rejection by most Byzantines, made attempting to achieve union a difficult game for the Byzantine emperors. They were unable to find enough support in the Byzantine Church for their scheme. In fact, only a fraction of the scholars and of the Church and state officials were in favour of union. The question was not, however, strictly one of political orientation. Deeper cultural aspects and identities were involved. The choice of the unionists was frequently connected with a greater appreciation of classical learning and an identity that related to ancient Greece rather than a broader Orthodox community.<sup>7</sup>

Another important factor was the place of Byzantium in the economic network of the eastern Mediterranean. Byzantine territories, and especially Constantinople, were centres of this network. Constantinople was a major transit station of the trade between the Black Sea and Italy, conducted mostly by Genoa. Genoa, after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 1261, drove away Venice, which had been hostile to Byzantium, and established dominance of the Black Sea routes, preventing thenceforth the establishment of non-Genoese elements. The Genoese founded a colony in Pera, opposite Constantinople, which soon grew in importance and became a *de facto* independent city-state, often intervening in Byzantine politics. However, the Venetians were soon able to re-establish themselves in Constantinople by signing treaties with the emperor. The hostility between Genoa and Venice became an important factor in Byzantine politics, but Byzantium in the end was unable to profit from it. The two Italian cities had acquired privileges: in addition to receiving administrative and judicial rights they did not pay *kommerkion*, a tax of 10 per cent normally applied to merchandise. This factor proved detrimental to Byzantine merchants, who found themselves in a less favourable position, and to the state finances, especially after the loss of the inland provinces. As a matter of fact, many Byzantine merchants became business associates of the Italians in order to mitigate this disadvantage; they did not work by themselves.

<sup>7</sup> The scholarly literature on the Union of Churches is extensive. See Beck, 'Byzanz und der Westen'; Blanchet, 'Question de l'Union'; Geanakoplos, 'Council of Florence'; Gounaridis, 'Πολιτικές διαστάσεις'; Nicol, *Church and society*, 74–97 and 108–30; Ševčenko, 'Intellectual repercussions'. However, the controversy grew in importance following the years of the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438/9, which declared the Union of Churches, and is best represented by the opposition between Georgios Gemistos (Plethon) and the later patriarch Gennadios Scholarios. Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς*, 58–77 and 183–6 associates the struggle against the Union of Churches with the dignitaries of the patriarchate who were, according to her, in opposition to the secular *archontes*.

Another important phenomenon was the economic weakness of Byzantium in the last century of its existence. The loss of Thrace to the Turks created dependence on Black Sea grain, which was transported mainly by the Genoese. Cloth manufacture was dominated by Italian products and the Venetians were importing wine from their colonies in the Aegean, thus hurting the local producers and distributors: that is, the Greek taverns. Furthermore, cotton and grain were also imported from Ottoman-occupied regions (mainly Thrace and Bithynia), thus rendering Byzantium's position precarious in times of distress, (such as the siege of Bāyezīd, 1394–1402). Moreover, the presence of Ottoman merchants is attested in Constantinople. Although the later Palaiologan emperors tried to limit Venetian privileges, the economic dependence of the empire was a reality. The progressive devaluation of the *hyperpyron* throughout the fourteenth century, until its final disappearance, also made the use of Venetian and Ottoman coinage a common phenomenon.<sup>8</sup>

At the head of the Byzantine state remained the emperor, who fully controlled the administration. He appointed the dignitaries who composed the central administration, the provincial governors, the tax officials, the judges and the patriarch, and gave his consent for the appointment of the five highest ecclesiastical dignitaries (the *oikonomos*, the *meγas sakellarios*, the *meγas chartophylax*, the *meγas skeuophylax* and the *prōtekdikos*) and the metropolitans elected by the patriarchal synod. During the late period, the heads of the central administration were the *mesazōn* and the *meγas logothetēs*, while a *prōtonotarios* has been identified as the head of the imperial chancery. The *mesazōn* was usually the second most influential person in the administration, a position that we could compare with the office of prime minister in early modern Europe.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The latest survey comes from Balard, 'Grand commerce'. See in more detail Balard, 'Organisation des colonies'; Laiou, 'Byzantine economy'; Laiou and Morrisson, *Byzantine economy*, 182–230; Matschke, 'Late Byzantine urban economy'; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*. On the efforts of the government to restrict the Venetian privileges, see Matschke, 'Commerce, trade'.

<sup>9</sup> The Palaiologan empire is underrepresented in the scholarly literature regarding the institutions of administration, in comparison at least with the volumes that have been written on the middle Byzantine period. For the administration of the later empire, see the old but still useful work by Raybaud, *Gouvernement et administration*, which speaks of the decomposition of the administration. For provincial administration, see Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*. For the *mesazōn* and the imperial chancery, see Beck, 'Byzantinische Ministerpräsident'; Ganchou, 'Nikolaos Notaras'; Loenertz, 'Chancelier imperial'; Oikonomides, 'Chancellerie imperial'; Verpeaux, 'Contribution à l'étude'. For the rights of the emperor in the election of metropolitans institutionalised by the accord of 1380/2, see Laurent, 'Droits de l'empereur'.

In the middle Byzantine period the lists of precedence clearly distinguished between offices and honorific dignities, the latter being subdivided into senatorial and imperial dignities and dignities reserved for eunuchs.<sup>10</sup> But in the Palaiologan empire, even before the middle of the fourteenth century, all the older middle Byzantine dignities that had survived and were simply honorific (such as *sebastos*, *prōtonōbelissimos* and *megalodoxotatos*) had disappeared. On the other hand, in none of the lists of precedence from the Palaiologan period can we see a distinction between offices and dignities, while it is almost certain that many of the offices-*cum*-dignities no longer corresponded to functions. At the same time, actual positions such as that of imperial secretary (*grammateus*) or of *mesazōn* are not listed. But regardless of the duties that each office-*cum*-dignitary may nominally have held, it is clear from the documentary sources that they were regarded as simple dignities, since in the signatures of officials both posts and titles are commonly mentioned (for example, the *kephalē* of Serres and *meγas chartoularios* Andronikos Kantakouzenos, the former being the actual post), and that titles were accorded for a person's lifetime (or at least until their promotion to a higher one).<sup>11</sup>

The army of the empire in the late period was composed of two main groups: the mercenaries and the *pronoia*-holders (*pronoiarīoi*). The *pronoiarīoi* were usually native soldiers whose incomes were provided by the state ceding to them its own fiscal rights over specified properties, often in the vicinity of the soldiers' homes. The amount of the income ceded varied considerably. They could be both infantry and cavalry units, but usually the larger the *pronoia* was, the higher the social status of the *pronoia*-holder and the larger the following of soldiers he was expected to be accompanied by. The evidence for the necessity of a following is controversial. It seems that even if it was obligatory, it was only the rule for the larger *pronoiarīoi*.

<sup>10</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 282–363 with an edition of these lists and a subsequent critical discussion and analysis.

<sup>11</sup> Guillard, 'Observations,' offered general remarks regarding late Byzantine titulature and office holding but unfortunately there is still no systematic study of the titles and/or offices. Guillard has also written on individual posts, including prosopographic material, but his studies need updating. For example, he divides dignities from offices (and further from dignities whether reserved for eunuchs or not), which, as we mentioned, is not applicable to the Palaiologan period. These studies have been concentrated in Guillard, *Recherches*, vol. 1, 198–607 and vol. 2, 1–219 and subsequently in idem, *Titres et fonctions* (with twenty-six additional case studies). For the late Byzantine period particularly, a useful commentary on court titles can be found in Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 70–115. For the offices and other Greek terms encountered throughout this book one can consult the Glossary.

At any rate, these retinues did not have the character of private armies, in most cases they consisted of a handful of men. The lesser *pronoiaroi* probably maintained no following.<sup>12</sup>

Since at least the eleventh century the concepts of individual privileges, accommodation and compromise have dominated the Byzantine world. A culture of official privilege is far from modern Western culture, and it had serious consequences not only in the Byzantine political sphere but in the social sphere as well. This culture derived from the prerogatives of imperial autocracy, and was influenced by the Christian concepts of philanthropy, benefaction and propitiousness. These prerogatives had been present since Late Antiquity, but by the late Byzantine period they had evolved from tools of imperial autocracy to shackles. In practice it meant that the emperor was not only above the law, but also that he could disregard it in order to make a provision.<sup>13</sup> Legislation slowly ceased to be promulgated; even the earlier laws of Leon VI and of the Macedonian emperors in the tenth century had more of a symbolic than a practical function. By the fourteenth century the emperor was no longer trying to regulate society systemically; rather he was reacting on a case-by-case basis by taking individual measures.<sup>14</sup> Theoretically, any individual could petition the emperor for a privilege, the donation of land or tax immunity on their property. Their proximity to the emperor, connections to people close to the emperor, or offer of political support, would determine their success. This culture of privilege meant that the emperor was presented as the benefactor and protector of his subjects; thus he could not easily turn down requests for privileges, even when state income would be diminished.<sup>15</sup> This culture also meant that the emperor must act piously and forgive his subjects when they erred. Consequently, capital punishment mostly ceased, even in serious crimes

<sup>12</sup> For the army in the late Byzantine period, see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, and for a more recent study, see Kyriakidis, *Warfare*. The institution of *pronoia* has also a large volume of literature behind it, mainly because there was an attempt to connect and compare it with the Western fief. Regardless of certain similarities, *pronoia* did not entail lordship and it was always clearly a fiscal revenue of state taxes in return of military service, while the distribution and control, theoretically at least, belonged to the state. Besides, *pronoiai* could be distributed as compensation for the salary of state officials, without expectation of military service: see Bartusis, *Land and privilege*.

<sup>13</sup> For the concept of *oikonomia*, see Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique*, 129–47. For its application in canon law, see Erickson, 'Oikonomia'.

<sup>14</sup> Fögen, 'Gesetz'; Stolte, 'Social function of law', 88–9.

<sup>15</sup> For the culture of privilege and the generosity of the emperor, see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 134–45, and more specifically the example of the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios: Laiou, 'Correspondence of Gregorios Kyprios'. About the privileges of the elite, see Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 71–85; Smyrlis, 'Petty elite'.

such as treason. The change is more obvious if one contrasts the treatment of traitors in Palaiologan times with that in the sixth to eighth centuries, when executions and amputations were the norm. The blinding of the rebel Alexios Philanthropenos was considered an extremely violent punishment and, besides, the emperor Andronikos II was not the one who ordered it. The emperor not only forgave Philanthropenos but assigned him to an important post once more. One reason for this development was the growing aristocratisation of Byzantine society and government, and the evolution of new ethics.<sup>16</sup> But, of course, not all those forgiven were members of the extended imperial family, or even aristocrats: an infamous sorceress was accorded an annual pension (*adelphaton*) in a Constantinopolitan monastery.<sup>17</sup>

Religion was an important (if not the most important) facet of the social life of a Byzantine. The necessity of religious uniformity, which in its turn would limit social unrest in this domain, and of orthodoxy, which would ensure the afterlife to all subjects, made theological debates a field wherein the emperor had a pronounced role. This was especially the case on account of his position as the protector of the (Orthodox) Christian Church. The major theological debates in the late Byzantine period concerned the Arsenite schism, the controversies concerning hesychasm and the Union of the Churches. All these evolved into areas of significant struggle, with councils, imprisonments of opponents and popular unrest. They also stimulated the writing of a remarkable number of theological works and refutations. As with other dogmatic disputes in Byzantium – the Christological debates of the fourth to sixth centuries, Iconoclasm and so on – so too these disputes have been regarded as having broader cultural and social affiliations. Hesychasm had a long tradition in Byzantium and it was firmly connected with monastic life and asceticism. Gregorios Palamas further defined hesychasm and taught that an individual – through prayers, fasting and other ascetic practices – could actually see the Divine Light. Hesychasm has been seen as

<sup>16</sup> For the aristocratisation of Byzantine society and the new social ethics emerging from the late eleventh century onward, see Kazhdan, 'Aristocracy and imperial ideal'; Magdalino, 'Honour among Romaioi'. Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 18–32, argue for a greater aristocratisation of Byzantine society during the late period, though they deal only with the social influence and the place of the elite in society and administration, not in culture. For an analogous occasion in the Roman world and the relative unimportance of violence in interpersonal relations among high class peers; see Fagan, 'Violence', which stresses that the contrary was the norm for social inferiors.

<sup>17</sup> PR III, no. 185.

reflecting the social values of the aristocracy, as corresponding to Byzantine society's spirit of individualism or as representing the old struggle and ambivalence between inner and outer wisdom, of ancient Greek and Christian philosophy.<sup>18</sup>

The Byzantine Church suffered a severe blow from the fall of Asia Minor to the Turks. Conversions to Islam, loss of revenue, population flight and obstruction of the service of Byzantine bishops in Turkish-occupied lands, were common.<sup>19</sup> Yet the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople far exceeded the territory of the empire, despite the creation of independent patriarchates in Serbia and Bulgaria. Northeastern Europe was directly subordinated to the patriarchate. Despite the progress of Turkish conquests, the first half of the fourteenth century has been considered a period of expansion of monastic and ecclesiastical property, through both imperial and private donations. Imperial donations were mainly directed at the great monastic centres (in this period, the monasteries of Mt Athos and the monasteries of Constantinople) or the metropoleis, which had a greater ability to petition the emperor. However, this trend was reversed after the middle of fourteenth century owing to the financial constraints of the Byzantine state. Large confiscations took place that affected the properties of all the great monasteries. Furthermore, ecclesiastical properties

<sup>18</sup> Matschke, 'Orthodoxie, Häresie'; Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 91–5; Beck ('Humanismus und Palamismus') formulated the view that the controversy of Palamism in essence was a controversy between the humanist and anti-humanist tendencies in Byzantine culture. Meyendorff ('Society and culture') also alludes to the fact that Palamism was against secular wisdom, although he denies that this represented a continuation of a struggle earlier in the Palaiologan period (with the Arsenites or the Patriarch Athanasios). He maintains that the victory of the Palamites meant that the development of an independent humanism was seriously hindered thereafter in Byzantium. See also his introductory study, *Palamas*. Nicol, *Church and society*, 31–65, on the other side, thinks that the opposition should not be taken at face value and that the equilibrium between inner and outer wisdom was maintained by the Palamites, although after the second half of the fourteenth century, due to the burning issue of the Union of Churches and the preservation of Orthodoxy, the balance and all the energy of the authors turned decisively in favour of religious wisdom; yet this was not because of hostility towards secular wisdom. I am more inclined to accept Nicol's argument, since, although certain analogies are visible between anti-Palamism and greater appreciation of ancient wisdom, in general the division is artificial and reflects more our own categorisations and efforts to identify eternal problems and struggles in Byzantine civilisation. In fact, it does not correspond with Byzantine practice. See also Gounaridis, 'Επιλογές', 177–85; Strezova, *Hesychasm and art*, 9–62.

<sup>19</sup> Vryonis, *Decline*.

were adversely affected by the Turkish conquests, although they managed to survive under the new regime.<sup>20</sup>

## The Subject of the Study and the Sources

The focus of this book is on social stratification: on how Byzantine society as a whole was structured; under the influence of what kinds of ideas, beliefs and concepts and with what material realities among the members of this society; what the divisions of this society were, and to what extent modern constructions or medieval counterpart models are applicable to the Byzantine case. In addition to this vertical division, it is also important to understand the horizontal groupings within society and how greatly they contributed to the whole structure: how influential and how close were the members of a village or urban community who belonged to the same social class or group? Moreover, the two dominant institutions of the time, the state and the Church, will be analysed to define the influence they exerted on the social structure. This study does not claim to examine every aspect of Byzantine society: family structure and relations, or patterns of inheritance, gender relations, social life, and religious beliefs and customs will not be examined unless they touch upon the construction of social order and relations.

It is now generally accepted that social stratification is encountered in every complex society. A central aspect of any structure of social stratification is the relative position of an individual in the system of social power relations. Social power is the ability to influence or control the behaviour and actions of other people and it can be divided into five types: power based on an individual's position and duties (legitimate power), on their personal skills and charisma (referent power), on their skills or knowledge (expert power), on their exercise of negative influences (coercive power), or on the rewards that they can provide (reward power). Authority, on the other hand, is defined as the right to exercise power conferred or entrusted on someone because of their personal/charismatic merit (charismatic authority), because of established rules and laws (rational-legal authority) or because of traditional beliefs and customs (traditional authority); it can be equated to legitimate power.

Max Weber and his followers, without downgrading the economic factor in determining social action, believed that ideological factors were equally as important as social action and that ideology did not merely serve

<sup>20</sup> Charanis, 'Monastic properties'; Smyrlis, *Fortune*; idem, 'State, land'

(together with the political factor) the successful functioning of the relations of production, as Marxist-orientated scholars believed. Unlike Marx, who defined social structure in terms of the economic relations of production (social class), Max Weber introduced the concept of social status, which is not directly linked with social class. Social status, either ascribed or achieved, is the prestige that an individual may have in a community, and is determined not only by their economic power and occupation, but also can be influenced by political, religious or ideological factors. Thus, social stratification is determined not only by the relations of production and membership in a social class but is also dependent on factors of social status, such as caste, occupation, personal qualities or birth.<sup>21</sup>

Another influential sociologist of the twentieth century, Pierre Bourdieu, turned our attention from the importance of economic and financial capital to other forms of resources that can be used to reproduce inequality: to social capital, that is, the links, connections and the shared values between different members of a society, including their social network; cultural capital, all the values and assets a person acquires by culture, tradition and education; and symbolic capital, the prestige and recognition of a person in society. For Bourdieu it is the differences in cultural capital that mark differences among social classes. He particularly examined aesthetic and cultural tastes and maintained that they distanced one social class from another, while being created by those members of society who ranked high in cultural capital (for example, intellectuals).<sup>22</sup>

One question is the extent to which the ideological structure of power relations is created by the upper class and imposed on most of the populace – the producers – in order to maintain the viability of the whole social structure, or the ‘cultural hegemony’, to use the term coined by Antonio Gramsci. Social order and inequality, however, comprise not only a material reality; they comprise even more an imaginative construction. Therefore, vocabulary and ritual expressions of power, performance and ideology are important facets that help reconstruct a social world and determine how a set of social relationships works. Besides, the legitimation of any power relationship should be based on, and justified by, a set of beliefs common to the social actors. The social actor, regardless of his ‘real’ or hidden motives,

<sup>21</sup> See Barber, *Social stratification*, 19–49, who categorises the criteria for social stratification as follows: politics, the military, religion, economic productivity, professional role, wealth, birth, personal qualities, community activities; Breen and Rottman, *Class stratification*; Mann, *Sources of social power*, 1–33; Scott, *Stratification and power*. The study of social stratification is a whole branch of sociology.

<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*; idem, *Language and symbolic power*.



needs to justify his actions according to this set of social or political principles. The meaning of these ideas or principles cannot be changed to fit the purpose of the social actor and, consequently, these principles function for the social superior not only as weapons but also as traps and constraints on the social action of both superior and inferior.<sup>23</sup> The trifunctional social system of the medieval West (i.e. 'those who work, those who fight, those who pray') has been described as one that did not represent reality and was merely an ideological construction that helped the dominant class.<sup>24</sup> However, this ideological construction seems to have described an increasing tendency in the actual system of social stratification and, perhaps, an intensification of this reality due to the effects of this trifunctional ideological system.<sup>25</sup> It is essential then to study not only the material environment of social order, but also the principles and the ideas behind the construction of this social order.

Modern social anthropological studies have moved further away from the model of ideological hegemony over the relations of production. James Scott studied the primitive economy of some villages in the 1960s in Malaysia, where the relations of production were structured around a local landowning elite and a producing population to whom the land was rented. He compared the results of this case study with other similar pre-modern social structures relating to the social order and the relations between rich and poor. He argued first that, although the construction of social order is mainly the product of the politically dominant class, inferiors are not mere passive recipients of it, but instead actively participate in its construction. These relations, he argued, are not simply rules and principles that are followed, but are the raw material that is constantly subject to change in daily human activity. Moreover, unlike the Marxist concept that social conflict would be limited if the upper class were able to persuade their inferiors to adopt their model of social relations, Scott showed that the model is not only used by the upper classes to serve their interests, but that the lower classes employ it to promote their needs and demands.<sup>26</sup> In an analogous situation in early modern England, after the institutionalisation of civil parish relief to the poor, since this aid could not meet every demand, the poor, in order to carry conviction that they needed help, resorted to due deference to their superiors, rather than claim legal entitlement to poverty

<sup>23</sup> Beetham, *Legitimation of power*; Braddick and Walter, 'Introduction', 8–16.

<sup>24</sup> Duby, *Three orders*, 354–5. On the trifunctional idea of society, see also more recently Constable, *Three studies*, 249–359.

<sup>25</sup> Oexle, 'Perceiving social reality'.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the weak*; idem, *Domination*.

relief; they found this way more profitable.<sup>27</sup> Geoffrey Koziol, in his examination of the rituals of supplication in medieval France, has also shown how the ritual language used served the preservation of the social order not only by dignifying the socially superior, but by forcing him as well to act in favour of the inferior.<sup>28</sup>

In order to discover popular demands many modern researchers have turned to two fields of research: the study of popular literature, and the study of social movements and revolutions. However, both fields are problematic. Popular literature was seen to represent the culture of the lower strata of population. This division now seems artificial, however: the recognition of the common motifs and elements that both 'high' and 'popular' literature possess eventually led to a decrease in the study of popular literature as a source for the sentiments and beliefs solely of the lower classes.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the study of social movements, riots and revolutions as the main expression of social inequality and resistance has also proved problematic. As Scott revealed in his study, social order was not the outcome of violent episodic negotiations – riots and revolutions – yet there were other more everyday forms of resistance to social power that did not take an overt form. Behind the language of deference may lie an opposition: the conformity of the weak, at least in public, does not mean that they accept the order as 'just'. By using as weapons the same language of social order and deference, they can try to enhance their position and at the same time avoid the risks of open resistance. As such, revolutions are only episodic events in the negotiation of power between the powerful and weak classes and do not represent the dichotomy between deference and opposition, as has been argued in the past. Accordingly, riots and crowds should be examined carefully; research has shown that there were crowds, not 'a crowd', the composition of which changed according to the causes and the object of an action.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Hindle, 'Exhortation and entitlement'.

<sup>28</sup> Koziol, *Begging for pardon and favour*.

<sup>29</sup> Burke, *Popular culture*; Scribner, 'Popular culture'; Storey, *Inventing popular culture*. See also for the Byzantine case Baun, *Tales from another Byzantium*; Mango, 'Discontinuity', who asserts that 'lowbrow' literature had as recipient not only some monks, but in general every Byzantine. Recent studies on Byzantine vernacular literature have shown that it was mostly produced by and for the same audience and that 'both literatures' share common elements: see for the audience especially Cupane, 'Wie volkstümlich', and in general for late Byzantine romance the recent handbook edited by Goldwyn and Nilsson, *Reading*.

<sup>30</sup> Braddick and Walter, 'Introduction', 7–8; Harris, *London crowds*.

A great deal of work in the past few decades in sociology and social anthropology has been done under the prism of symbolism and the ethnographic methodology developed by Clifford Geertz. In sociology, symbolic interactionism focuses on the position of an individual in society and its interaction with others. Interaction in turn is governed by the symbolism (that is, the meaning) each individual gives to different things. Symbolic anthropology has turned away from the great theories and explanations of phenomena across cultures and is a field that has only gained importance in the past few decades. It strives to understand how people, through rituals and other symbolic constructions, perceived their world. Much of human behaviour can be seen as symbolic action and these symbols need to be studied in order to understand the culture of a certain society. The ethnographic method developed from this school, although it focuses on the collection of data and their analysis by determining their social ground and import, is subjective as it focuses on the perception of an outsider (the scholar) of the thought system in the culture they are studying.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, in order to evaluate the framework of social structure, apart from the respective economic standings and exchanges between two social actors, it is also very important to examine the social interaction between these two actors, having as guide two important aspects: the semiotics of the text and the symbolic communication described (since we are unable to see the people themselves and pose questions).

Gestures, rituals and other kinds of symbolic communication have been an important subject in medieval studies the past decades under the influence of the *Annales* school.<sup>32</sup> Gert Althoff, especially, pursued highly relevant work on medieval political rituals whose functionalist approach emphasised their importance to power relations and turned our attention to their malleability and the question of how changes could be brought to rituals in order to serve political purposes. However, rituals do not have only a functional purpose. The work of Geoffrey Koziol on the semiotics of medieval rituals of supplication has shown how these changed over time reflecting changes in the culture, society and political order in different

<sup>31</sup> Symbolic interactionism was first conceived by George Herbert Mead and was developed by Blumer, in *Symbolic interactionism*. For Clifford Geertz's programme, see his own 'Thick description', and the volume by Alexander, Smith and Norton, *Interpreting Clifford Geertz*; but see also the critique and the scholarly dialogue in Shankman et al., 'The thick and the thin.'

<sup>32</sup> On the importance of gestures for Western medieval society and their juxtaposition to the written culture, see Bloch, *Feudal society*, vol. 1, 113–16; Burrow, *Gestures and looks*, 11–68; Schmitt, 'Rationale of gestures', and in the same volume Thomas, 'Introduction', 1–14, on the importance of gestures in historical societies.

areas. Koziol has emphasised the polysemy of the rituals and the need to study the context and environment of their performance, since the same ritual (for example, the kissing of feet) in a different context may have meant something different.

Gestures, even in our modern world, are important in expressing deference and emotions, and are closely linked to rituals. Descriptions of gestures in everyday social interaction, rather than palace ceremonials, are unfortunately rather sparse in Byzantine sources. Perhaps the main reason for this divergence is the lower literacy of the West before the fifteenth century and the concomitant importance of the oral tradition and physical gestures. The rituals of homage and oaths were not necessarily written down. By contrast, in Byzantium, oaths, promises of good behaviour and even testimonies, as they have survived in patriarchal documents, were routinely written down. However, this does not mean that Byzantine society lacked or downplayed physical gestures. Much of the everyday social interaction was governed by rituality. Although the demarcation of boundaries in fields was a remarkable ritual that involved cross-processions, it was necessary at the same time to describe these boundaries in a document – a document that was actually proof of ownership of a property.<sup>33</sup>

Many types of documents – such as agreements, sale or donation contracts and supplications – were drafted making use of an elaborate ritualised language that can convey to us important traits of Byzantine society and perceptions, as much by its strict compliance with the ritual language as by the changes brought from time to time upon it. On the other hand, the semiotics of the language in any documentary or literary text should also be approached with caution. Language is not a means only of communication, but also for someone to achieve their own interests; it expresses and serves the reproduction of the social system.<sup>34</sup>

There is an additional component that we need to be aware of in the Byzantine literary tradition in particular: it was firmly connected with the classical tradition throughout its history. A rhetorician's language ought, according to the principles of imitation (*mimesis*), as much as possible to resemble the classical, especially Attic, models. Sometimes, common motifs are routinely repeated and in fact their successful use and adaptation to the text seems to be one of the aims of the author. One of the stylistic aims of Byzantine literary authors was to vary their expression each

<sup>33</sup> *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 57–60. The study of gestures has come only recently to the field of Byzantine studies. See Brubaker, 'Gesture in Byzantium', 36–56; Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 379–93.

<sup>34</sup> Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 2.

time they expressed the same thought or subject matter, or to use classicising terms rather than actual contemporary ones (for example, the Turks are commonly called 'Persians'), thus bridging the gap between their literary models and the contemporary world. Nevertheless, literary mimesis was certainly not a mechanical process but often a quite adaptable and creative one. Although Byzantine literature may no longer be regarded as lacking originality and innovation,<sup>35</sup> Byzantine literary texts should nevertheless be approached with caution when used as sources for terminology and precise meaning.

The main contemporary narrative works used as sources for early Palaiologan society are the histories by Georgios Pachymeres, by the emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and by Nikephoros Gregoras. Georgios Pachymeres offers a relatively analytical narrative for a period that he had largely witnessed, between 1254 and 1308. The ecclesiastical debates of that period form a large part of his account. He considers that history is educational and he has a critical eye for many of the influential characters of his time, such as Michael VIII.<sup>36</sup> The main advantage of the *History* of Kantakouzenos is that it is written by one of the leading persons of the government between 1320 and 1354, roughly the period covered by the account. Kantakouzenos is the protagonist of the work and he tries throughout the narrative to defend his actions. Although the work adopts an objective tone, in fact it has many deliberate omissions or depictions of reality that differ from those of other authors, and would better serve the purposes of his work and blacken his enemies' reputations. Whereas he attempts to present himself as a wise and philanthropic character, trying to govern by consent, in effect he betrays his uncertainty and his lack of omnipotence. His characters are motivated either by magnanimity, piety, philanthropy and modesty, or they are deceivers of the 'good men', motivated by vanity, avarice and greed.<sup>37</sup> The *History* of Gregoras begins with the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 but becomes more detailed for the period between 1321 and 1359. Gregoras was a highly

<sup>35</sup> Agapitos, 'Literary criticism'; Kazhdan, 'Innovation in Byzantium'; Mullett, 'Originality in the Byzantine letter', 39–40; Ševčenko, 'Levels of style'; see also the studies assembled in Rhoby and Schiffer, *Imitatio — aemulatio — varatio*, in particular that of Nilsson, 'The same story', for more general comments and context.

<sup>36</sup> Arnakis, 'George Pachymeres', 161–7; Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 288–97; Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, 4:60–82.

<sup>37</sup> Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 312–26; Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, 4:187–223; Kazhdan, 'L'Histoire de Cantacuzène'. A new edition of the *History of Kantakouzenos* is being prepared by Sonja Schönauer (University of Cologne) for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (CFHB).

educated man and took a leading part in the hesychast controversy during the 1340s and 1350s. He was condemned by the synod of 1351 and spent the rest of his life under house arrest. His characters are again motivated by the same principles as those of Kantakouzenos, are but presented in a less multifaceted way.<sup>38</sup>

The second half of the Palaiologan period lacks a detailed contemporary historiographical account, until a few decades before the Fall, when the accounts of the historians Doukas, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Georgios Sphrantzes and Michael Kritoboulos (all writing after 1453) become more detailed. Doukas, writing as an official who served the Gattilusi lords of Ainos and Lesbos, strives to provide a reliable account, using both Ottoman and Latin sources, although he takes a very strong unionist stance. Chalkokondyles, on the other hand, consciously writes about the emergence of the Ottomans. Having been a student of the philosopher Plethon, his work exemplifies the new Renaissance outlook through such devices as the use of 'Greeks' to indicate the Byzantines, that is the *Romaioi*, the eternal fight between Greeks and barbarians, and the emphasis on *tyche* instead of Divine Providence. Michael Kritoboulos dedicated his work to Mehmed II, describing his achievements after 1451, and offers to us the viewpoint of a compromised member of the local Byzantine elite on the new Ottoman world. Sphrantzes' account, finally, is more of a memoir, written in almost demotic Greek. Even if it lacks historical depth, he includes several interesting details of his personal experience as a close associate of the last emperor, Konstantinos XI Palaiologos (r. 1449–53).<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the historical narratives, interesting insights on interpersonal relations are offered by the series of letters written by educated men. Letters were considered literature and were composed for this purpose. Consequently, they embrace many conventions and motifs, centred on the relationship between author and recipient. However, because of their rhetorical and not purely descriptive character, they tend sometimes to be obscure and do not focus on concrete details, either because these were conveyed orally by the letter-carrier or because they were deliberately omitted by the author, since such details would probably affect the literary character of the letter. By way of illustration, in the large corpora of Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Michael Gabras, we rarely learn about the object of their frequent petitions, or their reasons for animosity, and sometimes

<sup>38</sup> Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 297–312; Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, 4:140–86. These major historiographical sources for the early Palaiologan period have been abbreviated throughout the volume as: Pach., Kant. and Greg. respectively.

<sup>39</sup> Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί*, 4:261–400.

not even the names of their 'enemies'. Nevertheless, letters remain a valuable source of information about Byzantine culture and education, but also on social history, highlighting, among other issues, interpersonal relations and social exchange and the composition of literary and political circles in Byzantium.<sup>40</sup>

Among the important letter collections one should include the *Letters* of Demetrios Kydones, a native of Thessalonike and *mesazōn* for several decades (1347–54 and 1356–86) to two successive emperors, Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and Ioannes V Palaiologos. His letters are a valuable source of information on both political activities and intellectual pursuits in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Rather different in tone are the letters of Patriarch Athanasios I (in office 1289–93 and 1303–9), most of which are addressed to the emperor Andronikos II. Athanasios was an ascetic, rigid and conservative man, deeply concerned with moral integrity and care of the poor. Unlike the situation revealed by the letters of his predecessor Gregorios Kyprios (1283–9), who similarly petitioned the emperor on several issues, Athanasios did not have the same large circle of 'friends' and supporters, especially in high literary circles, and consequently was despised by them (for instance by Gregoras) as semi-educated and 'wild'. Therefore, his letters are important since they offer us a different perspective and social attitude.<sup>42</sup> Different in content is the large collection of letters by Michael Gabras in the first third of the fourteenth century. Gabras, although a member of the intellectual circles of Constantinople, does not seem to have been economically well-off. Many of his letters are petitions to important members of the aristocracy for help, even for small matters like food for his horse; for this reason they reveal to us the attitude of a 'lesser' man.<sup>43</sup> Later in the same century the letters of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and of the pro-Latin teacher Manuel Kalekas also offer us valuable information regarding the intellectual circles of Constantinople and the political history of the empire.

<sup>40</sup> For Byzantine epistolography and its conventions, see Grünbart, *Forme der Anrede*; Karlsson, *Idéologie et ceremonial*; Mullett, 'Epistolography'; and lately Riehle, 'Byzantine epistolography' and especially for the late Byzantine period his 'Epistolography, social exchange'.

<sup>41</sup> Leonte, 'Demetrios Kydones'; Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès'. His letters have been edited by idem, *Démétrius Cydonès correspondance*, and more recently have been studied, redated and translated into German by Tinnefeld, *Briefe des Demetrios Kydones*, and idem, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*.

<sup>42</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*. See also Laiou, 'Gregorios Kyprios', 206–8.

<sup>43</sup> Hunger, *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία*, 346–8.

Homilies – religious sermons delivered, or simply composed – are an underrepresented source. Although they are full of spiritual advice and religious attitudes, homilies occasionally offer glimpses of social life and attitudes and sometimes deal with questions of social balance and inequality.<sup>44</sup> Earlier *Lives* of saints have been amply used in research concerning topics of social life, cultural values and religious attitudes. However, the Palaiologan period is less an era of production of new hagiographic material than a period for rewriting older saints' *Lives*. The choice of the saint could be an important factor for analysis if the saint's social background was important, but in fact the occasion of a feast, the construction of a new church, or religious-political affiliations eventually determined the choice.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, there were also new saints' *Lives*, and the analyses of these by Ruth Macrides and Angeliki Laiou have produced valuable insights into social life in the early Palaiologan period and the background of the saints celebrated.<sup>46</sup>

The fourteenth century was an important period of codification, albeit certainly not on the scale of the ninth to tenth centuries. The ceremonial treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos is an excellent example. The treatise describes the various court ceremonies, and includes the lists of precedence of the officials and their dress. But the main field of codification was law. The codification of canon law by Matthaïos Blastares was the first systematic work of this nature, where the author tried to reconcile the traditions and discrepancies between canon and civil law. Around the same time, Konstantinos Harmenopoulos produced a simplified codification of civil law, something that made the work quite popular in other Orthodox countries, while it survived in Greece as the civil law code until 1946. Perhaps these codifications can relate to a general increase in interest in law and justice in the fourteenth century: this is attested first by Andronikos II's Novel of 1306 (incidentally the last known piece of legislation in Byzantium); second, through a higher standard of legal expertise (especially concerning the church court); and third, the subsequent judicial reforms, in particular, the establishment of the *katholikoi kritai* (general judges) as the supreme court of the empire.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> On homilies, see Antonopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ομιλητική*; Cunningham, 'Homilies'.

<sup>45</sup> Talbot, 'Old wine'.

<sup>46</sup> Laiou, 'Saints and society'; Macrides, 'Saints and sainthood'; Mitrea, 'Philotheos Kokkinos', 284–443.

<sup>47</sup> See Gkoutzioukostas, 'Παρατηρήσεις'; Kyritses, 'Some remarks'; Lemerle, 'Juge general'; Lemerle, 'Documents et problèmes'. The canon law chapters of Matthaïos Blastares have been published in Ralles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα θείων και ἱερῶν κανόνων*. Against Pitsakis (in *Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενόπουλου*), Schminck ('Wörtliche Zitate') established that both Harmenopoulos and Blastares were used as legal sourcebooks in late Byzantium.



Although our sources are relatively numerous, they have at the same time serious limitations. The profile of the authors of the literary works does not vary substantially. Most of them had relatively similar cultural concerns and belonged to the same closed literary circles of the empire. Most of the scholars had a higher, or at least middling, social and economic background. The education they had received required substantial financial assets, since education was mostly private and usually provided by individual tutors, although schools are attested throughout the middle and late Byzantine period. Most writers resided primarily in the two largest cities of the empire, Constantinople and Thessalonike, but there were additional smaller centres of literary activity.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, these sources allow an understanding of the way Byzantine society functioned, how it was structured and what ideas about society were, at least on the higher level. Although such observations should be applied only with caution to the lower and middle strata of the population, we should remember, as observed above, that the ideological system of social stratification is not simply imposed on the weak segment of the populace but is negotiated and built with its consent.

Byzantine documentary sources are not lacking but cannot be compared with the rich material in many parts of Latin Europe. Most of the archives we possess come from the monasteries that have survived to our day (the monastic communities of Mt Athos, Meteora, St John's monastery on Patmos and the monastery of St John Prodromos in Serres). These documents are concerned exclusively with the monasteries' property or status. They are comprised of judicial acts concerning land disputes, sale or donation documents, testaments, contracts, imperial documents and fiscal property inventories by local state agents. The reason for the preservation of such documents is the continued ownership of the particular property by the monastery. Therefore, confiscations or future loss of a property seldom come to our notice. The documents are more numerous during the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps due to the rapid expansion of monastic properties. Afterwards they decrease, an indication of state confiscations.

Regarding knowledge of the urban economy, the situation improves in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries thanks to the increase in the Italian notarial acts from the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa, which are indispensable to the study of overseas and regional trade. They reveal the entrepreneurial activities of Italian merchants and their connections with their Byzantine associates or competitors. They also reveal the names of

<sup>48</sup> The social profile of late Byzantine intellectuals has been analysed by Ševčenko, 'Society and intellectual life', and more recently augmented by Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 221–385, who include a large, detailed catalogue of late Byzantine literati.

Byzantine merchants and sometimes their level of wealth, information that is valuable for the present study. Undoubtedly the most important source remains the account book of Giacomo Badoer, a Venetian merchant active in Constantinople between 1436 and 1440, recording a few thousand transactions and naming several of his Byzantine partners.<sup>49</sup> Byzantine notarial acts and account books have survived, but only in very limited numbers. The preservation of the acts of the patriarchal synod for the years 1315–1402 also contributes to our knowledge of Byzantine society, for the decisions of the Synod deal not only with Church, but also with judicial disputes, particularly regarding marriage, inheritance and dowry, and more exceptionally regarding commercial and ordinary civil law. Unfortunately, these acts (749 documents) do not cover the full activity of the Synod, but only a small part of it, and their distribution is uneven. Some years are not represented and many of the documents (177) come from the last two years of the register (December 1399–January 1402), which coincides with the lengthy siege of Constantinople (1394–1402) by Sultan Bāyezīd I (r. 1389–1402).

The documentary sources are not very helpful for the lower strata of society. As already mentioned, most of the monastic archives are concerned with purely financial matters and, since most of the land had already been moved into the possession of the wealthy classes since the twelfth century, it is rare to encounter simple peasants or the poorer city inhabitants. The tax registers (*praktika*) may be very helpful in perceiving the distribution of economic resources among the peasants, in reconstructing patterns of inheritance within the peasant household and for certain demographic characteristics of the Byzantine village, but they offer no real information on how the peasants constructed their social reality, how they actually lived, whether – despite the rate of tax – they were relatively well-off or not, and how they themselves (or even their landlords) viewed the social system of production.

### Recent Scholarship on (Late) Byzantine Society

In 1978, after approximately a century of Byzantine studies, Hans-Georg Beck contemplated the absence of a social history of Byzantium.<sup>50</sup> Thirty years later John Haldon, in the introduction to his edited volume *A social history of Byzantium*, was still criticising the lack of a systematic study of

<sup>49</sup> Dorini and Bertelè, *Giacomo Badoer*, which is now complemented by a useful index by Bertelè, *Giacomo Badoer, complemento e indici*. The edition of several other Italian notarial documents can be found in Balard et al., *Les Italiens à Byzance*; Balard, *Gènes et l'Outre-Mer*, vol. 2. Several short Greek account books have been published by Schreiner, *Texte*.

<sup>50</sup> Beck, *Byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 232.

the social history of Byzantium and mainly its theoretical aspect.<sup>51</sup> The book is, however, more of an introduction to different aspects of Byzantine society rather than a systematic study of it.

The decades after World War II experienced an increase in all aspects of Byzantine historical study; more specifically, one of the main themes concerned the question of the integration of Byzantium into the scheme of Western feudalism.<sup>52</sup> This attempt was directed by Marxist historians mainly in Eastern Europe and its most important exponent was Georg Ostrogorsky (actually a non-Marxist). According to this theory, there was a 'Golden Age' of Byzantium in the seventh to tenth centuries, with a predominance of free peasantry and an army composed of peasant soldiers. The period following the failure to restrain the development of highly concentrated landownership was seen as a one of decline for Byzantium.<sup>53</sup> In addition, Ostrogorsky himself and Marxist historians not only connected Byzantium with the economic aspects of feudalism as defined by Marxism (that is, roughly, when the producing population is tied to the land and pays rent to the landlord) but strove to stress the growth of ties of dependence, visible in the development of *retinues*. These historians focused on the tax and judicial immunities that the great landlords tried to extract from the state as evidence for the breakdown of central authority.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Haldon, 'Towards a social history', 2.

<sup>52</sup> The traditional model of feudalism was expressed mainly by Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité*, and was based on the northern French paradigm. The model has been under attack since the 1970s, by writers such as E. A. R. Brown ('The tyranny of a construct') or by J.-P. Polly and E. Bernanzel (*Mutation féodale*) and later by authors such as Susan Reynolds (*Fiefs and vassals and Kingdoms and communities*), who spoke about the invention of feudalism in sixteenth-century Europe. There has been an effort to expand the model into its 'peripheral' areas such as the Slavic East, Byzantium, Spain, etc. (see recently Bagge et al., *Feudalism*, and Patlagean, *Moyen Âge*, 15–60). Many scholars nowadays abstain from using the term to describe medieval societies.

<sup>53</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire*; Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes*. See also Bibicou-Antoniadi, 'Προβλήματα της φεουδαρχίας'; Haldon, *State and tributary mode*; Sjuzumov, 'Некоторые проблемы'; Udalcova, 'À propos de la genèse'; Werner, 'Gesellschaft und Kultur'. A review of the literature on Byzantine feudalism would require a book in itself.

<sup>54</sup> Ostrogorsky, 'Some observations'. See also Ferluga, 'La ligesse'; Oikonomides, 'Liens de vassalité'. More recently Patlagean, in *Moyen Âge grec*, tried to return to the theory of Byzantine feudalism by comparing it to the different types of feudalism in Europe as these have been identified by modern research. She discusses three main issues she found as characteristics of Byzantine feudalism: the rising importance of the nuclear family (83–162), the growth of ties of dependence (163–94) and the familiar subject of the breakdown of imperial authority and the emergence of aristocratic families (195–372). Patlagean, 'Τονικόν', 423–34, also wrote against the notion of full private property in late Byzantium. She believed that the term *γονικόν* refers to conditional landholding with the right of transmission, returning to the old theory of Kazhdan, 'State, feudal'.

The theory had immense impact on Byzantine studies. Nevertheless, even during Ostrogorsky's lifetime serious opposition to the theory of feudalism was raised, mainly by Paul Lemerle.<sup>55</sup> The last years of the 1970s and the first years of the 1980s can be considered to form a transitional period for Byzantine studies. H el ene Ahrweiler, studying eleventh-century society, was reluctant to use the term feudalism.<sup>56</sup> The change in approach was accomplished by the publication of Laiou's book on the peasant society of Macedonia, which for the first time in Byzantine scholarship made use of statistical data from the tax registries of the fourteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Likewise,  velyne Patlagean's book on poverty in early Byzantium was orientated towards a structuralist approach to history, by denying the application of modern concepts and categorisations and adhering rather to the terminology of the sources.<sup>58</sup> Yet Alexander Kazhdan's series of lectures entitled *People and power* proved more influential: it called for a new orientation of Byzantine history towards New History, that is, the field of cultural history developed by the *Annales* school in France, especially in the 1960s to 1970s, aiming at a new orientation of historical studies against the traditional logic of old political history, that asked new questions, for example about the people's mentalities or their concerns, and used hitherto neglected sources. Kazhdan wanted to find what he called the *homo byzantinus*: how a Byzantine common man behaved, how he lived, what his ideas on the world, society and literature were. Traditional historical topics such as diplomacy, political history and institutions were to be examined in the light of these new questions.<sup>59</sup> Although many of his arguments in the book regarding the *homo byzantinus* were not followed by Byzantinists, his plea had serious repercussions for the research field. The study of the institution of family, fashion and ecology are topics that appeared for the first time in Byzantine studies – or, at least, it was after the appearance of *People and power* that they proliferated.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Lemerle, *Agrarian history*.

<sup>56</sup> Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 118.

<sup>57</sup> Laiou, *Peasant Society*.

<sup>58</sup> Patlagean, *Pauvret  economique*.

<sup>59</sup> Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 15–18. The publication of this book and his appeal for a New History hid the importance of Beck's contributions to various fields of cultural history and to a better understanding of Byzantium and the *homo byzantinus*: see the thematic studies in Beck, *Byzantinische Jahrtausend*.

<sup>60</sup> The first treatment of Byzantine women was in essence by Laiou, 'Role of women'. Since then, the gap has been filled by numerous studies. Research has also been directed to the family and patterns of inheritance: see the introductory chapters by Laiou, 'Family structure'; Macrides, 'Family and kinship', and also lately the monograph by Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence*.

The aristocracy has been the second favourite subject of Byzantinists in Social History. The main reason for this is perhaps the nature of our sources, which are much more related to the upper class, as we related above. One of the main characteristics of the Byzantine aristocracy, and the reason for the extensive literature on it, is the lack of a clear definition of this term in Byzantium. Aristocracy is thus commonly confused with three other social constructions: the nobility, the elite and the dominant class. The dominant or the powerful social group is usually an socio-economic definition referring to those layers of society that own the means of production, are economically dominant and therefore also share political power. This distinction is usually from a Marxist perspective and has some truth to it, since economic power is usually accompanied by political power as well. But, on the other hand, in our own time as well as in the pre-modern period there are examples of people without economic power who in fact exercised political influence, and vice versa.<sup>61</sup> Although the distinction between dominant and subordinate classes can be useful in certain respects, it does not help to distinguish the differences in social and political power that different members or groups of the dominant or subordinated classes enjoyed. Close to the concept of dominant class is the concept of social elite. The theory of the elites was, in fact, created in opposition to the Marxist concept of ruling class, the connotations of which entail economic dominance by a certain group of people. A smaller part of the elite, the governing or 'power elite', came to designate those of the elite who in fact took an active part in government.<sup>62</sup> The discussion of elites in Byzantium, rather than of aristocracy, has the advantage that it is a safer term to use than 'aristocracy', which entails continuity and 'good birth', and is diachronic and applicable even today. In fact the term 'elite' is closer to the essence of the word *aristoi* in Greek, often used in Byzantine sources, than the word 'aristocracy' itself, which also has connotations of the classical types of government (kingship, aristocracy, democracy).

Nobility is more of a legally defined social category. It implies a long tradition of generations of title holding and office holding, and more or less legally defined (or at least customary) privileges over other social categories. After the abolition of the hereditary status of senator in the Roman

<sup>61</sup> In the case of Byzantium, one can mention the hermits or the *stylites* of Late Antiquity, who, although poor, exercised significant social influence and power.

<sup>62</sup> The theory of elites was first formulated by Pareto, *Treatise on general sociology*, 1422–4. See also Bottomore, *Élites and society*; Carlton, *Few and many*, 1–32, who also includes a chapter on elitism by selection, having as a case study the Byzantine bureaucracy (59–71); Wright Mills, *Power elite*.

empire around the middle of the fifth century (when senatorial status was recognised solely for the rank of *illustris*, and could be accorded only through office holding or imperial favour), nobility in the Roman lands declined. In fact, in Western Europe the category of nobility was created in the twelfth century, around the same time that feudalism emerged as a coherent system, and was then connected to fief holding.<sup>63</sup> In the case of Byzantium, researchers have identified the absence of nobility.<sup>64</sup> When the word ‘nobility’ is used in this book, it will indicate the quality of ‘possessing good birth’, and not a defined group of people.

Finally, there is the concept of aristocracy. ‘Aristocracy’ is commonly used as a synonym for nobility, but in fact nobility is one of the characteristics of an aristocratic social group. Six main criteria have been identified for an aristocrat: distinction of ancestry, landed wealth, position in an official hierarchy, imperial or royal favour, recognition by other political leaders and lifestyle.<sup>65</sup> Not all the criteria are present in every aristocracy and in different periods, or to the same degree. But there is one main criterion that is indispensable in defining aristocracy in distinction to an elite or dominant class: continuity. This is observed in terms of successive generations of office holding within the same families, and simultaneous control and possession of sources of wealth. In other words, ancestry is of central importance compared to other types of elite or dominant classes.

Perhaps the best definition of Byzantine aristocracy, as is understood by most scholars, is Haldon’s definition of the Byzantine elite as those who:

occupied a social and economic situation, which either reflected, or ensured access to, senior positions in state and church, social esteem from their peers, the ability to transmit their social, economic, and cultural capital to their offspring, and the ability to control resources in terms of land and its products, manpower and movable wealth.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> The evolution of the European aristocracy into a juridically defined nobility by the late Middle Ages has been described by Bloch, *Feudal Society*, vol. 2; Genicot, ‘Noblesse’, argues that there was direct continuity with the high Middle Ages, when ‘noble’ rights were defined by their right of immunity and lordship. On the privileges of the European nobility, see Bush, *Noble privilege*. By contrast, scholars studying the Modern Era, like Wasson, *Aristocracy and modern world*, 9, can claim without knowledge of other nobilities and aristocracies before the modern world that ‘aristocrats were noble’.

<sup>64</sup> An exception is Guiland, ‘Noblesse byzantine’ and idem, ‘Noblesse de race’, who identified the senatorial class as a noble class. However, modern research has clearly noted the sharp differentiation between the nobility and the knighthood in Western Europe: Flori, *Essor de la chevalerie* and also Evergates, ‘Nobles and knights’.

<sup>65</sup> See Wickham, *Framing the Early Medieval Ages*, 153–5.

<sup>66</sup> Haldon, ‘Social élites’, 171.

Byzantinists have tried to discern the main criteria for the designation of the Byzantine aristocracy in the sources and have identified four: ancestry, office in the imperial or church hierarchy, wealth and merit.<sup>67</sup>

Kazhdan's other important study was *The social composition of the Byzantine ruling class, 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries*, which first appeared in Russian and for this reason, apart from a summary of it, it remained unknown to the general public for a long time. Instead of presenting the usual theme of the expansion of great landownership (already a fact) and the relations between the state and the aristocracy, Kazhdan's study focused on a thorough analysis of the Byzantine aristocracy that tried to determine what elements defined its membership during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He proposed to divide this aristocracy, first by function (his main division being between military and civil aristocracy). and second, according to the importance of their office in the state hierarchy; he scored all office-holding families according to eminence on a scale of one to five, trying to define the continuity and the prominence of families of the elite.<sup>68</sup> Around the same time, other studies focusing on the analysis of the Byzantine elite appeared. The analysis of Byzantine society and its division into groups, and their role and place in Byzantine society between the seventh and ninth centuries, was undertaken by Yannopoulos.<sup>69</sup> Winkelmann's analysis of the Byzantine ruling class of the eighth and ninth centuries addressed similar problems.<sup>70</sup>

The direction also shifted to a discussion of the so-called opposition between the civil and the military aristocracy, which had been identified by Ostrogorsky and became an established, even classic, concept for historians of Byzantium. Their opposition was seen to represent not only the contest for power of a party, but, even more, conflicting cultural perspectives (military ethos versus civil courtier ethos), different areas of origin (the civil

<sup>67</sup> Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, 5–8 and 54–60, was the first to do such analytical work. Yannopoulos, *La société profane*, also focused on the importance of each of the first three elements in his attempt to analyse the higher echelons of Byzantine society. Beck, *Byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 249–53, questioned the use of the term 'aristocracy' and emphasised the significance of office holding rather than 'noble' descent. Angold, 'Introduction', 1, also noted the close connection between ruling class and aristocracy. Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrazia bizantina*, 67–93, added the merit/value criterion, and were followed by Matschke. For a general review of the evolution of the aristocracy, see Cheynet, 'Byzantine aristocracy'. On the discussion of Byzantine aristocracy, see also Antonopoulou, 'Question de l'aristocratie'.

<sup>68</sup> Kazhdan, *Социальный состав*; summary: Sorlin, 'Bulletin Byzantino – slave', 367–80; Italian translation: Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrazia bizantina*. See also the review by Cheynet, 'Byzantine aristocracy'.

<sup>69</sup> Yannopoulos, *Société profane*.

<sup>70</sup> Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*.

aristocracy from Constantinople and the military from the provinces), different sources of wealth (landed wealth for military families and real estate or moveable wealth for the civil aristocracy), and different perspectives of state organisation (the military families opposed the centralising tendencies that the court and civil families promoted). The civil aristocracy was seen as having dropped to second rank after the victory of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), the exponent of the military aristocracy.<sup>71</sup> The same opposition was seen to take place in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos between the rising civil bureaucratic families (most notably, the Choumnoi and Metochitai) and the great landowning military aristocratic families. Unfortunately, evidence from the sources has many times been distorted in order to fit the picture. It was Günther Weiss who first tried, based on evidence from the intellectual Michael Psellos, to deny the clustering of the aristocracy into these two categories.<sup>72</sup> Jean-Claude Cheynet, in his seminal analysis of the revolts and movements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, rejected the theory of a struggle between them. He reasoned that by that time the distinction between the aristocratic families had been blurred, their intermarriages making it impossible to identify a family tradition for each one.<sup>73</sup> The question of this opposition in the late Byzantine period will be the subject of further analysis in my study.

At the same time, studies on various facets of the Byzantine aristocracy multiplied, starting perhaps with the collective volume edited by Michael Angold, entitled *The Byzantine aristocracy*. This volume laid the basis for future discussions on some interesting matters and questions, such as the self-representation of Byzantine aristocrats, their patronage of art, literature and monasteries, or their relation to political power. Quite important work on the middle Byzantine aristocracy has been conducted in Paris, too, led for quite some time by Jean-Claude Cheynet, which addressed not only general questions, such as the anthropology or the rules of inheritance of aristocratic property, but also focusing on the history and the legacy of specific families. The development of Byzantine sigillography from the 1980s facilitated the further advancement and multiplication of studies

<sup>71</sup> Apart from Ostrogorsky, for the development of this theory, see Vryonis, 'Social basis of decline'. It was Kazhdan, however, who analysed and elaborated the theory in *Aristocrazia bizantina*, particularly the second chapter. See also, though, the analysis of Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 102–8, who insists on the fluidity of the two categories.

<sup>72</sup> Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte*, 92–7.

<sup>73</sup> Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 191–8. His argument remained unchallenged thereafter. See also Kaegi, 'Bureaucratic and military factions', 25–33. Nevertheless, the categorisation of the two parties, albeit not the opposition between them, remained: see *ODB* s.v. 'Aristocracy'.



on Byzantine prosopography. A synthetical study on the various aspects of the representation of the middle Byzantine aristocracy (patronage, memoria, its presentation in the literature, the importance of family and its visual representation) has recently been concluded by Michael Grünbart.<sup>74</sup>

In contrast to the middle Byzantine period, the Palaiologan aristocracy has not received the attention and analysis it deserves.<sup>75</sup> Although the question of the social aspects of the second civil war received two important monographs by Weiss and Matschke – with the monograph by Weiss thoroughly examining the internal structure of the party and retinue of Kantakouzenos in the second civil war<sup>76</sup> – the first study specifically devoted to the late Byzantine aristocracy was an article by Angeliki Laiou in 1973. Although relatively short, its scope – that is, the first synthesis and approach to Palaiologan aristocracy – is ambitious. Laiou defines the Byzantine aristocracy mainly economically: they were the *powerful*, those that were in ‘possession of [large amounts] of land’. As such, she divides them into two groups: the great families and the families of the provincial aristocracy ‘up to the vicinity of revenues of eighty *hyperpyra* per year’, and then the small *pronoia*-holders ‘up to the minimum attested revenues of 12 *hyperpyra*’. The second conclusion of the synthesis by Laiou is that the Byzantine aristocracy was in fact the major factor in the decentralisation of the Byzantine empire.<sup>77</sup> Research on the late Byzantine aristocracy thereafter focused on the entrepreneurial activities of Byzantine aristocrats during the late Palaiologan period.<sup>78</sup>

Nevertheless, systematic analysis of the late Byzantine aristocracy was lacking until recently. The doctoral thesis by Demetrios Kyritses in 1997, although unpublished,<sup>79</sup> came to fill the void, up to c. 1350, where his analysis stops. Kyritses followed Kazhdan by analysing the Byzantine aristocracy in terms of office and title holding, and divided it into two groups: the higher military aristocracy (he identified the military as the leading segment of the aristocracy) and the civil aristocracy, noting moreover that there is no evidence for opposition between the two groups.<sup>80</sup> The other

<sup>74</sup> Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation*.

<sup>75</sup> The scholarship on Byzantine aristocracy has been well summarised in a critical study by Stathakopoulos, ‘Dialectics of expansion’.

<sup>76</sup> Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*; Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*.

<sup>77</sup> Laiou, ‘Byzantine aristocracy’.

<sup>78</sup> See note 8.

<sup>79</sup> Kyritses, ‘Byzantine aristocracy’.

<sup>80</sup> He adds a third category of ‘entrepreneurs’, i.e. the men who farmed out tax collection, but I cannot separate them from the civil aristocracy. He also tried to divide the offices into military and civil, but the evidence is not always conclusive, a problem that he mentions as well.

memorable argument of his thesis is the observation that the Byzantine aristocracy was closed-minded and did not develop any 'class consciousness', and each individual family promoted the interests of its narrow circle.

A second important study of the late Byzantine aristocracy was written by K.-P. Matschke and integrated into his book, co-authored with Franz Tinnfeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, as one of its three main themes. They also divide the aristocracy into military and civil (or the bureaucracy, as they call it), but in accordance with Matschke's earlier writings, they observe a competition for power between the two groups, the second one struggling to empower the state machine vis-à-vis the higher aristocracy, which, in turn, contended to obtain and enlarge its privileges. The second important aspect of this book is the almost exhaustive analysis of the engagement of the Byzantine aristocracy in trade. They conclude that the Byzantine aristocracy was increasingly engaged in trade in order to offset its losses of landed wealth in the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>81</sup>

More focused studies appeared later, offering further insights. Necipoğlu analysed the aristocracy of Thessalonike in the last century of the empire, including a useful table of all those mentioned as *archontes* in the sources.<sup>82</sup> In her monograph she analysed the political attitude of the aristocracy (and, in general, of all Byzantines) between c. 1370 and 1460 in the face of Ottoman and Latin expansion.<sup>83</sup> Thierry Ganchou expanded and enriched the field's horizons by writing several studies on families of the late Palaiologan elite and using often unpublished archival material from the West.<sup>84</sup> Tonia Kiousopoulou analysed the political and cultural identities and behaviour of the aristocracy in the fifteenth century, connecting the economic entrepreneurial activities of the Byzantine elite with their stance on the question of the Union of the Churches and their general orientation towards the West.<sup>85</sup>

Even though the aristocracy has been the favourite subject of Byzantinists, little research has been directed towards ascertaining what the Byzantines thought of their society and how they viewed it: What were the criteria according to which they divided it? Under what concepts and mentalities did Byzantine society function as a whole? How did political ideology or cultural phenomena help in the function and formation of Byzantine society, or, vice

<sup>81</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 15–98 and 158–220. A third part is devoted to a sociological analysis of late Byzantine intellectuals.

<sup>82</sup> Necipoğlu, 'Aristocracy in Thessalonike'.

<sup>83</sup> Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*.

<sup>84</sup> For some of his studies, see the Bibliography.

<sup>85</sup> Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς*. The book has been translated to English by P. Magdalino: Kiousopoulou, *Emperor*.

versa, how were they reflected through the prism of Byzantine society? It was perhaps Beck who first consistently tried to understand the Byzantines, to analyse their preoccupations, to search out how they thought and to discover the effect of all these elements on Byzantine culture. Although his contribution to the knowledge of Byzantine culture remains memorable, he produced little work on social relations and structure. Nevertheless, it was he who stressed the openness of Byzantine society and who tried to interpret the theological debates, not through the prism of social or political divisions but more as self-standing philosophical phenomena. It was he who first stressed the importance of followers and retinues, formations that were both vertically and horizontally structured, and he who regarded the literati of the empire as something akin to a separate 'caste'.<sup>86</sup> Kazhdan also undertook the task of consistently describing Byzantine society from a new perspective, utilising certain traits that he identified. For Kazhdan, Byzantine society lacked social hierarchy (he mainly compared it with the Western European case), and theoretically all people under the emperor were equal. He proceeded further by arguing that the central trait of Byzantine society was individualism, the lack of any developed horizontal or vertical social ties and, consequently, of social groups apart from the nuclear family. Kazhdan integrated his argument with his explanation of many social and cultural phenomena of Byzantium.<sup>87</sup> His theory attracted more critics than acceptance; the evidence that he presented was criticised as being controversial or exaggerated.

At the International Byzantine Congress of Vienna in 1981, Matschke presented an interesting paper on the importance of *mentalités* (*Geisteshaltungen*) to the study of Byzantine society and social structure. In this short article he mentions the problems Byzantinists face regarding the social structure of Byzantium; he stresses that Byzantium was not alien to the notion of hierarchy (answering Kazhdan); he refers to Byzantine society's special characteristic of openness, and to the principle of equality, which was seen as natural, although later, after the twelfth century, inequality was also seen as a normal phenomenon; he stresses the importance of the poor/powerful model to the social division of Byzantium; and he analyses the emergence of aristocracy and the changing criteria of its definition.<sup>88</sup> Both Matschke and Kazhdan offered initial approaches to the nature of Byzantine society, but their efforts were not continued.

<sup>86</sup> See his chapter on Byzantine society: Beck, *Byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 232–56.

<sup>87</sup> Kazhdan, *People and Power*. He had already expressed some ideas, although not in a consistent way, while he was in the Soviet Union.

<sup>88</sup> Matschke, 'Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen'.

As structuralism has asked, however, are we really allowed to use terms such as ‘society’, ‘social structure’ and ‘class’ for Byzantium, when the Byzantines themselves did not have a notion of these terms?<sup>89</sup> The terms are not simple constructions that can be applied everywhere or change their meaning in order to overcome ambiguities in evidence. This approach could create dangers of misunderstanding and anachronism. We need the terms when they help us better to understand these societies in modern language or to compare similar phenomena; nonetheless, they should be used with caution. While it is a fact that the Byzantines did not have a concept of class, they did describe their world, their ‘society’, in terms of economic and political dominance (see Chapter 3), and thus our use of the word ‘class’ with reference to Byzantine society is legitimate. Conversely, take, for example, the concept of feudalism that has been discussed so many times in Byzantine Studies and other disciplines: even if we accept the so-called ‘tributary or feudal mode of production’ as the notion of feudalism, and not the specific relations of dependence and hierarchy that developed in Western Europe, I do not believe that such a monolithic idea helps us better to understand Byzantium and the complex relations of production. We cannot simply apply, for instance, the concept of a constitution – or more recently of a republic<sup>90</sup> – to the constantly changing traditions of the Byzantine political order or to Byzantine political culture.

### **Byzantine Society before the Palaiologan Period: Structure and Characteristics**

From the seventh century, Byzantine society experienced profound changes, although many of these were the result of long processes during Late Antiquity. Already in Late Antiquity, the older Roman distinctions between senators, *equites* and *plebs*, as well as that between free and unfree people, had become obsolete, as the order of the *equites* disappeared, having been assimilated into the senators above or the *curiales* below. Since many of the provincial *curiales* were absorbed by the senatorial aristocracy, which increased substantially in number, and as social and economic inequalities deepened, the two-fold legal distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores* became much more important. The increase in the senatorial elite was soon followed by its division into three honorary classes, but as Justinian I (r. 527–65) restricted membership of the senate only to

<sup>89</sup> Against this approach, see Haldon, ‘On the structuralist approach’.

<sup>90</sup> Kaldellis, *Byzantine republic*.

the highest class, the *illustres*, who in turn could reach this degree only if they held a higher office, the connection with the imperial administration became much more important and the *de jure* heredity of the senatorial class was effectively abolished, even though a *de facto* continuity of the senatorial class remained in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Byzantine senatorial elite was also adversely affected by the political and military upheavals of the seventh century. Many families disappeared and many of the great landholdings were lost; what remained of the senatorial elite primarily found shelter within the civil or church administration. For quite some time, ancestry lost its previous significance as a mark of social status. The emperor, at the same time, became the most important source of monetary wealth, which he personally distributed annually to all officials. These developments made the imperial administration the most important source of status during the rest of the Byzantine period. Possession of office provided political power, a source of wealth, and increasing social status, as well being a prerequisite for their transmission to later generations. Although birth and ancestry figure from time to time as marks of distinction, their importance was diminished in favour of imperial service and 'merit', or whatever one might call the creation of an effective network that through patronage secured an official position throughout Byzantium. At the same time, the social and cultural capital that had maintained the senatorial elite during Late Antiquity, particularly the availability of advanced education and the self-consciously cultured lifestyle it permitted, almost disappeared.<sup>91</sup>

Slowly a new elite emerged, yet with a high degree of continuity; one section resided in Constantinople, whose members had a career mainly in the imperial or ecclesiastical administration, and the other lived primarily in the provinces, whose members pursued a military career. It is important to differentiate here between the higher and lesser elite. A few large provincial families and clans dominated the higher military offices from the later ninth century, but their areas of jurisdiction changed frequently – following the experience of the eighth century, when the long-term service of the *stratēgoi* influenced the allegiance of the provincial armies – and their careers depended largely on the emperor and the balance of power in Constantinople. The members of the lesser elite pursued lifelong careers in their provinces of origin and cultivated a militaristic ideal of honour like that portrayed in the epic *Digenes Akrites*.<sup>92</sup> The whole of the provincial

<sup>91</sup> See in general Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast era*, 573–601.

<sup>92</sup> Brubaker and Haldon, *Iconoclast era*, 601–16; Cheynet, 'Classes dirigeantes', 176–8; Lounghis, 'Δοκίμοι'.

elite invested part of their wealth in expanding their landholdings. However, it should be emphasised that, especially regarding the higher elite, the income that the officials received as a salary usually far exceeded their income from land, until at least the eleventh century. Only in the case of lesser officials and dignity holders would income from land, if they had in fact invested in it, have surpassed state salaries. Land represented more of a social than an economic asset. It was a source of prestige in local society and, with the possession of an office, contributed to the expansion and maintenance of a network of patronage and possibly to the allegiance of the locals.<sup>93</sup> Land was a safer choice of investment for more stable and diachronic institutions (such as monasteries) than it was for the elite, who constantly faced the threat, and not infrequently the reality, of confiscation by the state.

In the tenth century, this social and economic expansion of the elite into local society, as well as the gradual consolidation of the higher elite clans, created conflict with the state and the imperial family (the Macedonian dynasty), which socially did not originate from within these aristocratic clans, and which attempted to constrict their expansion with legislative measures. For the first time, the elite clans showed on several occasions that they could raise substantial support for their cause, both in their respective provinces and in the capital, mostly in order to change the balance of power in Constantinople. The state reacted by using one clan against another; the imperial family preserved the throne and the clans capitulated and were reduced, but the expansion of the elite in the provinces was not seriously restricted. It was precisely during the reign of Basileios II (976–1025) that many of the families who would dominate the politics of the eleventh century emerged.<sup>94</sup>

As the networks of these clans expanded, many (or even all) of their members gradually moved to the evident centre of power, Constantinople, and allied with elite families of the civil establishment, making the differences between the two traditions imperceptible. Besides, the eleventh century witnessed a pronounced expansion of civil administration, a numeric growth of the elite and a fair degree of social mobility, whereby members of the upper middle class of Constantinople were admitted to the senate, partly in order to strengthen the political networks of the emperors and partly due to the state's need for cash through the sale of dignities. Much of the political crisis of the eleventh century represented the rivalry and

<sup>93</sup> Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance'; Frankopan, 'Land and power'; Haldon, 'Social élites', 193–200; Oikonomides, 'Title and income'.

<sup>94</sup> Holmes, 'Political elites'.

struggle for power between multiple elite factions, rather than the older view of opposition between the military and the civil aristocracy. In the end, one of these factions, the Komnenoi, having allied with the Doukai, emerged victorious.<sup>95</sup>

The victory of the Komnenoi has been described as the victory of the military elite. Admittedly, the civil elite was pushed into the background and the social ascent of the upper middle class of Constantinople was halted. A new hierarchy of dignities based on the epithet *sebastos* was established (*sebastokratōr*, *panhypersebastos*, *prōtosebastos*, and so on), reserved for the members of the Komnenian faction, in order to supersede the older, inflated hierarchy of dignities possessed by much of the civil elite. The administration became considerably more simplified when compared with the extravagance of the eleventh century, and the provincial military and civil administrations were once more united, under the respective *doux* in each province. Yet, what the Komnenian emperors created was effectively a family-centred clan, forged by an alliance of families with a military (for example, the Palaiologoi) and a civil tradition (for example, the Kamateroi), which was established at the top of the social and political hierarchy, reducing all other families to the lesser elite. This clan would monopolise almost all the higher offices in civil and military administration for most of the twelfth century.<sup>96</sup>

Quite some time ago, Kazhdan noted some important changes in Byzantine culture and society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The first one was the growth among the elite of laterally extended families, replacing the older dominant type of the simple vertical family, and a concomitant improvement of the role of women and increase in the importance of lineage. The growth in the importance of lineage was accompanied by a growth in the importance of ancestry as a mark of distinction. The second feature constituted a search for greater social stability and, consequently, less social mobility. The openness of Byzantine society, a feature remarked upon by several scholars, became more and more restricted, although, even in the twelfth century, the upper middle

<sup>95</sup> Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 321–57; Kazhdan, *Aristocrazia bizantina*, 140–5; Vlysidou, *Αριστοκρατικές οικογένειες*. For the rise of the civil elite, see also the recent study by Shea, *Politics and government*.

<sup>96</sup> See mainly Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 359–77; Kazhdan, *Aristocrazia bizantina*, 228–35; Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 180–201. The extent of Alexios I Komnenos' reliance on family members in the administration has been doubted by Frankopan, though he accepts it for the remaining Komnenian period: Frankopan, 'Kinship'.

class of Constantinople still had some prospects of social ascent.<sup>97</sup> A third feature is the development of a military ethos, which Kazhdan connects to the consolidation of the Komnenian military elite. What has been less remarked upon, however, is an equal and synchronous development of a civil courtly ethos in the imperial and aristocratic courts that promoted an elegant lifestyle, the importance of education, patronage of the arts, physical beauty and similar cultured values.<sup>98</sup>

The elite family – the aristocratic *oikos* – began to embrace non-relatives. As its economic and social role increased, it incorporated people who entered its service (called in our sources *oiketai*, *anthrōpoi*, and also *oikeioi* in the late Byzantine period). These people were drawn from all kinds of milieux, depending also upon the social position of the *oikos*. The most capable, or those already belonging to a better-off social milieu, received education and were later often endorsed to pursue a career in administration. Others joined the military entourage that formed part of the aristocratic *oikos*. But as power was increasingly vested in a system of privilege derived from the court, so the different *oikoi* invested in alliances based in kin or in friendship, while the lesser ones each depended upon the patronage of a more powerful *oikos*.

Another important development after the late eleventh century was the expansion of an already known system, the *oikonomia*, whereby, instead of receiving a salary or similar cash income/gift from the state, an *oikonomia*-holder was granted the state income from a specified area. This reduced the expenses of the state, since the collection of taxes was now conferred on the recipient instead of the often untrustworthy and corrupt tax collectors, and reduced its need to have large amounts of cash always available to meet its obligations, a serious issue in the first period of the eleventh-century crisis (before the 1070s). On the other hand, even if the state reserved the right to revoke the grant, it still represented the devolution of its authority to private individuals and further consolidation of their private interests as agents of state power and status in the provinces.<sup>99</sup>

Some important changes also occurred in rural social relations. Most of our sources agree that free peasantry and rural communities predominated in Byzantium between the eighth and the tenth centuries. The rural producers principally inhabited free communities, working their properties and paying their taxes. This population produced the bulk of the *thematic* army

<sup>97</sup> Cheynet, ‘Rôle de la “bourgeoisie”’.

<sup>98</sup> Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine culture*, 99–119. For the parameters of the civil ethos, see the same work, though it is not contextualised as a civil ethos, distinct from the military ethos, but once more as an aristocratic characteristic.

<sup>99</sup> Bartusis, *Land and privilege*.



of the empire, and the village communities constituted the primary tax unit. In the course of time, large properties were augmented, while seasonal difficulties, or the coercive patronage of powerful people, brought independent peasants into dependence upon the large landowners. The state, too, appropriated abandoned lands, which it later could give away for cultivation (in rent or by selling them) to other peasants or even large landowners, thus breaking the cohesion of the community.<sup>100</sup>

The tenth-century legislation may have attempted to restrict the rise of concentrated landownership, probably because its negative effects on the growth of the patronage power of provincial elites against the state were perceived. To begin with, it is unlikely that the state income from taxes was seriously diminished by this process, since the large landowner would still need to pay the taxes incumbent on his new properties unless the state granted him tax exemption. Nor was the military potential of Byzantium affected, since the army was progressively evolving into a professional force based on the centrally stationed and professional units *tagmata*; these were precisely the armies that brought Byzantium its victories in the second half of the tenth century and later, rather than the provincial (*thematic*) armies.<sup>101</sup> From one point of view, the government's poor understanding of this process caused some serious issues in the eleventh century. Although the state's expenses were increasing in order to sustain a larger professional army and an expanding elite, it was still preserving tax exemption on the lands of the increasingly redundant provincial farmer-soldiers. Romanos IV Diogenes remembered these soldiers and they in turn brought him the disaster of Mantzikert in 1071 (together with possible treason by the Doukai) with their lack of professionalism and proper equipment. Beginning with the reign of Alexios I, the state contributed to the increase of large landownership, with the institution of *oikonomia*. After a while, the free peasants inhabiting a granted property, who would otherwise only pay their taxes to the state, were reckoned as dependents of the recipient of the grant.

There are, however, some important differences in the status of dependent peasants during the Justinianic period, the tenth century, the Komnenian period and later. The *coloni* of Late Antiquity were allocated land by a large landowner; they were not allowed to abandon this land, but nor could they be chased off it even if they managed to hold it for thirty consecutive years (so long as they paid their dues). Another important segment of rural producers were the tenants, those who

<sup>100</sup> Lemerle, *Agrarian history*, 27–165.

<sup>101</sup> A process well described by Haldon, *Warfare, state and society*, 67–128.

rented a piece of land for a period shorter than thirty years. The legal status of dependent peasants was never codified in the middle or late Byzantine periods, and most of our evidence comes from legal practice or incidental information, in all probability reflecting customary rights mixed with the survival of Justinianic legislation. In the tenth century, a legal opinion denied any right, sale or transmission, of a *paroikos* (that is, a dependent peasant) on the land he had been allocated. But the need to produce a legal opinion on this matter, as well as another legal opinion (the *Peira* of Eustathios Romaios) in the eleventh century, stipulating that a *paroikos* who cultivates a piece of land for more than thirty years should be treated as an owner (*despotes*), betray that there had been some important changes emerging from custom. Once (in the late eleventh century) the status of *paroikos* was conferred upon not only those who cultivated land belonging to other people but also to those who paid their dues not to the state but to a third party (that is, to an *oikonomia*-holder), the distinctions between independent and dependent peasants became blurred. Thirteenth-century documents from Smyrna record the last known disputes over the rights of peasants vis-à-vis landlords.<sup>102</sup>

Despite the political problems, the period between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries was a time of demographic and economic expansion in both the countryside and the cities. In the countryside, agriculture expanded into previously unproductive zones close to or within the limits of villages, such as forests and meadows. Although peasants individually gradually expanded the productive zones, this process was most effectively conducted by the large landowners who had more capital to channel to this purpose. Even more important was the intensification of demand for agricultural products caused by the increased urban and elite populations.<sup>103</sup>

Byzantine cities had been affected negatively by the changes of Late Antiquity: the progressive reduction of public life, buildings and space; the increased political role of Constantinople and the immigration of local elites to Constantinople; and, finally, the devastating demographic and economic effects of waves of the plague and foreign invasions.<sup>104</sup> Most

<sup>102</sup> Harvey, 'Peasant categories', 250–7; Kaplan, 'Producing population', 148–53; Karayanopulos, 'Ein Problem'; Lemerle, *Agrarian history*, 165–92 and 242–8; Oikonomides, 'Τείρα', 232–41; Smyrliis, 'Social change'.

<sup>103</sup> Harvey, *Economic Expansion*; Lefort, 'Rural economy', 267–75.

<sup>104</sup> In the Byzantine world there is no constitutional distinction between 'city' or 'town'. Although there are sometimes terms such as κάστρον, πόλισμα or πολίχνη to denote smaller urban settlements, in fact these terms are used for the most part interchangeably throughout the Byzantine period. Urban settlements of a couple of thousand inhabitants may have served as significant regional ecclesiastical and

older Byzantine cities had been reduced to the size of a fortified castle by the eighth century, while surveys have shown that an important segment of the urban population became ruralised in proximity to the castle. The Byzantine town then served mostly as an administrative and storage centre and offered shelter. Beginning in the ninth century, Byzantine towns experienced a momentous rejuvenation caused by an increase in security and overall population. Towns were rebuilt, existing ones expanded and the volume of artisanal and trading activities increased. Each artisanal profession, at least in Constantinople, was organised in a guild, regulated by strict rules imposed by the state, and all guilds supervised by the *eparchos* of the capital city. Following recent reassessments, it appears that, until the thirteenth century, the range and scale of commercial operations of the Italian republics was not as large as had been suggested, and they were more profitable than detrimental to the Byzantine economy. In part, the increase in urban and rural production was stimulated by prospects of commercial profits, since local, regional and international trade was expanding and new markets were opening.<sup>105</sup>

The growth of the population and of economic activity in Constantinople, and the openness of the elite in the eleventh century, had further repercussions on the political and social history of the empire. First, members of the upper middle class who achieved wealth often purchased dignities and may automatically have entered the senate (membership of the senate was reserved for those above the dignity of *protospatharios*). Secondly, in the context of the political crisis of the eleventh century (as well as that of the late twelfth century), especially regarding dynastic legitimisation, it signified a new period for the role of common people in the political life of the empire. Their proximity to the centre of power certainly brought about an interest and, up to a degree, an involvement in politics. They could voice their demands and, if channelled properly, this could become 'public opinion'. However, their motivation had little relation to a sentiment of their 'constitutional' role, as has recently been argued:<sup>106</sup> they were in most cases

state administrative centres. Nor is it safe to adopt a clear-cut distinction based on population figures, as there are barely any reliable data for most Byzantine urban settlements. Therefore, there is no reason to create any artificial distinction here; the terms will be used interchangeably, although smaller rural urban settlements (such as Rentina or Bera) will generally be called 'towns' and important regional centres (such as Serres, Berroia, Adrianople or Nikaia) will be called 'cities'.

<sup>105</sup> Bouras, 'Aspects of the Byzantine city'; Dagron, 'Urban economy'; Laiou, 'Exchange and trade'.

<sup>106</sup> Kaldellis, *Byzantine republic*, 89–164.

actuated, either by leading citizens such as heads of guilds, or by the elite, to serve the interests of a party as a pressure group.<sup>107</sup>

Whereas the higher elite in the Komnenian period was almost exclusively located in Constantinople, its incomes derived mainly from estates in the provinces, where the estates that supported other Constantinopolitan institutions and monasteries patronised by this elite were also located, along with the state estates that provided the salaries of the sizeable, and largely mercenary, Komnenian army. Never before had Constantinople been such an important political, social and economic centre of the empire. Undoubtedly, then, the realities of economic and political power engendered a spirit of agitation against Constantinople in the provinces, which sponsored the rise in power of local elites and a sentiment of autonomy that came to the fore when the first problems at the centre appeared towards the end of the twelfth century. The first serious problems in the Komnenian system emerged after the 1160s, at the same moment that Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) conferred power upon families of the lesser elite that did not belong to the Komnenian clan. In fact, the last quarter of the twelfth century saw the rise of a system like that of the Palaiologan period, when a few clans, one of which was the imperial clan (in this case the Angeloi), dominated the political life of the empire. The problem with the Angeloi was that they failed to create a lasting alliance with these families.<sup>108</sup>

After the fall of Constantinople, some important, inevitable developments occurred. The social position of the imperial family in Nikaia was further reduced to a standing only slightly superior to that of other powerful families, a situation that would continue during the Palaiologan period. In terms of composition, much of this elite comprised of older families that had fled to Nikaia after 1204, such as the Kantakouzenoi, the Palaiologoi and the Tornikioi, among others. However, the position of the local elites in Asia Minor – and later those in the Balkans, following their submission – was improved in terms of political power. These local elites provided the backbone of the imperial army, one of the foundations of the state and the main basis of its expansion in the Balkans. The lack of a fixed imperial capital before 1261 contributed to this tendency. Nevertheless, most of the families that would dominate the upper echelons of the empire after 1261 became established in the higher elite precisely during the Nikaian period.

<sup>107</sup> Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 112–17; Charanis, 'Role of people'; Cheynet, 'Colère du peuple'; Vryonis, 'Byzantine ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ.'

<sup>108</sup> Ahrweiler, 'Recherches', 102–7; Angold, 'Archons and dynasts'; Angold, 'Road to 1204'; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 427–73; Kyritses, 'Political and constitutional crisis'; Oikonomides, 'Monastères.'

The conflict that ensued during the short reign of Theodoros II Laskaris (1254–8), which has been described as in terms of this emperor's hostility towards the higher elite, seems to represent rather a shift of power from the elite of Asia Minor to the European elite led by the Palaiologoi.<sup>109</sup>

## Outline

This book is divided into two parts: The first part analyses the system of social stratification in late Byzantium. The analysis has been further subdivided into five comprehensive chapters, each one with a different focal point. The first chapter examines the ideological infrastructure, the mechanisms and the concepts through which Byzantine society regulated and perceived its social stratification. It explores how Byzantines understood social inequality in their society, the importance of social hierarchy and the conservation of the social system. Gestures and rituals of dressing, positioning and similar are highlighted in order to show the importance of social hierarchy for Byzantine society. It strives to find the rules and the norms, the social contract through which the system of inequality functioned and was maintained, securing social peace. At the same time it presents ideas that circulated in this period, controverting the social contract, and instances where social tension over the established order took the character of open resistance, concluding with some thoughts on the reasons for the lack of peasant revolts in late Byzantium.

Having considered the importance of social hierarchy for Byzantium, in the second chapter we explore the principal values that defined social distinction for an individual and generated status in late Byzantine society. Different values (such as wealth, birth or occupation) are identified and their relative importance for Byzantine society established. The different expressions of these values are described: how, for example, wealth was primarily a means for an opulent lifestyle and less a medium to control the means of production; how the use of multiple surnames was a way to boast about one's ancestry; or how poverty became correlated to contemptibility, disrepute and ill-birth. This chapter also examines what happened in cases where individuals did not achieve similar levels of social distinction in all defining factors but the person still ranked low in other social values, the so-called status incongruence. Next, we analyse cases of social ascent, where someone was able to climb socially by obtaining or using these kinds of values. On such occasions, it is important to determine this person's

<sup>109</sup> Angold, *Byzantine government in exile*; Kyritses, 'Byzantine aristocracy', 287–303; Puech, 'Aristocracy and Empire of Nicaea'.

social behaviour, whether he adopted fully his new role in the social system or maintained values and ideas of his earlier social position, and furthermore to see the effectiveness and the modes of social integration or whether these people strove to undermine the social system and pursued the interests of their social origins.

The third chapter seeks to understand the basic principles of the Byzantine system of social stratification, the factors that defined social categorisation. As in most societies, not all social groups were constructed based on the same factors: next to the occupationally defined social groups, there were groups based on economic or political power without considering gender, age or religious or ethnic factors. Byzantines themselves likewise had different perceptions of their social categorisation system. Our task, nevertheless, is to identify the dominant system of social stratification, the defining criteria through which Byzantines understood social differentiation, and the social groups by which they divided their society. Once this has been accomplished, in order to produce a comprehensive picture it is necessary to contextualise Byzantine perceptions and to make use of modern models and categories (such as the estate system or middle class) that help us better to understand modern and past societies. This might mean organising or reviewing Byzantine evidence, but instead of simply imposing models and categories on the Byzantine context, the applicability of these models and categories to the Byzantine situation has been carefully considered. The chapter includes a thorough analysis of the basic groups in the Byzantine social stratification system: it asks who belonged to each social group, what their role in society was, and how tradition and evolution shaped these groups throughout the late Byzantine period.

Chapter 4 moves the discussion to the different associations and networks persistent in Byzantine society and considers the influence each type of these groupings exerted on the social structure. For this purpose we take first larger traditional social groupings structured horizontally, meaning that they could include different social strata, such as the urban or the village community, but also other associations such as the family, guilds and confraternities. Under the same spectrum the chapter examines political and social associations and networks formed through friendship or common political interests. Finally, it analyses the importance of the networks formed around elite families, either through marriage associations and friendship, or through patronage in the form of retinues. The latter networks are regarded as the most important type of association in Byzantine society after the nuclear family, in terms of their influence on social structure and relations.

Chapter 5, which concludes the first part, discusses the access that different social groups had to the economic and political capital of Byzantine

society. The extent of their access allows us to understand their social power – that is, their ability to influence society by their possession of the means of production and of political authority and power – as well as the material realities of social inequality in terms of income. For the latter purpose, the first section includes an analytical survey of socio-economic inequality among peasants in particular villages of Byzantine Macedonia, considering the access each household had to the economic resources of the village and the potential income it could generate. The chapter concludes with a deliberation over the relations between the two most important institutions of authority in Byzantine society, the state and the church, as well as their own place and influence upon society. It considers the relations between the elite (that is, the social group whose members predominantly had access to political power) and the state, in order to understand the connection between centre and periphery and to contemplate the collapse of the Byzantine empire after the middle of the fourteenth century.

Because many aspects of these phenomena are analysed only briefly in this first part, in Part II, I have found it productive to offer two case studies as a way of complementing the arguments of Part I and building a complete picture of the late Byzantine social structure. Chapter 6 then focuses on the analysis of a late Byzantine provincial society, namely the area around Serres in eastern Macedonia. The area features rich and so far little-explored documentary material that consequently permits interesting observations on the local society, the relations of production, the control and use of urban and rural space, and generally on both the urban and the rural society of the surrounding region. The chapter proceeds to identify the different social strata active in the local society, their control and exploitation of the sources of economic power and their status in local society. Besides, the area of Serres, by virtue of the frequent changes of dynasts in the second half of the fourteenth century, offers the most illustrative example of one of the main arguments of this book regarding the relations between the higher aristocracy, the lesser elite and central authority: that is, the progressive estrangement of the lesser elite from the Byzantine state and the higher aristocracy, the state's chief advocate.

The second case study, Chapter 7, moves from the provincial and primarily rural society of Serres to Constantinople, the centre of the empire, an urban society, amidst a period of social change and crisis. It examines the structures and the characteristics of late Palaiologan urban society, focusing on the period around the year 1400. At this time our information on Constantinopolitan society greatly improves thanks to the survival of a few hundred documents from the *Patriarchal Register*, recording not only the activity of the patriarchal synod on issues pertaining to the Church, but

also the verdicts of the Synod as a judicial court on cases of ecclesiastical, civil and commercial law. This increase in documentary evidence coincides with a severe period of crisis: the Ottomans had blockaded Constantinople in the hope of forcing the Byzantines to surrender; this occurred following half a century of economic and political decline, during which the countryside had been raided and eventually lost to the Serbians and then to the Ottomans, thereby restricting the Byzantine empire to the vicinity of Constantinople. It is therefore worthwhile analysing the attitudes and responses of some social groups to this crisis, particularly those of the higher elite, which had based its power on the control of a large proportion of the landed wealth in the provinces, or of the civil elite, which saw a serious diminution of the available positions in the central administration.

In the Appendices, one may consult Table 26 for a list of all known title holders in the late Byzantine period, arranged according to the rank of the title as listed in the official hierarchy given by Pseudo-Kodinos. The Appendices also include a few tables pertinent to Chapter 6 on Serres, documenting some information and arguments found there: Table 27 presents (and in some cases explains) the dating of documents in Codex B of the Monastery of Prodromos as adopted in this book, since in many instances this dating differs from the one proposed by the editor of the documents; Table 28 provides the references for the tenures of the ecclesiastical officials in Serres and Zichna, as presented in Tables 10–11; finally, Table 29 includes a catalogue of all individuals of the upper stratum active in Serres (based on a number of objective factors), their office, title and honorary epithets, the range of their reported activity in Serres and the type of their property (rural and/or urban), in addition to the sources that mention them and any identifications made between the individuals.

Finally, in the concluding matter one can find a glossary divided into four parts: (1) a glossary of general Greek terms used more than once and not always explained; (2) a list of honorary epithets, dignities and offices encountered in the book; (3) an alphabetical list of the official titles in the Palaiologan period; and (4) an alphabetical list of the ecclesiastical offices of the metropolitan clergy. For reasons of clarity, in particular for readers not familiar with the Byzantine system of dignities and offices, the following distinction has been made: (1) honorary epithets are unofficial designations (*kyr*, *authentēs*, *paneugenestatos*); (2) dignities are those official ranks without any function that survived into the Palaiologan period (*megalodoxotatos*, *sebastos*, and so on); (3) titles are all those *offikia* or *axiai* mentioned in the list of the court hierarchy supplied by Pseudo-Kodinos, and which were given for life, except in cases of promotion; some had started before the Palaiologan period as offices but had lost their original function



in the meantime (for example, *parakoimōmenos*), some retained their function at least for some time (for example, *meḡas logothetēs*, *prōtasēkrētis*), some had begun as military offices, were still given to military men and may have had a function, but we are not always certain about it (for example, *meḡas tzaousios*), and some were always purely dignitaries (for example, *prōtosebastos*); (4) offices are only those posts outside the official hierarchy that definitely maintained a function and had, for the most part, a determined tenure (usually one or two years, sometimes renewed).



**Part I**

**The Earthly Order**



# 1

## The Social System

In order to understand the structure of a society, it is necessary to capture the very essence of it and the concepts that governed the relations among social actors. This chapter attempts to establish what social order meant to the Byzantines and how important its preservation was. The chapter particularly examines ceremonial and other rituals associated with this order and pays heed to cases where the ritual was altered in order to fit the circumstances or to symbolise something specific, such as a political stance or a change in the hierarchy.

More important to our purpose, however, are the various gestures, verbal expressions and other expressions of deference from a social inferior to a social superior, analysed in the second section of this chapter. We are particularly aided by the corpora of letters of a few low-born intellectuals, such as Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Michael Gabras. Although the rhetoric they use originated partly in the established 'rules' and motifs of epistolography, configured in Late Antiquity, its successful employment by the authors, according to the circumstances, shows that these were not hollow and purportless expressions. These authors, when writing to their social superiors, while complying at least outwardly with the established rules of social order, also turned the rules to their advantage. Unfortunately, such accounts of social inferiors are sparse, even more so when they went against the rules of social order; the challenges that this posed are addressed in the third section of this chapter. Our knowledge regarding the ideas and feelings of such social inferiors towards the social system is nearly absent. The accounts of low-born intellectuals do not suffice since, first, they were not as poor as they claimed, and even if they lacked economic power, this was offset by their possession of political power through their education; as such, they can be regarded as a subset of the elite. Second, by their mere compliance with the social rules, they reflected predominantly the established social system in their accounts. There were, unquestionably, often periods of social distress

and grievance on the part of social inferiors, but these hardly ever evolved into confrontation, let alone conflict or revolt. The following chapters investigate the reasons for this compliance in urban settings, while the current chapter closes with a consideration of the lack of peasant social revolts in late Byzantium.

### The Order (*Taxis*) of the Empire

The Byzantines did have a perception of social position, which they called *tychē* ('fortune'). The 'high social position' of Demetrios Palaiologos, an imperial son, did not prevent him from voluntarily occupying himself with priestly duties.<sup>1</sup> From a semantic and psychological point of view, the use of the word *tychē* – with all its implications since Classical Greece – to describe an individual's social position suggests that the Byzantines did not believe that a social position was achieved, but that it was granted, God permitting. The social system and its inequality would then be a divine construction. It is also worth noting that the *tychē* is not inherited, nor does it come from birth; rather, it is attainable.<sup>2</sup>

It has been claimed that Byzantine society lacked the concept of hierarchy and that vertical ties were underdeveloped in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> But for the Byzantines, hierarchy (*taxis* in Greek), as expressed first by Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, meant order, and order was sacred for the Byzantines. This order ought to reflect the divine order, which was supposedly pure and harmonious.<sup>4</sup> In the tenth century the emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos claimed that he compiled his *De cerimoniis* because of the lack of order of the imperial constitution, which in turn brought disgrace to

<sup>1</sup> Michael Gabras, *Letters*, no. 408, ed. Fatouros, 633–5: ὁ ὄγκος / τὰ λαμπρὰ τῆς τύχης. Other examples: Ioseph Bryennios, *Letters*, no. 15.1. 94–6, ed. Tomadakes, 329; Greg. 3:561; Kant. 2:112. For an earlier usage, see for example Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, 4.1.4, eds Reinsch and Kambylis, 1:122.55–6: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ ἐσχάτης πενίας καὶ τύχης ἀφανοῦς διὰ δραστηριότητα φύσεως καὶ φρονήματος ὄγκον ('but since he came from the most extreme poverty and obscure social position ['fortune'], through his active nature and his high spirit').

<sup>2</sup> Ioannes Mauroπους, *Epigrams*, no. 36, vv. 18–19, ed. De Lagarde, 20: οὗτος γένοι τε καὶ τύχη φρονεῖν ἔχων, εἰς γῆν ἑώρα καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐφρόνει, ὡς ἂν τις οἰκτρὸς εὐτελέστατος πένης ('he could take pride because of his birth and social position, but he was humble ["he looked to the ground"], as if he was a miserable worthless poor man'). We see here that *τύχη* is distinguished from *γένος*.

<sup>3</sup> Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 24–5 and 30–1.

<sup>4</sup> The exposition of Pseudo-Dionysios can be found in his works *On the Celestial Order* and *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (PG 3:119–582, especially 164D). See also Maguire, 'Heavenly court', 15; Woodfin, 'Celestial hierarchies', 303–19.

the imperial majesty, and that the imperial state should, if guided by order and harmony, reflect the divine order.<sup>5</sup>

Order was essential to maintaining the very political existence of the empire. Gregoras is critical of Andronikos III because, he explains, the latter abstained constantly from taking part in the great feasts and from the order and the beneficial distributions of money and offices that used to take place. He added that the traditions of imperial order were in danger of being forgotten.<sup>6</sup>

In a social context, order meant that everyone had been accorded a position in society by God, either higher or lower, and everyone was supposed to act according to the demands of their position and to remain content in it, without desiring social ascent. A fine earlier exposition of this order of things can be found in a homily by Eustathios of Thessalonike in the twelfth century. Eustathios compared social order with nature: the earth, on the lesser side, bore its produce thanks to light provided, on the higher side, by the sky, sun and stars. He considered that the higher and more honourable ones should remain untouchable and venerable to the lesser ones, who should in turn remain humble and in their accorded place.<sup>7</sup> The same desire for an immutable society is echoed in late Byzantine texts as well. The Rich Man of Alexios Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the rich and the poor* reckons that his opulence, as well as the poverty of the Poor Man, is something natural and perpetual.<sup>8</sup> This concept, albeit in a theological context, is used by Philotheos Kokkinos in his refutation of Gregoras. Philotheos accuses the latter of having no authority to produce theology and reminds him of the patristic proverb:

‘Someone who is hardly the hand or the foot should not be the head, nor should polyarchy become anarchy, nor should the law of submission be abolished, since it maintains both the earthly and the divine things, and the biblical: “everyone who speaks should remain in his accorded place, even if he is worthy of a better place”’.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Konstantinos VII Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, I, proem, eds Dagron and Flusin, 5.3–5: ὑφ’ ὧν τοῦ βασιλείου κράτους ῥυθμῶ καὶ τάξει φερομένου, εἰκονίζοι μὲν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν περὶ τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἁρμονίαν καὶ κίνησιν, καθορῶτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα σεμνοπρεπέστερον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡδύτερόν τε καὶ θαυμαστότερον, λεκτέον περὶ ἑκάστης τάξεως, ὅπως τε καὶ καθ’ ὃν ὀφείλει τρόπον ἐκτελεῖσθαι καὶ συμπεραίνεσθαι.

<sup>6</sup> Greg. 1:565–6.

<sup>7</sup> Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Homilies on Lent*, ed. Schönauer, 197.

<sup>8</sup> See note 98.

<sup>9</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Antirrhethikoi*, 1.390–402, ed. Kaimakes, 1:36: μὴ ἔστω τις κεφαλή, μόγις που χεὶρ ἢ ποὺς τυγχάνων, μηδὲ ποιῶμεν ἀναρχίαν τὴν πολυαρχίαν, μηδὲ ὁ τῆς ὑποταγῆς νόμος καταλυέσθω, ἧ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια συνέχει καὶ τὰ οὐράνια . . . ἕκαστος λέγων, ἐν ἧ ἐκλήθη τάξει μενέτω, κἂν ἧ τῆς κρείττονος ἄξιος, ἐν ᾧ στέργει τὴν παροῦσαν πλέον εὐδοκίμων, ἢ ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν ἢν οὐκ ἔλαβεν.

Hierarchy, protocol and ceremony go together. They all symbolise the terrestrial order as a reflection of the celestial order. Byzantine society had a very clear concept of hierarchy, certainly in respect of court protocol and titles. The fact that this court hierarchy was still relevant, at least until the mid-fourteenth century, is demonstrated by Pseudo-Kodinos' treatise on court ceremony, compiled shortly after the middle of the century.<sup>10</sup>

In this treatise, apart from the hierarchy of the titles, Pseudo-Kodinos deals briefly with the duties of each office (mainly ceremonial, not military or administrative, duties) and describes in detail the ceremonies for the promotion of several officials. The changes brought from time to time to the rank of each office prove the importance of hierarchy. Kantakouzenos, after the second civil war, seems to have initiated certain alterations to the hierarchy, degrading offices that had been, or still were, occupied by his opponents.<sup>11</sup> This was an old tactic, since it was impossible either to demote a person or to dissolve a title. When a member of the elite was guilty of a crime such as conspiracy or treason, they were imprisoned, their property was confiscated and they lost all their offices and titles. When they were guilty of a lesser evil, they were forgiven or simply fell into disfavour and were prohibited from further promotion as well as from undertaking important duties; they were not demoted to a lesser title or office. Alexios I Komnenos, for example, could not degrade all the officials that he met upon his rise to the throne. Instead, he created titles for his family that were placed above those of the traditional order.<sup>12</sup> Even if a person was ill or old, and as such unable to fulfil their duties, they did not lose their titles and social status. Nikephoros Choumnos, suffering from gout, ceased his official duties, but he kept his titles and, moreover, is later mentioned as having taken part in an important trial directed against Andronikos III by his grandfather Andronikos II in 1320. In the same manner, Konstantinos Akropolites, despite his old age, kept the title of *mezas logothetēs*, although his duties were exercised by another *mezas logothetēs*, Theodoros Metochites.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Unlike the 'encyclopaedic' compilation of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos in the tenth century (*De cerimoniis*), which lacked coherence, the work of Pseudo-Kodinos shows a more systematic effort. The treatise had a strong impact and was copied and read during the fifteenth century. For Pseudo-Kodinos, see Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 275–89.

<sup>12</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, 3.4.1–3, eds Reinsch and Kambylis, 1:95–6. See also Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 180–4.

<sup>13</sup> Kant. 1:67.13–68.2. According to Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique*, 157–61, Nikephoros Choumnos decided not to appear at court because he resented the elevation of his rival Theodoros Metochites to the position of *mesazōn*. Riehle, *Funktionen*, 13–40, has shown that the rivalry did not have a political background and has corrected its chronology.



In 1439, after the end of the Council of Ferrara–Florence, where the Union of the Churches had been proclaimed, the Byzantines tried to negotiate with the Latins over the commemoration of the pope during the liturgy, since the Byzantines had been forced to make substantial concessions in most matters; they discovered, however, that the Latins and the pope did not care at all.<sup>14</sup> Hierarchy was apparently very important for the Byzantines, and the Byzantine Church maintained strict rules that established the order of the commemoration of important persons during the liturgy. Thus, when the priests Georgios Kallistos and Ioannes Sigeros had probably failed to commemorate the emperor, shortly after his rise to the throne, they were compelled to produce letters promising their future compliance.<sup>15</sup>

Sessions of the patriarchal synod were likewise ordered by hierarchy. It is clear from the few incidents of decision making recorded in the *Patriarchal Register* that each metropolitan clearly spoke according to the rank of his see. Thus, in May 1401, ‘according to the custom’ (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος), the four metropolitans who spoke expressed their views in turn, according to the hierarchical positions of their respective sees.<sup>16</sup> However, hierarchy was not visible only in the realms of the court and of church protocol. Hierarchy was also present in everyday life. Monastic communities, in principle egalitarian, were ordered by hierarchy, visible for instance in the seating arrangements at mealtimes. Primacy was always given to the abbot, followed by the chief officials (*oikonomos* and *ekklēsiarchēs*), the priests, the deacons and ultimately the ordinary monks.<sup>17</sup>

There were also specific principles, a rituality that governed the order in which witnesses would sign as guarantors in an act of sale. First, the vendor and all involved family members would sign. The last person who would sign, right after the scribe, was usually the person who directed the case (any judge, notary or official).<sup>18</sup> Following this, the rest of the witnesses signed according to the rank of their office in the hierarchy, with all churchmen ranking above every single layman. Thus, in a document of 1344 from Thessalonike, the first signature was that of the city governor who was a *prōtobestiariētēs*, and then, in order, a *meγas chartoularios*, a *meγas droungarios*, a *meγas tzaousios*, a *skouterios*, a *prōtohierakarios* and, on the reverse of the document, the *dikaiophylax*, who certified the

<sup>14</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 504.

<sup>15</sup> MM II, 151.

<sup>16</sup> MM II, 489–90.

<sup>17</sup> Talbot, ‘Mealtime’, 112–14.

<sup>18</sup> That is usually: τὸ παρὸν ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ [name of the scribe] ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ [name of the head notary].

document.<sup>19</sup> The order observed in the document was like the hierarchy presented by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, ecclesiastical dignitaries signed in their hierarchical order.<sup>21</sup>

During the reign of Konstantinos IX Monomachos (1042–55), a dispute broke out over the large number of servants that the abbots of the monasteries in the monastic community of Mt Athos could retain. The abbots complained that, because of their ‘old age’, they needed servants. As a result, a compromise was reached: the abbot of the Lavra (at that time the most important monastery) could have six servants, the abbots of Iveron and Vatopedi four servants each, the *prōtos* three servants and the rest of the abbots only one each.<sup>22</sup> The abbot of the Lavra must have been the oldest! Either this or, apparently, the servants were allocated according to the hierarchical position of each monastery and its abbot. Likewise, in the decisions of the council of the monasteries of Mt Athos, each abbot used to sign according to the importance of the monastery. The ex-abbots of the large monasteries actually signed before the abbots of the smaller monasteries.<sup>23</sup> The fact that they did not exercise their office anymore was irrelevant: they had a place in the hierarchy, which was not affected by their retirement, just as in the aforementioned example of Konstantinos Akropolites.

Hierarchy is also a demonstration of power and authority. Soon after the death of Andronikos III, an important council took place to decide whether the empire would go to war with Bulgaria. Kantakouzenos, the best friend of Andronikos III and the leading official after the regent mother Anna of Savoy, felt extremely offended at the opening of the council session: while the rest of the members remained silent, waiting for him to speak first, Georgios Choumnos took to the rostrum first and

<sup>19</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 171 (no. 23: 1344).

<sup>20</sup> See Table 26.

<sup>21</sup> See for example *Acts Lavra* III, 112 (no. 148: 1377). There sign in order, after the donor Konstantinos Laskaris: (1) the metropolitan of Serres; (2) the bishop of Spelaion; (3) the *meγas oikonomos* of Serres; (4) the *sakellarios* of Serres; (5) the *skeuophylax* of Serres; (6) the *chartophylax* of Serres; (7) the *sakelliou* of Serres; (8) the *prōtekdikos* of Serres; (9) the *prōtonotarios* of Serres; (10) the *kanstrisios* of Serres; (11) the *epi tōn gonatōn* of Serres. There followed two laymen: one signed as ‘*doulos* of the emperor’ and the second without any title.

<sup>22</sup> *Acts Protaton*, 229–30 (no. 8: 1045). In the Orthodox tradition, monasteries in a monastic centre (like Mt Athos) often constituted a self-governing body, their abbots convened in council to discuss matters pertaining to the whole community or resolve differences between the monasteries, and were headed by a *prōtos* (i.e. literary ‘the first’) elected by the abbots.

<sup>23</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 273–5 (no. 46: 1316).

‘with impudence’ suggested that if the ‘lesser ones’ had something wise to suggest, then ‘the first’ (implying Kantakouzenos) ought to accept this. Choumnos was not an ordinary man: he belonged to the elite of the empire, being a member of a leading family and uncle to the minor Ioannes V. Although officially there was no ‘first’, there was a known hierarchy, and everyone was supposed to act and speak at the council according to it. Kantakouzenos did not show that he was offended, but Demetrios Tornikes defended him, saying:

What now? Should we turn the empire of the Romaioi into a democracy, so that everyone has the right to speak and decide whatever he wants, both for greater and lesser matters, and the ‘better sort’ should agree to what has been decided? What could be worse than this irrationality!<sup>24</sup>

Another important means through which hierarchy was established was by wearing specific clothes and headwear appropriate to each office. Pseudo-Kodinos devotes a lot of space to describing the protocol of dress, because it revealed status and hierarchy. Every office was distinguished by a specific modification to the dress code: the figure of a seated emperor was drawn on the back of the *skaranikon* hat used by upper title holders and on the front of the *skaranikon*, for immediately lower title holders, for example.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, those who were allowed to wear this form of *skaranikon* – the highest officials, honoured with the title of *eparchos* or higher – had other specific privileges: they were allowed to sit in front of a judge in a tribunal.<sup>26</sup>

Hats, in fact, had become the most important distinctive mark of an official since the eleventh century.<sup>27</sup> The fancy long hat (*tiara*) that Katablattas, an official in fifteenth-century Constantinople, used to wear, for instance, was reckoned as a mark of his higher status.<sup>28</sup> In fact, by the fifteenth century, long hats of the type that Ioannes VIII wears on Pisanello’s medallion or Manuel Laskaris Chatzikes is depicted wearing

<sup>24</sup> Kant., 2:20–21: γέγραπται . . . ἐὰν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἀποκαλυφθῆ, σιγάτω ὁ πρῶτος. ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν τινα τῶν δοκοῦντων ἐσχάτων εἶναι βέλτιόν τι περὶ ὧν νυνὶ βουλευόμεθα εἰπεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀνάγκη τὸν πρῶτον στέργειν . . . [and the answer of Demetrios Tornikes] τί οὖν; [. . .] δημοκρατίαν χρῆ ποιεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν, ἵν’ ἐξῆ παντὶ τῷ βουλευέσθαι καὶ λέγειν, ἅττα ἂν δοκῆ, καὶ περὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐλαττόνων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέσθαι τοῖς βελτίοσι στέργειν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα. Καὶ ποῖαν ἀτοπίαν ἂν ὑπερβολὴν ἔλλιπτοι τὸ τοιοῦτον.

<sup>25</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 141–66. See also Macrides, ‘Ceremonies and the City’, 221–3.

<sup>26</sup> Zepos and Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, vol. 1, 583.

<sup>27</sup> Parani, *Reconstructing Reality*, 67–71.

<sup>28</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 53.

in the Church of Pantanassa in Mystras, had become the fashion.<sup>29</sup> During the sojourn in Venice of the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Ferrara–Florence in 1438, the Dishypatoi brothers came to receive a blessing from the patriarch while the latter was performing a service in the Church of St Georgios. The patriarch, attempting to conform to Latin practices out of politeness, demanded that they remove their hats. They declined, however, since these constituted a sign of their distinction as *archontes*; instead, they chose to leave without receiving the blessing.<sup>30</sup>

A change of fashion commented upon by Gregoras is sufficient to show the importance of the maintenance of order and hierarchy. He notes with sadness the emergence of a fashion among the Byzantines of his time to wear diverse kinds of hats, not only in the palace but also in the fields or the market. Thus, he complains, there was no distinction anymore and the wearing of a specific hat was not observed. Some ‘prudent’ men then thought that this novelty may lead to ‘the fall of the kingship and the end of its order.’<sup>31</sup>

The defiance of order and hierarchy could have serious implications. The old aunt of the emperor Andronikos II and niece of Ioannes III Batatzes, Strategopoulina, was present in the palace at a feast day celebration. While she was seated outside a room awaiting her reception by the empress, the woman who was second to the empress in the female court hierarchy, Eirene Palaiologina Raoulaina, the wife of the *porphyrogennētos* Konstantinos Palaiologos, arrived. Pachymeres narrates that her coming was illustrious and pompous, preceded and surrounded by followers. Raoulaina demanded that Strategopoulina, who was not only an old woman but her aunt as well, should give up the seat to her. Strategopoulina declined on grounds of her old age. Raoulaina was stricken by this refusal and started crying, especially wounded since Strategopoulina’s husband, Konstantinos Strategopoulos, had no title during his lifetime, having been blinded by Theodoros II Laskaris in 1254. She sought revenge. Her husband, being

<sup>29</sup> For the portrait of Ioannes VIII on the Italian artist Pisanello’s medal, see latest by Lazaris, ‘L’empereur Jean VIII Paléologue.’ The medal can now be online accessed at <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93566/john-palaeologus-viii-medal-pisanello/>. For the portrait of Manuel Laskaris Chatzikes, see Aspra-Varvadaki, *Μονή Παντάνασσας*, 208. For the fashion in hats in the fifteenth century, see also Kiousoupolou, ‘Στοιχεία βυζαντινής ενδυμασίας.’

<sup>30</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 226.

<sup>31</sup> Greg., 1:567–8: τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων κατεχρήσαντο ἥθει· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς συνεωτέρους καινοτομίαν τινὰ καὶ κατάλυσιν ὑποπτεύειν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πέρας τῶν ταύτης ἐθνῶν καὶ πραγμάτων. I translate here ἐθνῶν καὶ πραγμάτων as ‘order’, which is what Gregoras implied.

unable to harm 'such a noble woman' personally, arrested the old woman's lover, Konstantinos Maurozomes, stripped him of his clothes and paraded him around the market, beating him.<sup>32</sup>

A second event is narrated by Kantakouzenos. During the first civil war, Andronikos III had approached the city walls, pleading with his grandfather for entry and forgiveness. However, a certain Markos Kaballarios swore at him. Kaballarios was not an ordinary man but an *oikeios* of Andronikos II and son of Bardas Kaballarios, a close associate of Andronikos II. In the aftermath of Andronikos III's victory, Kaballarios, who had been hiding underground, was led in front of him. He fell to the ground crying and trembling in fear. Everyone present expected to meet with his death, and they bore in mind not only earthly punishment but also divine punishment in the afterlife for this serious offence. To the astonishment of all people present and to Kaballarios himself, Andronikos III forgave him, explaining that the fear which had dominated him was an adequate punishment and, moreover, Kaballarios would now become an example to all those who 'swear so easily and especially towards people who are *superior and worthy of honour*.'<sup>33</sup> The order of the empire had been affected by the hubris of Kaballarios.

Physical gestures and postures are an interesting source of information about the importance of hierarchy. Being seated denoted a higher or an established position. The emperor greeted his officials while enthroned.<sup>34</sup> During a meeting of the patriarchal synod, the emperor Andronikos II summoned the *logariastēs tēs aulēs* Angelos (a financial official) to provide testimony. He prevented Angelos from entering the hall where only the metropolitans were seated, however, since Angelos would have to remain standing and this would bring disgrace to him. Instead, the emperor ordered him to be interrogated while seated in a nearby room.<sup>35</sup> When a senate council took place, the old emperor Andronikos II did not grant permission to Andronikos III to sit. The rest of the members of the senate in their turn felt uncomfortable, and that it was improper to sit (after Andronikos II had allowed them) while Andronikos III was still standing.<sup>36</sup> Besides, according to protocol, the despots, the *sebastokratores* and the *kaisares* were not allowed to be present in the ceremony of the promotion of a patriarch by the emperor; the patriarch would be seated while they

<sup>32</sup> Pach., 3:171–7.

<sup>33</sup> Kant., 2:257 and 313–16 (added emphasis).

<sup>34</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 275. See also Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 379–84.

<sup>35</sup> Pach., 4:325–7.

<sup>36</sup> Kant., 1:40–41.

normally had to stand for an official's promotion, and this would obviously be a confusion of hierarchy.<sup>37</sup>

Another accusation of Gregoras against Andronikos III concerns this emperor's lack of observance of hierarchical position. Willing to show himself as humble, Andronikos III accepted people, not only of nobility but even those of a 'vulgar and servile sort', on the platform where he himself and the very imperial throne stood, and conversed with them standing, instead of being seated on the throne and speaking from an elevated position, as he was traditionally supposed to do.<sup>38</sup>

The lengthy accounts of Kantakouzenos, describing miscellaneous ceremonies in detail, betray their importance as acts of legitimation. Taking advantage of the occasion of the coronation of Andronikos III, Kantakouzenos provides us with a full description of the ceremony of imperial coronation and all its traditions.<sup>39</sup> In addition, he describes the marriage of his daughter to the Ottoman emir Orhan and then his own coronation in Adrianople in 1346 by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He takes care to add that everything was done according to custom.<sup>40</sup> A few months after his victory and entry into Constantinople, Kantakouzenos felt the need to be crowned again, this time by the patriarch of Constantinople. The reason, he discloses, was that many 'troublemakers' did not regard the coronation in Adrianople as proper, as it was not undertaken by the ecumenical patriarch and it did not take place in Constantinople.<sup>41</sup> Thus, a new coronation was necessary so that proper order would be ensured.

## The Dialectics of Deference and the Social Contract

Deference to a social superior was pivotal to the maintenance of the social system. It could be displayed verbally, visually or physically, through gestures. Bowing the nape or the head was the simplest gesture of inferiority and submission: 'and the prince [of Achaea] bowed his arrogant nape to the emperor and recognised that only he was the supreme ruler of *Rōmania*'.<sup>42</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos failed to pay homage to a certain lord by bowing his head when he met him. He was reproached for this by one of the lord's familiars and was forced to write an apologetic letter wherein he recognised

<sup>37</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 279.

<sup>38</sup> Greg., 1:566–7.

<sup>39</sup> Kant., 1:196–204.

<sup>40</sup> Kant., 2:587–9.

<sup>41</sup> Kant., 3:29.

<sup>42</sup> Pach., 1:121–23.

his lower social position and offered his sincere regret towards his ‘masters’ (τοῦς ἑμοὺς δεσπότες). Later, in his books of moral advice, he admonished his readers that in order to have a peaceful life they should offer every kind of honour and submissive service to the *archontes*.<sup>43</sup>

Genuflection may have been important on certain occasions during prayer and church services, but it was less important in social relations, unlike in Latin Europe. In Byzantium, the genuflection of the senators (of non-patrician rank) in front of the emperor was replaced in Justinian’s time by the gesture of *proskynēsis*, according to Procopius.<sup>44</sup> Thereafter, the first usage of genuflection in a non-religious context, to my knowledge, is attested in the *Alexias* of Anna Komnene during the negotiations between the Byzantine ambassadors and Bohemond, who asked not to bow his head or kneel in front of the emperor.<sup>45</sup> During the Palaiologan period, it is mentioned slightly more often. Gennadios Scholarios, describing the submission of the Orthodox to the Latins at the Council of Ferrara–Florence, instead of using the usual verb *proskyneō*, says that ‘they bent their knees to the pope.’<sup>46</sup> It is not always certain whether what is described is a genuflection, or rather *proskynēsis* described another way. In the *Life of St Sabbas the Younger*, Philotheos Kokkinos relates that St Sabbas ‘bent his knees and thrust his forehead onto the earth,’ which is actually a *proskynēsis*, not a genuflection.<sup>47</sup>

Procopius describes the gesture of *proskynēsis* as follows: ‘they fell onto the ground, as far as their mouth, extending their feet and hands as far as possible, and stood up after having kissed with their lips each one of their [the emperors’] feet.’<sup>48</sup> This description brings the Byzantine *proskynēsis* close to the Chinese kowtow, though the hands are not fully extended in the latter; they are placed at right angles, not in parallel to the body. By the late Palaiologan period, a slight modification had occurred: now the *proskynēsis* involved clasping the palms together instead of fully extending the hands. This is described in the romance *Libistros and Rhodamne*: ‘if you want to go and perform *proskynēsis*, you should enter, bow your nape with a humble attitude and bow your head with servility, clasp your hands

<sup>43</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 24, ed. Hunger, 174–5 and idem, *Moral Advices*, ed. Hunger, 239 (2<sup>nd</sup> moral advice). Chortasmenos must have served this lord earlier: he refers to the graces and rewards he had received during the period of his servitude (δουλείας).

<sup>44</sup> Procopius, *Secret History*, 30.21–23, ed. Wirth, 184–5.

<sup>45</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, 8.9.4–5, eds Reinsch and Kambylis, 408–9.

<sup>46</sup> Gennadios Scholarios, eds Jugie, Petit and Siderides, 3:97.

<sup>47</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabas the Younger*, 30.11–5, ed. Tsames, 1:216–17.

<sup>48</sup> Procopius, *Secret History*, 30.21–23, ed. Wirth, 184–5.

tight, fall onto the ground, and from your heart cry out and beg him.<sup>49</sup> It is described similarly in the *Song of Belisarios*: ‘he [Belisarios] clasped his hands tight, he fell onto the ground, and he first kissed the earth and then his [the emperor’s] boots.’<sup>50</sup>

Riding on horseback was deemed a privileged position. Chortasmenos reckons the possession of a horse to be a mark of a distinguished person.<sup>51</sup> In the palace it was only the emperor and his sons that were allowed to ride on horseback according to the court protocol.<sup>52</sup> The emperor Ioannes VIII was seriously offended when, during the Council of Ferrara–Florence, those responsible for the daily arrangements did not allow him to enter on horseback through the building into the meeting hall; he refused to attend the council unless they allowed him to do so. In the next session, the Latins were forced to demolish a wall to allow the horse to pass.<sup>53</sup>

When there were co-emperors, the younger of the emperors was considered inferior, but not so inferior as to be obliged to descend from his horse in the presence of the older emperor. According to the ritual, when two emperors were about to meet, those that accompanied them descended from their horses, while the two emperors met, both on horseback. Then the younger emperor kissed the hand of the older emperor and the older emperor subsequently kissed the younger emperor on his face. Any change affecting this ritual had special meaning. When the two Andronikoi agreed a truce during the first civil war, they arranged to meet each other in person. During the meeting, the younger emperor, in order to show more respect, descended from his horse. Andronikos II, on observing this, tried to turn back in order to avoid this ‘novelty’, but as Andronikos III continued on foot, he stopped and let him pay homage. Andronikos III kissed his grandfather’s feet, and Andronikos II subsequently kissed him on the face.<sup>54</sup> In fact, kissing the feet of someone was a gesture of servitude. The emperor would kiss in return only his relatives or at least those that were close hierarchically to him, like the patriarch.<sup>55</sup> In order to understand

<sup>49</sup> *Libistros and Rhodamne*, version ν, ed. Lendari, vv. 254–8: ἄν θέλης νὰ ὑπᾶς διὰ νὰ τὸν προσκυνήσης, ἔμπα καὶ κλίνε τράχηλον καὶ ταπεινὸν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ κλίνε τὸ κεφάλι σου μὲ πᾶσαν δουλοσύνην, δῆσε τὰ χέρια σου σφικτά, πέσε εἰς γῆν ὀμπρός του καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας στρίγγισε καὶ παρακάλεσέ τον.

<sup>50</sup> *Story of Belisarios*, version χ, 149, eds Bakker and van Gemert: δένει τὰ χέρια του σφικτά, πίπτει στήν γῆν χαμόθεν, πρῶτον φιλεῖ τὰ χόματα καὶ ἀπέκει τὸ τσαγκίν του.

<sup>51</sup> As note 43.

<sup>52</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 169.

<sup>53</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 322 and 327.

<sup>54</sup> Kant., 2:167–8.

<sup>55</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 197.



the act of Andronikos III, changing the ritual agreed between the two parties, it is necessary to consider the image that Andronikos III was trying to project and that is related both to his later 'open' attitude to court protocol, as narrated above, and to his advocacy of the interests of the common soldiers. In his attempt to win the throne, Andronikos III did not appeal only to his own clique (Kantakouzenos, Apokaukos and the other conspirators), but also to the soldiers, who probably felt excluded from power and the acquisition of important privileges by the regime of Andronikos II. This ritual was a public one, in front of the army of Andronikos III, who probably wanted to show his soldiers that he was still humble and close to them.

On at least three occasions in his *History*, Kantakouzenos presents himself as being accorded the horseback privilege without his consent. In the autumn of 1341, just before the civil war broke out, three important governors of Macedonia – Ioannes Angelos, Konstantinos Palaiologos and Arsenios Tzamplakon – came to meet Kantakouzenos in Didymoteichon. They requested a meeting with Kantakouzenos outside his residence, intending to pay homage to him by descending from their horses. Kantakouzenos, suspecting their intention, declined and demanded that they should come to his house so that they would be unable to perform the gesture. However, when they reached his residence, they descended from their horses and entered the courtyard on foot, thus showing their deference. Kantakouzenos, for his part, reports that he reprimanded them for this 'novelty'.<sup>56</sup> When he returned to Constantinople a few days later, some members of the senate came to pay homage to him by descending from their horses, for which he rebuked them. Later that day, while Kantakouzenos was at the palace, some soldiers and 'young nobles' protested just outside the palace courtyard demanding that Kantakouzenos should be allowed to enter the palace on horseback, like an emperor, and not merely on foot.<sup>57</sup> He claims to have become angry about this and quelled the protest. By incorporating these events into his *History*, Kantakouzenos intends to show his readers how, though he did not intend it, he came to be considered a quasi-emperor by a great number of the elite, thus anticipating and justifying his later (equally 'unintended') proclamation as an emperor, in the beginning of the second civil war.

After Kantakouzenos was acclaimed emperor, his attitude changed somewhat. The army and the aristocrats who fled from Thessalonike when the pro-regency party in the city came to power in summer 1342, including the city governor, the *prōtostratōr* Theodoros Synadenos, met with

<sup>56</sup> Kant., 2:78–9.

<sup>57</sup> Kant., 2:82–7.

Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos remained on horseback, greeting each one of the fugitives, who in turn kissed his feet; he bent down to kiss only Synadenos in return.<sup>58</sup> Though not commoners, the other fugitives were far less distinguished than Synadenos, who was a member of the power elite of the empire, an old personal friend of Kantakouzenos and a higher official; he was thus closer than the others to equality with Kantakouzenos, and deserved special treatment. Yet these incidents involved members of the power elite. It is important to note that the sacrality of the imperial office, as advertised and modified by Justinian and as reflected in court ceremonial and other instances in the middle Byzantine period, had been altered again when people of the higher elite were involved. The gulf that Justinian created between the emperor and all his citizens, regardless of their social status, was in some measure bridged by the Palaiologan period for the higher aristocracy, for people with an exalted social and political status such as Theodoros Synadenos. As we shall see in the following chapters, a few top families, of which the imperial family was just one, monopolised the notion of nobility and political power in the empire. This constituted a change in the perception of the role of these families since the Komnenian era, when it was the imperial clan alone that had monopolised these things; it was a change that came to be reflected in these kinds of rituals as well.

The gap between the higher elite and the common people was too large to be signified by these kinds of gestures. Servitude was exhibited through gestures that are close to the *proskynēsis*.<sup>59</sup> The above-mentioned Kaballarios had fallen to the ground, unable to gaze at the emperor. Another man named Syrmpanos, a Vlach nomad from the mountainous Rodope area, acted similarly even though he had nothing to fear. Syrmpanos had remained loyal to Andronikos III despite the wounds and the torture he had received at the hands of the *megas stratopedarchēs* Andronikos Palaiologos, who was a supporter of Andronikos II. Nevertheless, he came before Andronikos III to ask him not to mistreat the recently arrested *megas stratopedarchēs*. Kantakouzenos describes how Syrmpanos fell to the ground apologising for daring to speak to the emperor and asking this favour, since he himself was a 'barbarian and a rustic man'. Andronikos III, praising the kindness

<sup>58</sup> Kant., 2:236.

<sup>59</sup> See Guiland, 'Autour du livre des cérémonies', 251–9. Pseudo-Kodinos does not analyse the ceremony of *proskynēsis*, but he refers to it: Pseudo-Kodinos, 209. He also mentions a 'kiss ceremony' on Easter Sunday (Pseudo-Kodinos, 228–9) that resembles the *proskynēsis* ceremony: cf. Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 379–94.

of Syrmpanos, fulfilled his wish. Thereupon, Syrmpanos kissed the ground where the emperor was standing and left.<sup>60</sup> Hence, the permission to kiss the emperor's feet was a privilege accorded to an official, to a man of a certain stature. But an 'insignificant man' would not even touch or gaze directly at the emperor; he would rather kiss the ground and remain there during his petition.<sup>61</sup>

Closely connected to the gesture of petition is the gesture of self-humiliation. A monk had been driven out of his monastery and was excommunicated by the patriarch because he owned a vineyard and refused to give it to the monastery: in canon law, monks are not normally allowed property and need to hand it over to their respective monastery. The monk, not enduring the excommunication for long, asked his abbot to allow him to re-enter the monastery. The abbot refused, unless the man gave the vineyard to the monastery and declared his submission to the abbot before the patriarch, which the man in then did.<sup>62</sup> In another case, a priest called Beniamen approached the patriarch and fell at his feet; after being allowed to stand up, he confessed his 'crimes.'<sup>63</sup>

Deference was also expressed verbally. One of the best examples of servile status is offered by the promise of good behaviour on behalf of the inhabitants of Semaltos to the monastery of Vatopedi. In these few lines, the apologetic character of the document and the phrasing, such as the use of the term *doulos* and its derivatives no fewer than five times, place the peasants at the bottom of the social ladder, considerably separated from their 'lord', the *oikonomos* of Vatopedi. The details are unclear, but the affair involved disobedience to the *oikonomos* of the monastery:

We the notables of Semaltos . . . declare to our lord and father the great *oikonomos*, kyr Gabriel, that we do not know who decided that this impudence and wickedness be inflicted on him, nor did we decide this. But if sometime it is found out that we took part in this incident, may we be considered as faithless to God and to the emperor. Moreover, we promise to be servants (*douloi*) and obedient to our servile obligations; even if the great *oikonomos* sends the most contemptible man for our servile obligations, we ought to perceive that man as the *oikonomos* and we should fulfil with eagerness and servile attitude whatever he says to us. If we are not so servile and eager in our servile tasks set by our lord,

<sup>60</sup> Kant., 1:146–9.

<sup>61</sup> For the ritual of petition, see Macrides, 'Ritual of petition'.

<sup>62</sup> MM II, no. 602 (1400).

<sup>63</sup> MM II, 433 (no. 603: 1400).

the great *oikonomos*, may we be considered as vicious men and provocateurs, and they can have the right to destroy us.<sup>64</sup>

Much of the work of authors such as Theodoros Hyrtakenos, Manuel Philes and Michael Gabras, whose social and political backgrounds greatly contrasted with those of their recipients (in contrast to the case of Demetrios Kydones' letters to emperors, they did not write as personal friends), takes the form of petitions.<sup>65</sup> Alexander Riehle has studied in detail the function and form of the epistolary corpus of Nikephoros Choumnos. He has noticed the structural differences between letters addressed to a patron, in this case mostly the emperor Andronikos II, and letters addressed to friends.<sup>66</sup> All these authors stressed in their letters or epigrams the magnanimity of the powerful man they addressed, and their own inferiority. Manuel Philes, for example, in one of his poems to the *megas logothetēs* (probably Theodoros Metochites), presents himself as a poor servant.<sup>67</sup> Gabras notes in the margin of his collected correspondence that nobody

<sup>64</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 229 (no. 101: 1348?): Ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες οἱ ἀπὸ τὴν Σαμαλτὸν [12 names] ποιοῦμεν τὸ παρὸν μας γράμμα εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην καὶ πατέρα μας τὸν μέγαν οἰκονόμον κῦρ Γαβριήλ, ὅτι οὐδὲν γινώσκομεν ἵνα βουλευσώμεθα εἰς τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ τὸ κακὸν ὅπου ἐγένετο εἰς αὐτόν, οὐδὲ κατεφήσαμεν καὶ εἶπαμεν ἵνα γένηται τοῦτο. Εἰ δὲ εὐρεθῆ ποτὲ τῶν καιρῶν νὰ ἐλεχθῶμεν ὅτι μετείχαμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, νὰ κατακρινώμεθα ὡς ἄπιστοι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ὡσαύτως ὑποσχόμεθα νὰ ἦμεθον δοῦλοι καὶ εὐπειθεῖς εἰς τὰς δουλείας τὰς αὐθεντικὰς μας· καὶ τὸν μικρότερον ἄνθρωπον ἕαν ἀποστειλῆ ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος διὰ δουλείαν αὐθεντικὴν μας, νὰ τὸν ἐβλέπουμεν ὡς αὐτόν· νὰ ἐκπληροῦμεν μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ δουλωσύνης ὅσον μας εἶπη. Ἐὰν οὐδεν ἦμεθον τέτιοι δουλωτικοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν καὶ δουλείαν τοῦ αὐθέντου μας τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκονόμου, νὰ κρινώμεθον ὡς κακοὶ καὶ ἐντάλται καὶ νὰ μας ἀφανίζωσι. – The word ἐντάλτης, unattested earlier, comes from the verb ἐντέλλω which means 'give an order'. Thus, the noun means 'the one who gives the orders' and, in this context, means those who provoked this misbehaviour.

<sup>65</sup> Gabras, *Letters*, ed. Fatouros. The letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos have recently been edited and translated by Apostolos Karpozilos and Georgios Fatouros. Krystina Kubina has lately produced an excellent study on the function and form of the work of Philes (*Manuel Philes*).

<sup>66</sup> Riehle, *Funktionen*, 282–318.

<sup>67</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.124, ed. Miller, 1:315–16. See also Gabras, *Letters*, nos 244 or 408, ed. Fatouros, nos 396–8 or 633–5, and Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, no. 25, ed. Boissonade, 30, in a report to the emperor where he speaks of the greatness of Ioannes Palaiologos, who had done injustice to Choumnos, reproving at the same time Palaiologos' pretentiousness. Particularly instructive are some of the letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos, as for example, nos 1–2 or 8–10, eds Karpozilos and Fatouros, 68–76 or 94–106.

should subsequently publish the name of the *dynatos* to whom a letter was addressed if the latter had not fulfilled the request of the petition: the *dynatos*' name would thus be preserved from shame and accusations in future generations.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, the structure of a letter to a friend or relative, or to a social inferior, was rather different even when the authors were asking for favours. They then praised the recipient's character or emphasised their mutual friendship.<sup>69</sup>

One of the principal concepts in the maintenance of the social order in Byzantine society was the Christian concept of philanthropy and benevolence. Performing philanthropic and benevolent acts was the key for better treatment in the afterlife. On account of his 'benevolence', the emperor distributed land, offices and titles to worthy people. On account of his 'philanthropy', the emperor forgave faults and crimes.<sup>70</sup> However, these concepts were not solely elements of imperial ideology. They were integrated into social ideology. Since no redistribution of wealth by the state was expected, social inferiors anticipated part of the excess wealth of their superiors through benevolence. Ioseph Bryennios, in one of his homilies, urged his audience to provide aid to the poor because 'feeding them is to feed yourself': he considered that, by aiding the poor, the benefactor himself would benefit; God had provided the benefactor with more than the necessities of life in order that he might spend benevolently and in turn gain more in the afterlife.<sup>71</sup> Gregorios Palamas considered as sinners those who did not lend money to precisely those people who could never repay it.<sup>72</sup> Chortasmenos, in an epistolary encomium, praises Georgios Goudeles for transforming his house into a hospital for poor people and for spending well what was given to him by the Lord. He felt that Goudeles, by being *philanthropos*, deserved his capacity as an *archōn*; he adds that the Lord did not ask for virginity or fasting and inurement for Judgement Day, but rather the showing of mercy.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Gabras, *Letters*, no. 5 (notice), ed. Fatouros, 15.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, the letter of Gabras to one of his best friends, Philippos Logaras, asking him for help in reducing the tax that he paid on his vineyard: Gabras, *Letters*, no. 295, ed. Fatouros, 457–9. Similarly, when he asked for some salt from the two brothers Chrysoloras (*ibid.*, no. 454, pp. 695–6), who had only a lower financial office as administrators on the imperial saltpans, he praised the philanthropy of the emperor and not of the addressees; he praised them simply for their prudence.

<sup>70</sup> Hunger, *Prooimion*, 143–53; Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique*, 181–96.

<sup>71</sup> Ioseph Bryennios, *Homilies*, ed. Boulgares, 1:224–7.

<sup>72</sup> Gregorios Palamas, *Homilies*, 45.7–8, ed. Chrestou, 11:78–80.

<sup>73</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 8, ed. Hunger, 157–9.

The concept of philanthropy did not necessarily involve the distribution of wealth to the poor; it could be applied to other domains as well. Theodoros Hyrtakenos says that all the beneficiaries of Nikephoros Choumnos would now mourn his death. Hyrtakenos means the *archontes*, whom Choumnos had helped as a patron.<sup>74</sup> In fact, the lives of aristocrats were not as leisurely as they might seem, if we consider the volume of petitions they must have been constantly receiving. Michael Gabras asked for a horse from Atzymes, the *domestikos tōn anatolikōn thematōn*, and when the latter fulfilled the petition, Gabras, in his letter of appreciation, audaciously asked for food to feed that horse!<sup>75</sup> In this vein, Ioannes Chortasmenos advises one to prefer displaying one's poverty, in order to be among those receiving mercy, rather than among those receiving envy on account of their wealth and power.<sup>76</sup> The aristocrats, just like the emperor, could not turn down these petitions lightly if they wanted to maintain their circle of supporters.

A group of professional scholars that frequented the houses of aristocrats had emerged since the Komnenian era. These scholars, by exaggerating their poverty and satisfying the aristocrats' pride, assured for themselves a wage or a favour. This 'rhetoric of poverty' continued in the Palaiologan period, but with rather different features. The rhetorical strategies that this group of late Byzantine authors (Manuel Philes, Ioannes Chortasmenos, Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Michael Gabras) employs, focus less on their 'economic misery' – as Ptochoprodromos did in the twelfth century<sup>77</sup> – and more on the obligation of the *dynatos* to help them. They praise his philanthropy and expect him to act on its basis. Thus, the weak make use of the very ideological system that accentuates social difference and entrenches deference by making it serve their own purpose: the acquisition of a share in the surplus enjoyed by the *dynatos*. Crucial to the achievement of their goal was deploying the concept of philanthropy. As already argued, a social action must be justified according to a set of beliefs common to the two social actors; therefore, the weak can remind the *dynatos* of their obligations in preserving the social system.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *Monodia to Nikephoros Choumnos*, ed. Boissonade, 291. He had addressed these *archontes* just before in this speech.

<sup>75</sup> Gabras, *Letters*, nos 44 and 76, ed. Fatouros, 80–1 and 124.

<sup>76</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Moral Advices*, ed. Hunger, 240 (6<sup>th</sup> political advice).

<sup>77</sup> Ptochoprodromos, ed. Eideneier. See Beaton, 'Rhetoric of poverty'; Kulhánková, 'Byzantinische Betteldichtung'; Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 346–52.

<sup>78</sup> See Malatras, 'Petition, philanthropia and networking'.

## Social Tension and the Challenges to the Established Order

Traditional accusations of greed and profiteering are found in many texts throughout the late Byzantine period, especially in consolatory works.<sup>79</sup> Many ecclesiastics (and others) preached modesty and autarky of living in preference to aspirations of wealth and consumption. Autarky, or self-sufficiency, was a positive but not an elite concept, at least not in this late period: Gregorios Palamas contrasted autarky to wealth, its corresponding condition of excess, inasmuch as thirst's corresponding condition of excess is drunkenness,<sup>80</sup> and Symeon of Thessalonike contrasted autarky with the consumption of assortments of food.<sup>81</sup>

The most remarkable example of this trend is Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93 and 1303–9), whose parents were reportedly living in autarky and were noble only in respect to the 'divine nobility', that is, piety. In many of his letters to the emperor, Athanasios expresses his affection towards the poor. He declares that he does not recognise any differences between friend and stranger or rich and poor;<sup>82</sup> he considers the labour of a poor man in building a church as equal to the money that a rich person offers for constructing one, adding that although there are differences between rich and poor in many things, such differences do not exist in piety;<sup>83</sup> he constantly expresses his sympathy for the poor and urges the emperor to take action in their favour, especially during a famine that hit the capital.<sup>84</sup> His encomiast, Theoktistos Stoudites, claims that during his patriarchate Athanasios cared for the souls of poor men, while he left uncared for the 'sinful souls of the greedy rich men.'<sup>85</sup> But unfortunately, Athanasios' are among the very few true laments for the poor. This becomes more obvious in the *Life of Patriarch Athanasios* produced by his other encomiast, Ioseph Kalothetos, himself a member of an established family. In Kalothetos' account, the philanthropy of the patriarch is just one of his many virtues, and one rather rarely encountered in the text, while no hostility is expressed towards wealthy people.<sup>86</sup> Athanasios was not

<sup>79</sup> In homilies of this period, it is almost traditional to include condemnation of greed or injustice and profiteering against the poor. See for example Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 11.2, ed. Pseftonkas, 236.

<sup>80</sup> Gregorios Palamas, *Ascetical orations*, ed. Chrestou, 5:241–2.

<sup>81</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Theological works*, B2.18 (l. 630–1), ed. Balfour, 129. Elsewhere: Georgios Gemistos, *On virtues*, a.2, ed. Tambrun-Krasker, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 60.38–40, ed. Talbot, 136.

<sup>83</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 66.1–20, ed. Talbot, 152–4.

<sup>84</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, e.g. nos 49.39–45, 67.9–15, 72–4, ed. Talbot, 106, 160, 178–86.

<sup>85</sup> Theoktistos Stoudites, *Encomium to Patriarch Athanasios*, ed. Fusco, 118–19.

<sup>86</sup> Ioseph Kalothetos, ed. Tsames, 453–502.

a social reformer, however:<sup>87</sup> he questioned neither the very foundations of society nor the function of the social system. Once, he was called by the emperor to reflect according to the Holy Scriptures on a matter concerning the insult of a notable person by a poor man. Athanasios pointed out then that unless someone truly regrets his action, his sin cannot be forgiven.<sup>88</sup> He might have had sympathy for the poor, but he accepted the social reality that defined them as social inferiors with the obligation to pay deference to their social superiors.

Similarly, in the late fourteenth century, the metropolitan of Thessalonike, Isidoros Glabas, vituperated all those who thought that the rich were blessed while they condescended towards poor people, made fun of them and did not even want to see them.<sup>89</sup> His successor, Symeon, advised people to prefer being poor to being rich, since wealth leads to Hell, while poverty, in combination with patience, leads to the bosom of Abraham (see Figure 1).<sup>90</sup>

Usury was a practice that often led to social distress. In the early centuries, the Church had forthrightly forbidden it; in the Justinianic legislation, however, and subsequently in the tenth century, the state accepted it. The Church then limited its criticism to ecclesiastics who practised it while accepting, in general, the pursuit of legal profit. On the other hand, the fourteenth century experienced a rise of voices in favour of an overall prohibition of interest and condemning the social injustices that usury brought. As Laiou remarked, this increase might be attributed to the growing economic insecurity of the fourteenth century. Indeed, Gregorios Palamas condemns interest, especially at immoderate rates;<sup>91</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas produced at least two treatises against usury;<sup>92</sup> Kantakouzenos, who was acquainted with both Palamas and Kabasilas, echoed this criticism when he attributed to the bankers (ἀργυραμοιβοί) the failure to collect funds to create a navy.<sup>93</sup> Besides, usurers were frequently depicted in representations of the Last Judgement, as demonstrated by thirteenth-century frescos in the monastery of Panagia Mavriotissa in Kastoria and, particularly frequently, in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries on Crete.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> This is how Athanasios is presented in Booramra, 'Social thought', 332–82.

<sup>88</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 108, ed. Talbot, 268. I assume that the comment refers to the poor man and not to the notable, since there is no hint in the text of any sin of the notable person.

<sup>89</sup> Isidoros Glabas, *Homilies*, ed. Christophorides, 24.1.

<sup>90</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Theological works*, B1.19, ed. Balfour, 107–8.

<sup>91</sup> For a survey of these voices, see Laiou, 'Economic concerns', 205–23. For earlier times, see idem, 'God and Mammon', 261–300.

<sup>92</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Against usurers*, PG 150, 727–50; Nikolaos Kabasilas, *On usury to the empress*, eds Congourdeau and Delouis, 224–33.

<sup>93</sup> Kant., 3:40–1.

<sup>94</sup> See Duits, 'Artistic interactions', 90–1.





Last Judgment. The Rich Man.

Figure 1 A rich person among the sinners in the Last Judgement. Source: D. Mouriki, 'An unusual representation of the Last Judgement in a thirteenth century fresco at St. George near Kouvaras in Attica,' *DChAE* 8 (1975–6), 145–72. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica.



Last Judgment. Archimandrite and civil servant.

Figure 2 A civil servant among the sinners in the Last Judgement. Source: D. Mouriki, 'An unusual representation of the Last Judgement in a thirteenth century fresco at St. George near Kouvaras in Attica,' *DChAE* 8 (1975–6), 145–72. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace how the non-elite part of society thought about the social system or, in most cases, how it conformed to or resisted the norms that this system entailed. Too few non-elite texts have survived from Byzantium. In the eleventh century, Christophoros Mitylenaios wrote a short poem, 'On the Inequality of Life,' considering as mere words the proclamation of the natural equality of all humans in the Holy Scriptures, and deeming social fluidity as negligible, since only one in some thousands of rich people descends the social ladder and only three poor people among tens of thousands achieve ascent. Christophoros complains to the 'just' Lord about this injustice and contemplates a radical solution: he calls upon the Lord to destroy everything in the world, so that there will be equality.<sup>95</sup>

An example of a non-elite text in Palaiologan Byzantium is the *Dialogue between the rich and the poor* by Alexios Makrembolites, a text constructed in a more 'revolutionary' mode. It has been argued that there is nothing radical about Makrembolites' ideas.<sup>96</sup> This perception might change if we redefine what we mean by 'revolutionary'. If we define 'revolutionary' in its modern sense, as developed after the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, nothing in Makrembolites resembles the ideas of Rousseau or Marx. But these had grounded their revolutionary ideas in earlier philosophical and social thought (such as the writings of Kant), and in a very different society, culture and world. Makrembolites had to ground his ideas about social inequality in a much less developed background.

Makrembolites' dialogue is constructed in opposition to the dialectics of deference, as seen in the previous section in the works of Michael Gabras or Theodoros Hyrtakenos and similar texts. On the contrary, the Poor Man speaks to the Rich Man as an equal. There is no hint that he respects him; conversely, he often speaks ironically to him and accuses him of heartlessness, greed and indifference to the misfortunes of poor people.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the Poor Man counters the argument of the Rich Man – that the misfortunes that had befallen the poor were caused by

<sup>95</sup> Christophoros Mitylenaios, *Carmina*, no. 13, ed. De Groot.

<sup>96</sup> Ševčenko, in Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*; Kyrris, 'Éléments traditionnels'.

<sup>97</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 203–5: Μέχρι τίνος ἀνεξόμεθα τῆς πλεονεξίας ὑμῶν . . . μέχρι τίνος οὐκ ὀργισθήσεται καὶ κλονήσῃ τὴν γῆν, ὁρῶν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀθλίως ψυχορραγοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρεῖαν κεκτημένους καὶ εἰς γῆν αὐτὰ κατοῦντοντας; see also the introductory speech of the Poor.

the natural order<sup>98</sup> – by claiming that the Rich Man would go to Hell if he did not donate money.<sup>99</sup> When the Rich Man asserts that there are poor people who are not in need of help, but who still continue to ask greedily for mercy, the Poor Man defends them saying that they would not ask if the rich were prepared to be merciful and, turning the dominant ideology to his advantage, reproves him with the words: ‘You are not supposed to have these petty thoughts, but you should be ready to show mercy to anyone without discrimination.’<sup>100</sup> Besides, the Poor Man asserts that God bestowed wealth on the rich only so that they could provide for the poor, showing their mercy.<sup>101</sup>

However, there are certain elements that are in fact offensive to the official ideology. The Poor Man actually claims ‘nobility’ for the poor as well, albeit in terms of the equality of people’s souls.<sup>102</sup> For a moment, he dreams of a world with no poverty, when he asks the rich to marry their children into poor families.<sup>103</sup> This would sound like hubris to the Rich Man, since marriage in Byzantium was concluded on the basis of equality of social status and wealth. But the Poor Man is not a dreamer; he is a realist. He recognises that poverty has always existed and will always exist;<sup>104</sup> he ascribes the origins of wealth to knowledge, trade, abstinence, depredation, inheritance

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 206.16–21: ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΙ: Οὕτως ὄρισται, ἰν’ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀεὶ κακοπραγῆτε καὶ τὰ πάνδεινα πάσχητε, ἡμῖν δὲ πανταχόθεν κατὰ ῥοὴν τὰ πράγματα φέρηται. ΠΕΝΗΤΕΣ: Ἀλλὰ τοῦτ’ ἀμφίβολον, ὃ σοφώτατοι· ἐπεὶπερ ἔδει πάντας πλουσίους ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχοντας τὸ πλουτεῖν, καὶ πάντας πένητας πονηροὺς, ὡς ἐρήμους ὄντας θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔστι.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 215.11–14: Καὶ τίς ἡ τιμὴ, βέλτιστοι, τῶν κροκοδείλου δακρῶν, ἢ τῶν τάφων καὶ τῶν γαιῶν, τῶν διαδεχομένων ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀντὶ σκηνῶν αἰώνιων, ὅταν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν θλίψις αἰώνιος καὶ κόλασις διαδέξηται; cf. also 211.13–21.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 212.10–20: Ἀλλ’ οὐ τοιαῦτ’ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἐπενόησαν, εἰ πρόχειροι ἡμεῖς ἦτε εἰς εὐποΐαν· ἀπείργει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ τοῦς κατὰ μίμησιν θεοῦ ἐλεοῦντας τοιαῦτα λογιζεσθαι καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιτρέπει.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 214.6–8: ἐπεὶπερ ἡμῶν χάριν ὁ δεσπότης ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐνεχείρισε. Διὸ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θυσίαν ἀπαναινόμενος, τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπαραιτήτως ἀπαιτεῖ ἔλεον.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 207.33–6: πλὴν οὐκ ἐξ ὕλης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐλίας, ὡς οἴδατε, συνετέθημεν, ἐν ἧ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐπίσης ἅπαντες ἔχομεν.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 208.3–12: Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ τῷ γάμῳ οὐ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀγιασμοῦ χρῶμεθα [. . .]; δέον τὴν μηδὲν ἔχουσαν κόρην τῷ πλουσίῳ νυμφίῳ συνέρχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν· καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἐκ μέσου ἡ πενία ἐγένετο, ἦτις, ὡς οἶμαι, τῷ βίῳ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιπολάζει ἀλλ’ ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις συνέρχεσθαι, τῶν δ’ ἐναντίων ἢ μίξις, τὰς ἀκρότητας τούτων ἀποφυγοῦσα, τὴν σφύζουσαν μεσότητα παραδόξως ἐποίησεν. See below for the significance of marriage as a mark of social status.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 213.24–6: Ἦσαν οὖν, ἦσαν καὶ τότε πένητες, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάντοτε ἔσονται, ὡς πού Χριστός, ἢ αὐτοαλήθεια, ἀπεφῆνατο, καὶ οὐδέποτ’ ἐκλείψουσιν.

or abuse of power;<sup>105</sup> more importantly, he stresses that the poor would praise the rich, pray for them, prostrate themselves in front of them and treat them as gods, but not ask, still less *demand* what was rightfully theirs from the fruits of their own labour.<sup>106</sup> Thus the Poor Man, by evaluating the means for acquisition of wealth, unleashes doubts on the natural order of things, as propagandised by the upper class and presented by the Rich Man.

Makrembolites' dialogue is fictional. It is difficult to imagine anyone speaking these words openly. The Poor Man, who had insulted the 'notable' in Athanasios' letters, may have met the same fate as Kaballarios, who was forgiven by Andronikos III, but one should bear in mind that the insult was not tolerated.<sup>107</sup> However, it does reveal the considerable social tension during this period, especially keenly felt by some of the intellectuals, who must have found it at times humiliating constantly to petition the elite for material security.

The realities of the distribution of social power in the Palaiologan period (see Chapter 5) certainly created dissatisfaction among the common people and the lesser elite, which, however, was expressed only rarely in writing. The *Story of Belisarios* is an epic poem in demotic Greek whose main character, the general Belisarios, in spite of his military success during an ideal period of time in the heyday of the empire, is blinded as a consequence of conspiracies by certain aristocratic families.<sup>108</sup> The main theme of the poem is the envy (*phthonos*) prevailing among the Romaioi and how it destroyed their power.<sup>109</sup> The earliest surviving version of the *Story of Belisarios* (version  $\chi$ ) must have been composed around the last years of the fourteenth century, since it refers to the Romaioi who, because of this envy, have lost their castles and wealth, while the Turks (*Agarēnoi*), who are united under a single rule and have concord among them, will soon prevail across the

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 206.26–207.4: πρόδηλος γὰρ ἄρα ἡ αἰτία τῆς τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεως τῶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἐπλούτησέ τις ἢ ἐξ ἐμπορίας, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ ἐγκρατείας, καὶ ἐξ ἀρπαγμάτων ἕτεροι, καὶ ἐκ δυναστείας πολλοί, ἢ καὶ ἐκ πατρῶου κλήρου καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων. ἐπώχευσαν δ' αὖθις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἕτεροι.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 214.3–6: Καὶ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς οὐ προῖκα τὰς ὑμῶν εὐεργεσίας λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως εὐχαριστίας ἀντιδίδαμεν, εὐχάς, ἐπαίνους, προσκυνήσεις, ἐγκώμια, ὑποχωρήσεις, καὶ ὡς θεοὺς σχεδὸν ὑμᾶς λιτανεῦομεν, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ αἰτοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἀπαιτοῦντες ὑμᾶς τὰ ἡμέτερα.

<sup>107</sup> See p. 121–2.

<sup>108</sup> The poem is edited by Bakker and van Gemert. All subsequent references are from version  $\chi$ .

<sup>109</sup> Hinterberger, *Phthonos*, has analysed the importance of this motif to the Byzantine literature and has particularly examined the case of the *Story of Belisarios* (pp. 442–67).

world. This piece of information, that they were going to conquer the world, cannot have been written before the 1380s or rather the reign of Bāyezīd I (1389–1402) and also not during the first three decades after the battle of Ankara (1402), while the family names of Kananos (v. 53 and v. 314), Astras (v. 314) and Leontares (v. 315) are attested for the first time in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (the family name of Astras is mentioned only in sources during the second half of the fourteenth century); the equation of Byzantium with a city-state<sup>110</sup> and some technical terms (v. 63: *mesazontes*, attested in plural only since the late fourteenth century; v. 238: *allagia*, v. 433: *megas stratopedarchos* and v. 435: *bigla*, terms not attested in the fifteenth century) also testify to late fourteenth-century composition.

There have been attempts to identify the *Story's* protagonist with the blinded rebel of Asia Minor in the 1290s, Alexios Philanthropenos, or Alexios Apokaukos in the second civil war.<sup>111</sup> The protagonist of the *Story* indeed bears a number of similarities to the personality of Alexios Philanthropenos, as Beck has noted, but the only thing that connects him to Alexios Apokaukos is his humble social origin, although it is likely that the humility of Apokaukos' background was exaggerated by Kantakouzenos and Gregoras in order to defame him. The third civil war (1373–99, with interruptions), which was probably closely contemporary with the composition of the *Story*, and the blinding of Andronikos IV by his father Ioannes V may equally have offered material for the *Story* (the blinding of Belisarios, and the repeated polyarchy and envy of the Romaioi). Regardless, on a second level, the *Story of Belisarios* expresses the dissatisfaction of the lesser military elite or the soldiers (who may have been its target audience) with the higher aristocracy. The common people, unlike the *archontes*, are presented twice offering the best advice to the emperor.<sup>112</sup> It specifies that the star of Belisarios rose, despite Belisarios being of low birth, while the *archontes* envied him as a parvenu.<sup>113</sup> These *archontes* were in fact the great

<sup>110</sup> Vv. 162–3: Εἰς κάστρον ἐκατήνησαν, νησὶν τῆς Ἑγγλιτέρας, ὅπου ἴτασιν ἀντίδικοι τῆς Κωνσταντινίου πόλης ('they ended up in a castle on the island of England, which was an adversary to the city of Constantinople').

<sup>111</sup> Beck, 'Belisar-Philanthropenos'; Fotina, 'Critical edition', who identifies Belisarios with Alexios Apokaukos; Hinterberg, in *Phthonos*, 453–5, who is more of the opinion that there is no particular contemporary personality behind 'Belisarios'.

<sup>112</sup> Vv. 103–19 and 396–400.

<sup>113</sup> Vv. 27–31: Ὡς εἶδασιν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τὴν πράξιν, τὸ πῶς ἐκ γνώσεως καὶ σπουδῆς ἔπραξεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον, – ἐκ γένους χαμηλότατου ἐξέβηκεν τοιοῦτος, μᾶλλον ὁ κόσμος εἰς αὐτὸν δοξάζουσι καὶ εὐφημοῦν τον –, φθονοῦσιν τον οἱ ἄρχοντες μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι.

families of the empire.<sup>114</sup> It is also stressed that the two brothers, Alexios and Petraliphes, who first climbed the walls of an impregnable fortress, were low-born from a poor background and belonged to the *dēmos*.<sup>115</sup>

This last passage echoes a historical incident that occurred during the final victory of Andronikos III over his grandfather, on the day that Constantinople was captured following the treachery of the guardians of the walls. Andronikos III ordered that twelve common soldiers should first scale the walls of Constantinople. He reportedly did not want the first soldiers that climbed to be foreigners, who might boast about having prevailed over the Romaioi, or nobles, who might boast about prevailing over their social inferiors.<sup>116</sup> This incident in fact alludes to some possible tension or complaints brought forward by the common soldiers, who, especially during the reign of Andronikos II, observed that the higher elite was earning more and more of the state's economic, social and political capital. Andronikos III, by presenting himself

<sup>114</sup> Vn. 36–38 and 50–53: Καὶ εἶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντα, ἐκ τῶν Παλαιολόγου, τὸν βασιλέα δικάζεται μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ θάρσου καὶ τάχατε ὡς συγγενὴς πονεῖ τὸν βασιλέα [. . .] “Ἐχετε μάρτυρας τινὰς νὰ δεῖξετε εἰς τοῦτο, νὰ δεῖξετε παράστασι, ἀληθινὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα;” Εὐρέθην Κατακουζηνός, Ράλλης, Παλαιολόγος, Ἀσάνης τε καὶ Λάσκαρις καὶ Κανανός καὶ Δούκας (‘and one of the *archontes*, one of the Palaiologoi, he thinks about the emperor bodily and as if because he was a relative cares about him [. . .] “Do you have witnesses to prove that this [accusation] is real?” [As witnesses then] appeared Katakouzenos, Ralles [Raoul], Palaiologos, Asanes, Laskaris, Kananos and Doukas’); and later vn. 312–19: Καὶ τότεσον οἱ ἄρχοντες λέγουν τὸν βασιλέα, Ἀσάνης τε καὶ Λάσκαρις καὶ Κατακουζηνάϊος, Δούκας, Ἀστράς καὶ Κανανός καὶ ὁ Διπλοβατάτζης, Παλαιολόγος, Πρίγκιπας, Σφραντζῆς καὶ Λονταραῖοι, Ράλλης καὶ Πριμκήριος καὶ Κοντοστεφαναῖοι, ὅλοι φωνάζουν καὶ λαλοῦν διὰ τὸν Βελισάριον: “Ἦξευρε, πάντων δέσποτα καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ κράτος, πρὶν νὰ πληρῶση τρίμερον, χάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν” (‘and right then the *archontes* said to the emperor – that is, Asanes, Laskaris, Katakouzenaios, Doukas, Astras, Kananos, Diplobatatzes, Prinkipas, Sphrantzes, the Lontaraioi, Ralles, Primikerios and the Kontostephanaioi – and altogether cry out about Belisarios: “Know, our lord and ruler of the Romaioi, that before three days pass, you are going to lose the throne”).

<sup>115</sup> Vn. 223–8: Ὁ πρῶτος ὁποῦ ἐσέβηκεν κάστρον τῆς Ἑγγλιτέρας τὸ ὄνομά του Ἀλέξιος καὶ ὁ ἄλλος Πετραλίφης, ἀπὸ μικρὴν τε γενεάν, ἦταν δημοτυχῖται, χωρὶς γὰρ σκηπτρον πενιχρόν, ἐκ τῶν πτωχῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε Ἀσανοὶ ἦτασιν οὔτε Παλαιολόγοι, δύο ἀδελφοὶ ὁμομήτριοι, ἄνδρες ἀνδρειωμένοι (‘The first who climbed up on the castle of England was named Alexios, and the second one Petraliphes; they were from a low birth; they originated [socially: τύχη] from the *dēmos*, they had not even a petty standard, they were coming from the poor, they were neither Asanoi nor Palaiologoi; but simply two brothers of the same mother and were courageous men’); this was repeated in all other later versions. This incident is probably derived from a more popular version of the *History* of Niketas Choneiates, which mentions the Petraliphes brothers who inhabited Didymoteichon (i.e. Διδυμοτειχῖται, from which the word δημοτυχῖται derived). See also the editors’ comments on pp. 43–5.

<sup>116</sup> Kant., 1:301.

as closer to the common soldier, perhaps responded to the tension through this action.

Certainly, cases of disobedience did occur, but they did not generally unfold into revolt. The above-mentioned case of the villagers of Semaltos, who produced a submissive letter to the *oikonomos* of the monastery of Vatopedi, in fact records a previous incident of defiance (ἀναισχυντία). On another, earlier, occasion the outcome of the story was not the production of an apologetic letter. A *pronoia*-holder visited his *pronoia* with the *prōtobestiaritēs* of the state of Epirus, Georgios Choneiates, and asked for hospitality from the *paroikoi*. When, however, they arrived at the *pronoia*, they discovered that no food had been prepared for them. After the *pronoia*-holder commented that this was the result of the villagers, and especially the Vlach ones, being too hard and stingy, he began chastening the elder who was responsible for arranging the hospitality. Another *paroikos* came to the elder's defence but resorted to derogation of the *pronoia*-holder: he demanded that the *pronoia*-holder should not prate too much. At that moment the *pronoia*-holder grasped the head of the man and struck it on the ground leaving him dead. Why did this incident ever happen? Why would the villagers refuse to offer hospitality, a custom very important to the moral code of the eastern Mediterranean, including the Vlach communities? Perhaps they wanted to protest in this way against the constant demands of their lord. They might have been hoping that their grievances would be heard by a higher lord, the *prōtobestiaritēs*, and that they would receive justice. The belief in a 'good high lord or king' has been identified as one of the characteristics of peasant revolts in medieval Europe.<sup>117</sup> From a psychological perspective, the honour and the authority of the *pronoia*-holder had been damaged, even more so for being challenged by a simple *paroikos* in front of a higher lord. The metropolitan of Naupaktos, Ioannes Apokaukos, to whom the case was referred decided to charge the lord with negligent murder but sympathised with him, adding that when someone needs to be calmed down, one should pull the hair of their children to frighten them, but not kill them, obviously comparing the *paroikoi* to children, and thinking that a *paroikos* disrespecting their lord ought to be chastened. Of course, none of the *paroikoi* testified against the lord in front of the metropolitan.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Graus, 'From resistance to revolt'.

<sup>118</sup> Ioannes Apokaukos, *Letters*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, no. 4, pp. 379–82. The case has been recently analysed in its economic and administrative aspects and translated by Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 229–32. The peasant's slander to the lord, σὺ πολλὰ τσαμπουνίζεις καὶ πρόσχευε καλά in demotic Greek, does not seem to have been in the Vlach dialect, or a translation from it (the translation would use the

One of the few known cases of resistance by poor people to the demands of their lord during the Palaiologan period happened in 1358 in the village of Hagios Mamas in Chalkidike. That year the Serbians occupied this formerly Byzantine territory and gave Hagios Mamas to the monastery of Vatopedi. The *paroikoi* of the village had assisted a few years earlier in the construction of a fort for protection against enemy incursions, inside which they had built their houses; now the monastery was trying to tax these houses. The *paroikoi* sought to profit from this change of lord and refused to pay the tax on the houses unless it was reduced. The monastery proved unable to force them, and petitioned the governor of Thessalonike for a hearing. The governor proceeded to a settlement of the dispute, although the winners were eventually the monks since they strategically increased their claims, demanding in addition 'the customary corvées.' The *paroikoi* at that point conceded to payment of the full sum if, in return, the monks agreed not to ask for these corvées.<sup>119</sup> A similar case of refusal by *paroikoi* to perform their duties had occurred earlier in the village of Bare, in the area of Smyrna, where the peasants, dependants of the monastery of Lembiotissa, refused either to pay their tax to the monastery or to perform any corvée. The emperor ordered the *doux* of the province to use violence, if needed, in order to compel the peasants to perform their duties.<sup>120</sup>

The infrequency of incidents of peasant resistance and the lack of recorded peasant social revolts in late Byzantium, especially when compared to the situation in other parts of late medieval Europe – where frequent peasant revolts occurred during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not to mention individual cases of resistance – raises questions about the extent of the social conformity of the Byzantine peasantry and the cultural hegemony of the dominant social groups. The only three known incidents of a peasant revolt are all situated in late thirteenth-century Asia Minor. But they were all related to political issues: the first, the revolt of Trikommia, was a movement in favour of Ioannes IV Laskaris and may have been patronised by patriarch Arsenios, while the next two were rural resistance movements

higher language, like the rest of Ioannes Apokaukos' letter, including the narration part of the lord). It is simply a way to defame the peasants more; or, since the village was situated in the area called Blachia (ἐν τινὶ χωρίῳ κατὰ Βλαχίαν διακεμένῳ), the inhabitants, despite their Greek dialect, were called Vlachs. There is a similar phenomenon today, where peasants of central Greece may indistinguishably (and sometimes pejoratively) be called *Vlachoi*, though there is common knowledge of a certain linguistic group that speaks the Vlach dialect.

<sup>119</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 275 (no. 111: 1358).

<sup>120</sup> MM IV, no. 1.161 (1274). For the chronology of many documents from the monastery of Lembiotissa, see Dölger, 'Chronologisches und Prosopographisches.'



against the Turkish invasions, triggered by two charismatic Bulgarian leaders working in favour of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>121</sup>

Were Byzantine peasants in such a superior economic and social situation, compared to their Western counterparts, that they did not need to revolt? The data assembled in Chapter 5 regarding the village of Prebista suggest that there was a significant segment of Byzantine peasants who could produce a notable surplus in relation to their mediocre wealth. A great deal of social unrest and financial setbacks among the West European peasantry was caused by demographic over-expansion, at least in the period before the Black Death. The evidence suggests that, prior to the mid-fourteenth century, most regions of Western Europe had reached a demographic peak resulting in a subsistence crisis for the population. A clear majority of Western peasants had holdings (that is, rented land belonging to their landlord) of less than 10 acres (approximately 30 *modioi* in Byzantine terms), where sustainability has been identified as a landholding of 10 to 18 acres. In many areas the average landholding was only about five acres and only about 10 to 20 per cent of holdings usually exceeded the minimum sustainability figure.<sup>122</sup> The situation was improved only after the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the declining population returned to a sustainable level. But in the second half of the fourteenth century, growing social unrest resulted in rural revolts in many parts of Europe. In part, many of these revolts were aggravated by the greater efforts of the state and the landlords to increase their falling revenues and impose higher taxes, confounding the rising expectations of the peasantry for improved financial conditions after the demographic decline. These revolts were in fact the climax of a great deal of social unrest in the countryside throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>123</sup>

I tend to agree with Jacques Lefort that the population continued to rise in Byzantium until the second civil war, rather than with Laiou who placed the beginning of the population decline in the early fourteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Laiou, 'Peasant rebellion', 99–117.

<sup>122</sup> Campbell, 'Population pressure'; Dyer, 'Changes in size'; Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of living'.

<sup>123</sup> Bierbrauer, 'Bäuerliche Revolten'; Graus, 'Resistance to revolt'; Hilton, *Class conflict*; Michael Mullett, *Popular culture*; TeBrake, *Plague of insurrection*.

<sup>124</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 223–66 repeated in 'Agrarian economy', 315–16 with some concessions for over-expansion in a few villages; Lefort, 'Population et peuplement'; Moustakas, 'Δημογραφική κρίση', especially the table on p. 24 with comparisons of population data for many villages between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries in southeastern Macedonia; Smyrlis, 'Byzantium', 131–2. I also hold that the population numbers registered in the *praktika* are not always a safe indication of actual population size. The assessors may have not given the same diligence to registering infants or little girls. This may explain also the oft-encountered discrepancy in a village's sex ratio, always working in favour of males (55–60 per cent).

But we should not identify this population growth as an over-expansion. After all, the price of land did not rise, and there was always available land for newly installed peasants in the countryside. In the mid-fifteenth century, the information available from the more complete Ottoman tax registers evinces remarkable population growth in most of the villages that had been previously attested in the Byzantine period, which in turn demonstrates that there was still room for expansion in the early fourteenth century. In most of the villages where we have sufficient information for the Byzantine period, the available land (both that belonging to the peasants and to the landlord) was sufficient to sustain the population of the village, certainly to provide enough for its nutritional needs. A piece of rented land of about 35 *modioi* is sufficient to cover both the rent owed to the landlord (one-third after deduction of the following year's seed) and the nutritional needs of a family of four. Although we have virtually no information on how the domanial land was allocated, the average available land in most of the villages exceeds this lower limit.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, a greater part of the households in most villages were in a position to profit from the growing marketability of wine, which eventually may have contributed much more to their monetary income than the arable land itself, as demonstrated later in the case of the village of Prebista. Besides, unlike in the West, in late Byzantium the sources do not suggest that dim picture of an everyday struggle for subsistence by the peasants, or of hunger and poverty. The only known famine crisis in the early Palaiologan empire was in fact during the Catalan and Turkish raids in Thrace and Macedonia in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

This is not to suggest, of course, that Byzantine peasants were living an ideal life, nor should arguments *ex silentio* be overemphasised. The fact that there is quantitatively less evidence for Byzantium than in the West may have concealed some cases of individual resistance or of local unrest. Quite possibly, domanial land was not allocated equally among the households and, in many individual cases and areas, the peasants could not take advantage of profitable vine (or elsewhere olive) cultivation. After all, much of the social unrest that could trigger a revolt was often brought about by changes in the relations between a landlord and a peasant. The fact that the peasants were not tied to the land but could (and did in large numbers) migrate to other villages, even outside the domain of their previous lords, relieved some social pressure, since they could leave if their social or financial conditions worsened, or if they had an oppressive lord. The lack

<sup>125</sup> See Table II-2 in Laiou, *Peasant society*, 39–41 registering the number of households and available land in each village.

of privileges of lordship or judicial authority possessed by landlords, and the fact that these landlords were situated far away in Constantinople or, at best, in the nearest towns, may have also diverted the focus of possible grievances to the 'evil' stewards of landlords' properties, the 'evil' tax collectors or the 'evil' emperor who raised the taxes. Besides, much of the taxes and customary tithes that these peasants were paying were not defined by the landlords themselves or by an agreement between the peasant and the landlord, but by the state. In Byzantine times we hear much more about abuses by the administration than abuses by the landlords.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Even the tenth-century legislation, despite its rhetoric, was less concerned for the peasants than the growth of the authority of provincial elites. See Holmes, 'Political elites', 42–5. Nevertheless, my argument cannot explain why the peasants did not revolt against the state due to the constantly arising new taxes in the early Palaiologan period and why it was only the landlords and the elite who openly complained about them.

## 2

# Social Status

Social status is the degree of prestige that someone possesses in a society on account of their access to different assets and values, which differ from one society to another. These assets could be economic (such as income), political (social or political authority), cultural (consumption patterns and lifestyle), social (for example, social ties, access to networks and associations), honorific (birth, fame, titles), civil (citizenship, property rights), human (skills, education) and physical (age, gender, health). The possession of certain favourable characteristics influences, but does not necessarily determine, the position of an individual in the social stratification.<sup>1</sup> A man might, due to his gender and mature age, possess elevated prestige and power to influence decisions in some contexts, but on account of low income be unable to alter his relative position in the social stratification system. Nevertheless, these same assets are often treated or created to serve as boundaries for dividing social groups and preventing social mobility.

The impression left by the scholarly literature is that in its last centuries, Byzantium was becoming a more closed society, where social stratification allowed little space for social ascent. Snobbery and the demand of deference from a 'social inferior' is a safe method, not only of exhibiting social differences but also of maintaining social order.<sup>2</sup> As has been noted previously, since the collapse of the senatorial aristocracy in the seventh century, Byzantine society lacked a clearly defined elite layer, as was the case in many parts of high and late medieval Europe. But this is only half the truth. In fact, in Byzantium several such criteria slowly emerged that helped to define a more or less clearly delineated upper stratum of society,

<sup>1</sup> Grusky, 'Past, present, and future', 3–51. Physical assets will not preoccupy our discussion here.

<sup>2</sup> Magdalino, 'Byzantine snobbery', 58–9.

the achievement of social prestige, and the maintenance of a rigid social system.

In the following discussion, we take some of these criteria (wealth, ancestry, political distinctions, occupation, and so on) and consider their importance as markers of social status in late Byzantium, as well as how these were reflected in other aspects of social life, such as, how wealth was used to create a distinct lifestyle as expressed in clothing or diet. The second section of this chapter is concerned with social mobility. First, it asks what happened with the so-called status incongruence: that is, people who ranked low in the possession of some valued resources of society (such as wealth), but who, on the other hand, ranked high in the possession of another type of valued resource (such as their prestigious occupation or function in society). Groups of people who for a long time belonged to this category were often those who ranked high in their possession of ideological power, such as hermits or the educated, and who, thanks to their function in society and the cultural and social values of society, had a distinguished place in it, enjoyed social prestige and could sometimes influence decisions.

Second, we analyse what happened to people who experienced social ascent and on which of the criteria they focused for achieving ascent. More importantly, it will be shown that people who experienced social ascent did not remain in an incongruent status for long. They sought to assimilate, and even if some of the already established elite snubbed them at first, they often succeeded. This created a form of controlled social mobility that facilitated some level of social peace and preserved the social system. On the other hand, 'new men' at all times assimilated to the elite, with the effect that they soon lost any ideological, political or social connection with their social origins.

## Social Values and Prestige

The first criterion for snobbery and discrimination lay in honours, usually described in our sources as *doxa* (honour, glory) or *timē* (distinction), which in Byzantium mostly meant the possession of titles and offices. *Doxai* and *timai* were bestowed by emperors.<sup>3</sup> Honours were and became more important marks of social distinction following the demise of the hereditary senatorial nobility, as the research of Yannopoulos has shown.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Greg., 1:428, II, 610, 890; Kant., 1:104, 114, 287. For a list of the most common honorary epithets, dignities, offices and official titles, one can consult the Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Yannopoulos, *Société profane*, 24–76.

Honours persist as perhaps the most important identifiable and recurrent factor in our sources for higher status in late Byzantium, reflecting the importance the state acquired in regulating society.

A quite common honorary epithet was *kyr* (*kyra* for women).<sup>5</sup> The epithet was already in use in the middle Byzantine period, but during the Palaiologan era it became more common. It is usually ascribed to members of the higher social layers and is very often encountered in archival sources. No individual ever calls or signs himself using this epithet; only others call him *kyr*. It is used only in conjunction with the first name and not with the surname or the person's office and title.<sup>6</sup> Analysis of those people to whom the epithet is ascribed is useful, but can produce few concrete conclusions. It was never ascribed to peasants, and it is extremely rare to find it applied to commoners. It was more readily ascribed to monks and other church dignitaries who had achieved a certain social status.<sup>7</sup> It seems to have extended also to the upper middle layers of society. On many occasions, people without any title or office and with surnames otherwise unknown to us are called *kyr*. By way of example, a *prōtomaīstōr* of the builders (the head of a builders' team, a contractor) is also called *kyr*.<sup>8</sup> Finally, imperial secretaries were sometimes reluctant in ascribing it even to notable persons.<sup>9</sup> In sum, the epithet certainly denotes a high social status, but it

<sup>5</sup> It is equivalent to the English 'sir' in its stricter sense. For a more detailed study with similar conclusions, see Kontogiannopoulou, 'Προσηγορία *κυρ*'.

<sup>6</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 189 (no. 73: 1314): παρουσία τῶν ὑπογραψάντων μαρτύρων καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Χαλαζᾶ κυροῦ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ Κανονάρχου κυροῦ Μανουήλ καὶ τοῦ Καμπαναροπούλου κυροῦ Μανουήλ ('in the presence of the hereby signed witness, in front of *kyr* Theodoros Chalazas, *kyr* Manuel Kanonarchos and *kyr* Manuel Kampanaropoulos'). It is encountered only very rarely as an accompaniment to the surname: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 416, l.1 (no. 214: 1333): Πανσέβαστε σεβαστὲ οἰκεῖε τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου δομέστικε τῶν θεμάτων κύρ Μακρηνέ.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, the sales in *Acts Vatopedi* I, 244–57 (no. 43: 1308–12). None of the notables of Hierissos that acted as witnesses is called *kyr*, but the officials of the monastery of Vatopedi who acted as its agents are always called *kyr*.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 180 (no. 84: 1322): Georgios Marmaras.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, an order of Andronikos II in *Acts Prodromou* (B) 387 (no. 194): [. . .] τῶν κτημάτων τῶν περιπόθητων υἱῶν τῆς βασιλείας μου τῶν αὐθεντοπούλων σου Κωνσταντίνε Κουνάλη, ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων τοῦ ἐρασιμιωτάτου υἱοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου, τοῦ αὐθέντου σου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μαδαρίτης Συμεῶν ἀναδραμῶν ἐνταῦθα. . . ('Konstantinos Kounales, [overseer] of the estates of the beloved sons of my empire, your little lords! Symeon Madarites, a *paidopoulon* of the most dearest son of my empire, your lord and emperor [Michael IX], came here . . .'). Nevertheless, it is not connected with a lower social status of the recipients. In other imperial documents, people with roughly the same status (*apographeis* or soldiers) are commonly called *kyr*.

should be treated with caution when examining the status of someone who is ascribed this epithet, and not be exclusively associated with the elite.

Less often, we meet the designation *authentēs* (when this is not a reference to the emperor himself). It can be equivalent to 'lord' (without its constitutional or territorial meaning) or even 'master', and usually it designates a large gap of social status between the two sides and a status of servitude, either imagined or real, on the bestower's side. The first type of reference for the term relates to spiritual authority: a monk may often call his abbot *authentēs*, or a faithful layman his bishop.<sup>10</sup> The second type may be found in family relations between a son and his father or a wife and her husband.<sup>11</sup> The third type is the most interesting but least common: it is addressed to individuals other than the emperor and outside the contexts of household or spiritual authority. This person could be a despot: Manuel Palaiologos in Thessalonike was often called *authentēs* by his subjects, who signed documents referring to Manuel and not the emperor as their *authentēs*.<sup>12</sup> It can be used for other officials and again designates a large gap in social status between the two persons.<sup>13</sup> The notables of some villages called the appanage-rulers of Christoupolis, the *meγas primmikērios* Ioannes and the *meγas stratopedarchēs* Alexios, *authentai*.<sup>14</sup> A *paroikos* would call his lord *authentēs*: the deacon Manuel Souroungeres donated a field that he owned to his 'lord' Phokopoulos.<sup>15</sup>

Next to epithets, titles (*axiai, offikia*) were an important way of differentiating. The praise of an individual is usually accompanied by the honours and titles he has received. When Kantakouzenos speaks about the origins of Theodoros Synadenos, he mentions that Synadenos' father, by changing his allegiance to Michael VIII, gained considerable honours and an imperial bride.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> An *oikeios* of the emperor and large landowner, Manuel Deblitzenos called the metropolitan of Thessalonike, Isidoros, *authentēs*: *Acts Docheiariou*, 256 (no. 48: c. 1381).

<sup>11</sup> For example, Ioannes Kaloethes to his father Demetrios Trikanas (*Acts Docheiariou*, 215 (no. 36: 1361) and Anna Tornikina calls *authentēs* her husband, the *pinkernēs* Demetrios Tornikes (*Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 104 [no. 12: 1358]).

<sup>12</sup> The most striking example is a document from the archives of Docheiariou of the year 1373 (no. 41). Two officials, Ioannes Katzaras and Laskaris Metochites, are called *douloi* of their '*authentēs* the despot', and two others, Georgios Doukas Tzykandeles and Laskaris Kephala, *douloi* of their '*authentēs* the emperor'.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the governor of Melenikon is called *authentēs* by one of his sub-officials (*Acts Vatopedi* I, 221–2 [no. 36: 1304]). The *kephalē* of Thessalonike Nikephoros Choumnos is also called *authentēs* (*Acts Chilandar* I, 161 [no. 15: 1295]) by a notary of Hierissos, who recorded a sale between the monasteries of Xeropotamou and Chilandar.

<sup>14</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 364 (no. 41: 1358) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 96).

<sup>15</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 98–9, l.1 (no. 44): κυρὸν καὶ αὐθέντην μου.

<sup>16</sup> Kant., 1:37.

The very fact that our sources constantly discuss the changes in an individual's office is an indication of the value of hierarchy and titles. Sometimes people were better known by their titles, without the mention even of their surname. Kantakouzenos consistently refers to himself simply with the title of *meγas domestikos* and refers, accordingly, to other individuals with their titles, repeatedly adjusting these to any changes in the hierarchy. This phenomenon is observed not only in the narrative sources but in archival sources too. Leon Bardales was so well known by his office of *prōtasēkrētis*, which he held for more than twenty years, that there is no mention even of his name in many documents.<sup>17</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos signed a document merely as *sebastos* and *koiastōr*, even if these were not his most prestigious titles.<sup>18</sup>

The first type of distinction are epithets attached to a specific rank of dignity: *pansebastos*, *megalodoxotatos*, *megalohyperochos*, *megalepiph-anestatos*, and originated from the sixth-century system of ranking senators (that is *clarissimi*, *illustres*, etc.), which survived the twelfth century. A person was expected to be called by these distinctions, but would not use them in their own signature. The distinctions were not used for the highest officials and their importance fades away with the passing of time. The highest of them, *pansebastos*, attached to the title *sebastos*, gradually disappears from our sources, probably by the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

The titles of the main court hierarchy were far more important. They continued to exist throughout the period examined. It has been claimed that each office could only be held by one individual at a time and that each person could only have one title at a particular moment.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the first remark, there are cases, and still more come to the fore, where two or more individuals held the same office at the same time. The most obvious examples are the two *prōtallagatōres* in Thessalonike in a document of 1344 and the two *megaloi domestikoi* (Demetrios Palaiologos, Alexios Atuemes Metochites) in the treaty with Venice in 1357.<sup>21</sup> Kantakouzenos

<sup>17</sup> Compare document no. 124 of *Acts Prodromou* (B), 207, where the 'prōtasēkrētis Bardales' appears to have donated a bath to the monastery of Prodromos, with the acts no. 126 (p. 210), no. 127 (p. 212) and no. 146 (p. 251 and again on p. 253), where he is only mentioned with his title. In document no. 126 he himself also signs as 'doulos of the mighty and holy emperor, the prōtasēkrētis' without using the name (p. 211).

<sup>18</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 180 (no. 13: 1286) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 27–9).

<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, a *megalohyperochos*, kyr Georgios Maroules, can still be found as late as 1379 in Thessalonike: *Acts Vatopedi* III, 67 (no. 159).

<sup>20</sup> Kyritses, 'Byzantine aristocracy', 33–7.

<sup>21</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 170 (no. 23: 1344) and MM III, 126 (no. 29: 1357). See Table 26, note 4 (Appendix) for the identification of Alexios Atuemes as Alexios Metochites.



says that Andronikos Palaiologos and Georgios Choumnos were promoted simultaneously to *megaloi stratopedarchai*;<sup>22</sup> Demetrios Tzاملakon is attested as *meγas stratopedarchēs* between 1345 and 1362,<sup>23</sup> while Georgios Synadenos Astras is similarly attested between c. 1354 and 1365,<sup>24</sup> and Alexios from Bithynia in Christoupolis between June 1357 and 1363.<sup>25</sup> The common element in these titles is their military nature: it is thus possible that they were assigned to different persons at the same time in order to cover military requirements. The second remark is generally valid, although there is always the case of Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes, a nephew of Michael VIII, who before his death in 1284, is mentioned with the titles of *prōtosebastos*, *meγas domestikos* and *prōtobestiarios* simultaneously.<sup>26</sup>

The second main value that generated status in Byzantine society was nobility. A noble origin was always an important mark of status in Byzantium. In early medieval Byzantium (seventh to ninth centuries) it experienced a relative degradation, but not disappearance, as power and status in society were then, more than ever, attached to the state, most of the older senatorial families having lost their exalted place, become extinct or had to assimilate with the 'new men' favoured by the government. As the new elite emerged and stabilised in the ninth to tenth centuries, the first family names appeared, usually among the large clans of the provincial military aristocracy, but soon this tendency expanded to the civil Constantinopolitan elite. By the end of the eleventh century, all members of the Byzantine elite had acquired a family name. The appearance, stabilisation and expansion of family names demonstrate the increasing coherence achieved by this elite and its increased emphasis on birth and origin.<sup>27</sup> By the twelfth century, the clan of the Komnenoi had effectively vested nobility upon themselves, at the same time placing a greater emphasis on imperial descent. The Komnenian elite became obsessed with imperial blood, as several contemporary literary texts testify.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Kant., 2:218.

<sup>23</sup> Kant., 2:535 (1345); *Acts Vatopedi* II, 255 (no. 107: May 1356), 295 (no. 118: August 1362).

<sup>24</sup> Kant., 3:30 (c. 1354); MM III, 126 (no. 29: October 1357); *Acts Vatopedi* II, 283 (no. 114: July 1359), 290 (no. 117: July 1362); Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, nos 98 and 100, ed. Loenertz, 1:135 and 137 (as deceased: autumn 1365).

<sup>25</sup> *Acts Pantokrator*, 78 (no. 4: April 1357, still a *meγas primmikērios*). *Acts Lavra* III, 71 (no. 137: June 1357); *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 105 (no. 12: August 1358); *Acts Pantokrator*, 84 (no. 6: July 1363).

<sup>26</sup> MM IV, 102 (no. 43). All the holders of court titles have been concentrated on Table 26 in the Appendix in chronological order.

<sup>27</sup> Cheynet, 'Anthroponymie aristocratique'; Patlagean, 'Débuts'.

<sup>28</sup> Magdalino, 'Byzantine snobbery', 64–71. On the importance of descent for the middle Byzantine aristocracy, see Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation*, 28–51.

By the late Byzantine period, nobility as a quality had been diffused outside the imperial clan, yet it remained attached largely to the higher elite of the empire. Imperial descent still lingered as the most prominent factor that bolstered a person's claim to nobility. In many instances, descent (*genos*) was considered the pivotal characteristic of a 'good man'. Philes in a poem addressed to Kantakouzenos praises him for the pureness of his 'blood', being 'able to stand comparison with even the imperial light (of nobility)'.<sup>29</sup> Gregoras says of Michael Strategopoulos that he was famed for his high birth, wealth and strategic capability.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, Kantakouzenos says that Syrgiannes, one of his opponents, was an illustrious man in terms of his nobility, since his mother was from the imperial family and his father a most noble Cuman who had joined Ioannes III Batatzes in the Nicaean Empire.<sup>31</sup> The patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, himself a man of lower origins, says that those Constantinopolitans who 'excelled in terms of descent, wealth and offices' acted piously by providing money for the redemption of the prisoners captured by the Genoese in Herakleia in 1352, but also that 'the lesser ones' acted as best as they could.<sup>32</sup>

Not every member of the elite was noble; Kantakouzenos terms Sphrantzes Palaiologos, a member of the senate, as 'not so noble'.<sup>33</sup> Nobility is not an objective category; it depends on the point of perspective. Kantakouzenos and other members of the higher aristocracy did not consider members of the lesser elite noble. On the other hand, members of the lesser elite may well have considered their peers noble. In addition to cases where flattery is involved, such as in the epitaph-lament by Manuel Philes on the wife of a Branias, daughter of the 'noble' Petraliphes, this would explain the employment of this characterisation by Theodoros Sarantenos in his own testament for his 'most noble' but otherwise completely unknown son-in-law Michael Doukas Arianites in Berroia, or for the judge and *eπi tou stratou* (an inferior office) Orestes in Serres.<sup>34</sup> In the microcosm of these provincial societies, nobility would be a characteristic of the most prominent local people.

This distinctiveness of prominent members of Byzantine society is reflected also in the renewed popularity, since the twelfth century, of

<sup>29</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.1, ed. Miller, 1:170.

<sup>30</sup> Greg., 1:190.

<sup>31</sup> Kant., 1:18.

<sup>32</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 9.3–4, ed. Pseftonkas, 202–3 (*οἱ κάτω*). For the origins of Philotheos Kokkinos, see the analysis in Mitrea, 'Philotheos Kokkinos', 40–8.

<sup>33</sup> Kant., 1:451.

<sup>34</sup> *Acts Vatopedi II*, 354 (no. 64: 1325); *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162 (no. 27: 1365).

monograms on lead seals and on inscriptions as a kind of heraldic symbol that would identify a person. Evidence of their usage can be found in the capitals of columns originating from a church in Selymbria bearing the monograms 'Alexios Apokauchos *parakoimōmenos*,'<sup>35</sup> or the more elaborate 'ktētōr Ioannes Phrangopoulos, *prōtostratōr* and *katholikos mesazōn*' in the Church of Pantanassa in Mystras,<sup>36</sup> the monogram of Theodoros Doukas Synadenos on his lead seal,<sup>37</sup> and, of course, the monogram of the Palaiologoi encountered in contemporary inscriptions, manuscripts and coins alike.<sup>38</sup> Western-type heraldic symbols are rarer, and clearly a Latin influence. A good example is the rampant lion decorating the revetment in the Church of Pammakaristos in Constantinople, which in this case could be interpreted as a symbol of the Tarchaneiotēs family, and can also be encountered as a symbol for other individuals or families of Latin or Greek origin.<sup>39</sup> That heraldry was not a marginal phenomenon may be inferred from Kantakouzenos' narrating the campaign against the Genoese on Chios in 1329. Each magnate that had undertaken the arming of a ship decorated the weapons and the shields of the soldier crew with their insignia (*παράσημα*).<sup>40</sup>

A phenomenon firmly connected with nobility is the use of multiple surnames by the aristocrats. They bore not only their paternal surname but often included their maternal, and even their ancestors' surnames. This characteristic developed in the imperial family from the twelfth century, and as other families soon emulated the practices of the imperial family, it achieved prominence in the Palaiologan empire and became ever more apparent in signatures. An inscription from the Peloponnesos bears the name of 'Ioannes Tornikes Doukas Angelos Palaiologos Raoul Laskaris Asanes.'<sup>41</sup> The reason for the development of such a tradition was the desire to mark one's high status by revealing one's ancestry. If an individual was 'less noble' on one side, he carefully played down this surname. Thus, in a document of 1344, Ioannes, the son of Alexios Apokaukos, merely signed

<sup>35</sup> Brooks, 'Sculpture', 111 (no. 56A, B); see also the unidentified no. 57.

<sup>36</sup> Millet, 'Inscriptions de Mistra', 134–6, with corrections in Millet, 'Inscriptions inédites', 462–6.

<sup>37</sup> Seibt, 'Monogramm-Siegel'.

<sup>38</sup> Asdracha and Bakirtzis, 'Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace', 273–6; Buchtal and Belt-ing, *Patronage in thirteenth-century Constantinople*, plate 19.

<sup>39</sup> See Ousterhout, 'Emblems of power', 92–7.

<sup>40</sup> Kant., 1:375.

<sup>41</sup> Soteriou, 'Εικὼν Παλαιολόγου', 31.

as Ioannes Doukas without using the surname Apokaukos.<sup>42</sup> Although this tradition was present throughout the Palaiologan period, it declined in the second half of the fourteenth century, when people were rarely known by more than one or two surnames.

Among the social criteria for distinction in Byzantium, association through marriage should have been one of the most distinguishing. The conclusion of a noble marriage meant the acceptance of someone into the upper strata and signified his social ascent. Through the newly created family unit, economic, social and cultural capital was transferred to future generations, and this is the reason that the Poor Man of Makrembolites' dialogue sought to alter marriage practices.<sup>43</sup> In the long term, a marriage to a prominent family would alleviate the disadvantages of low birth. Kantakouzenos speaks of the low origins of the *meḡas stratopedarchēs* Manuel Tagaris; thanks to his valour in battle, however, he gained honours and was rewarded with marriage to the emperor's niece.<sup>44</sup> Manuel's grandson, Paulos Palaiologos Tagaris, could boast of his parents' noble birth.<sup>45</sup> The emperors in fact often arranged such marriages among members of the elite. Michael VIII Palaiologos arranged the marriage of the *prōtasēkrētis* Michael Kakos with a 'noble' Philanthropene.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, the tendency of offspring to choose from among their parents' surnames has reduced the number of similar occasions known to us.

Membership of a network or a community could be a mark of distinction. To the extent that someone could regard with pride his belonging to the retinue or receiving the patronage of a social superior, the social superior could in turn boast about his multitude of supporters. One of the

<sup>42</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 171 (no. 23: 1344). The full name of Alexios Apokaukos was Alexios Doukas Dishypatos Apokaukos. Kantakouzenos in his *History* calls both Ioannes and Alexios only Apokaukos. He does not want to grant this 'noble' surname (the Doukai were an imperial dynasty in the eleventh century) to an 'ignoble' (as Kantakouzenos would have liked Apokaukos, his principal enemy in the second civil war, to be). Others were even less lucky than Apokaukos in their treatment by Kantakouzenos; for Michael Katharos, the bastard son of the despot Konstantinos Palaiologos, Kantakouzenos (1:14) says that his origins 'were from a low and indistinct mother, while he was equally unworthy in all other respects: he had neither a prudent nature, nor was educated, nor had a military training, nor had anything, even a little, of those [physical?] characteristics of other young people, but was completely deprived of any good.'

<sup>43</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 208 (l. 3–12).

<sup>44</sup> Kant., 1:91.

<sup>45</sup> MM II, 225 (no. 476: 1394). On him, see also Hunger, 'Generalbeichte'.

<sup>46</sup> Pach., 1:157. Pachymeres praises Michael VIII for this marriage, but when referring to the similar earlier arrangements of Theodoros II Laskaris (1254–8), he characterises the emperor as 'evil': *ibid.*, 1:41–3.

identifiable traits of the Rich Man was the possession of crowds of friends and a large retinue of servants.<sup>47</sup> The prideful Eirene Palaiologina Raoulaina, wife of the *porphyrogennētos* Konstantinos Palaiologos, used to be accompanied by a crowd of followers.<sup>48</sup> Gregoras says that his theological rivals, the Palamites, were jealous of his large retinue of students,<sup>49</sup> and Demetrios Kydones considered it a distinction that his father had served and was a friend of Kantakouzenos.<sup>50</sup> Chortasmenos considered the possession of wealth and of opulent houses and being surrounded by a crowd of guards to be marks of an exalted social status.<sup>51</sup>

Shifting the discussion to the domain of human criteria generating status (that is, the status of a person's skills, education, profession and function in society), the sources emphasise the importance of education (*paideia*) and prudence (*phronēsis*) as characteristics for snobbery and social discrimination. As might be expected, an intellectual could use these criteria to express social snobbery to a stronger degree than would otherwise be usual. The use of elaborate language and the employment of classical ideals by intellectuals can be considered as comprising an effort to preserve their endangered social position and the place of classical education, both of which were under threat in the socio-political environment of the fourteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

The scholar Nikephoros Gregoras is a very good example. He never abstains from praising an educated man. However, his lack of a proper education, in combination with his hostility towards people, creates the most vivid negative descriptions in his works. In his account of the outbreak of the second civil war, Gregoras says that it was then that the empire was divided into two parts: on the one side were the prudent, the wealthy, the honourable and the educated, while on the other side were the imprudent, the poor and the uneducated.<sup>53</sup> He says that the Palamite bishops who were summoned to the synod of 1351 were either illiterate and manual labourers or sacrilegious, spending time in brothels.<sup>54</sup> Of course, these bishops could not be mere farmers or manual labourers. They were certainly educated, but they did not agree with the 'most wise,' Gregoras and as such, according

<sup>47</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 209.

<sup>48</sup> Pach., 3:173.

<sup>49</sup> Greg. 2:994–5.

<sup>50</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Oration to Ioannes Kantakouzenos*, 4, ed. Loenertz, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 24, ed. Hunger, 175.

<sup>52</sup> Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 272–310.

<sup>53</sup> Greg., 1:13.

<sup>54</sup> Greg., 2:883–4.

to the classical rules of *psogos* (invective), they were labelled as completely uneducated.

Gregoras narrates another interesting incident. Bishops and other wise men were summoned to the synod of summer 1341, which anathematised Barlaam for his anti-Palamite teachings, but many members of the 'common mob' also gathered. On observing this, the emperor Andronikos III did not wish the 'holy mysteries of theology' to be heard by the 'evil ears of the *dēmos*' and postponed the discussion until another day.<sup>55</sup> So, knowledge was not a privilege accessible to everyone. Only appropriately educated men could be admitted to knowledge. Education in turn was usually accessible to those who had some financial means. Waged instructors were engaged in teaching; at least a modest financial background was indispensable. Therefore, it was not at all strange that education was commonly a component of discrimination towards socially inferior common people. Nevertheless, despite the socially exclusionary attitude of people such as Gregoras, one could encounter attitudes in favour of social assimilation with the economically weaker classes. The intellectual Thomas Magistros, in a discourse on the duties of a good citizen, called fathers to invest not only in money and land for their children but also in education, and believed that before children learned any of the professions, they should first have a basic education.<sup>56</sup> He and other teachers seem to have waived fees from poorer students. Although Magistros may indeed have been envisaging an increase in social esteem for education, which would in turn bring higher social status to an intellectual like himself,<sup>57</sup> one should also see here the practice of patronage: on the one hand, Magistros was performing 'philanthropy' by waiving fees, while on the other hand he was gaining students and future supporters. This practice was the same as that of other members of the elite who were helping the advancement of people by taking them often into their houses as servants and protégés (see Chapter 4).

Byzantine sources often comment negatively on 'the mob' because it seemed to react imprudently. In June 1345, the *dēmos* of Constantinople, with an 'unrestrained and furious' rush, massacred the political prisoners who had murdered Apokaukos.<sup>58</sup> The *dēmos* of Thessalonike was moved to the massacres of the *archontes* the following year 'by wine and anger'.<sup>59</sup> When in 1354 the two emperors Ioannes V and Ioannes Kantakouzenos reached

<sup>55</sup> Greg., 1:557–8.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Magistros, *Political discourse*, 537–44.

<sup>57</sup> Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 237–9.

<sup>58</sup> Kant., 2:545.

<sup>59</sup> Kant., 2:580.

a compromise to end the civil war, the *dēmos*, ‘as usual acting with imprudence and irrational haste’, caused a commotion and was ready to do anything.<sup>60</sup> Manuel Philes praises an anonymous *meγas droungarios tēs biglas* for effectively safeguarding the city from disorders that could be caused by the ‘insolent *dēmos*.’<sup>61</sup> Even non-elite texts, such as the *Life of St Ioannes the Merciful* (Ioannes III Batatzes), written by an anonymous author in the early Palaiologan period, often include negative comments about the ‘imprudent *dēmos*’, which at times ‘was in a state of upset and needed to be chastened’ or was simply ‘irrational.’<sup>62</sup> Chortasmenos, an author who did not consider himself part of the elite, praised the senator Melissenos for having defeated the irrationality of the *dēmos* with his wisdom.<sup>63</sup>

The inferior position of the common people is palpable. The authors’ expressions of contempt are made stronger in the texts by the fact that commonly the word *dēmos* is synonymous with *agoraios*, *ochlos* or *plēthos* (respectively, ‘people of the market’, ‘the mob’, ‘the commoners’), terms with negative connotations. Kantakouzenos prompted Andronikos III to act, just before the outbreak of the first civil war; otherwise, he would become equal to ‘one of the *agoraioi* and the *dēmos*’, rather than maintaining his place as an honoured emperor.<sup>64</sup>

Military prowess and valour were still considered praiseworthy in the late period, although their importance had been somewhat lessened since the twelfth century. Nevertheless, effective generalship and love of bloodshed (against the ‘barbarians’) remained a *topos* for praise of military men. Thus the massacre of the barbarians caused by the broadsword of a certain *meγas stratopedarchēs* is compared by Philes with a farmer reaping with his scythe.<sup>65</sup> The epic romances of the Palaiologan period, such as the *Achil-*

<sup>60</sup> Kant., 3:304.

<sup>61</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 3.132, ed. Miller, 2:167–8. The *meγas droungarios* to whom the verse is addressed cannot be identified since there were many holders of this title for the period c. 1290–1341, when Philes was active (see Table 26, Appendix). I do not think that Philes means here the *meγas droungarios tou stolou*, although he dedicated some poems to the *meγas droungarios tou stolou*, Ioannes Doukas Mouzalon (ibid., no. 156, 2:187–8): in that poem he clearly speaks of Mouzalon’s duties at sea. In our case, the duties of this *meγas droungarios* were in the city. Bearing in mind the fact that the *meγas droungarios tēs biglas* earlier (tenth to twelfth centuries) had police and judicial duties, this is one more instance where it is possible to detect the survival of duties of an older office.

<sup>62</sup> Ed. Heisenberg, 197, 206, 207, 224, 230. For the anti-Palaiologan sentiment of early Palaiologan saint veneration, see Macrides, ‘Saints and sainthood’, 82.

<sup>63</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 51.10–12, ed. Hunger, 207.

<sup>64</sup> Kant., 1:21.

<sup>65</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 3.171, ed. Miller, 2:193–4.

*lead*, the *Song of Belisarios* and the *War of Troy*, praise warfare and military valour.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, military literature was still composed and read widely throughout the Palaiologan period.<sup>67</sup> Even in the fifteenth century, Argyropoulos, an intellectual and teacher, claimed valour for himself when responding to the accusations of his enemy Katablattas.<sup>68</sup> Generalship may have been evoked at times as a quality of status, together with factors such as wealth or nobility.<sup>69</sup>

Aristocratic societies centred on a court often develop a distinct courtly culture, which functions as another mode of social differentiation. Courtly cultures usually promote delicacy, refinement, good judgement, gentleness, physical beauty and love for arts and education.<sup>70</sup> Byzantium, with its long-established centralised court, possessed a developed tradition of courtly culture, which also passed to the Palaiologan period. Therefore, to take one example, Philes praises the despot Ioannes for his virtuousness, his grace, his prudence and his conviviality.<sup>71</sup>

Manual labour in Byzantium was not restricted to specific social categories. Maximos shows no concern in declaring that his father, the founder of the monastery of Skoteine, had been a manual labourer, occupied with the charcoal industry.<sup>72</sup> Outside the context of a *psogos* in literary works, artisanship was no evil. Even God could be likened to artisans, as He Himself was the artisan (*technitēs*) who created the Universe. The word *technitēs* is a commonly attested neutral or even positive term to denote creation. A prudent politician can be an artisan of the political art.<sup>73</sup>

However, for most intellectuals, manual labour had pejorative connotations and was placed in antithesis with the occupation of an intellectual. As already mentioned above, when Nikephoros Gregoras wanted to defame some of his opponents who were bishops, he accused them of having previously been manual labourers and farmers. In Adrianople, Kantakouzenos describes one of the leaders of a riot against his supporters in the second civil

<sup>66</sup> For the military ethos in Late Byzantium, see Kyriakidis, *Warfare*, 45–60.

<sup>67</sup> See Rance, 'Late Byzantine elites'.

<sup>68</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 33.

<sup>69</sup> For example: Greg., 1:190: 'among whom there was Michael Strategopoulos, who excelled in terms of wealth, descent and army commands' (ὄν προῦχων ὑπῆρχε τὰ μάλιστα καὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ στρατηγίας περιβόητος Μιχαὴλ ὁ Στρατηγόπουλος); Kant., 2:313.

<sup>70</sup> Jaeger, *Origins of courtliness*; Redner, *Ethical life*, 37–48 and chapter 8.

<sup>71</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 3.94, ed. Miller, 2:145–6.

<sup>72</sup> *Testament of Maximos of Skoteine*, ed. Gedeon, 271–2.

<sup>73</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Discourse against the archontes attacking holy property*, 24.7–8, ed. Ševčenko, 103. Elsewhere, Manuel Chrysoloras praises Manuel II as an artisan: *Discourse to Manuel II*, eds Patrinelis and Sophianos, 64.



war as a manual labourer. This 'manual labourer's' house was, apparently, considered rich enough to be plundered during the pro-Kantakouzenist riot of 1344.<sup>74</sup> Theodoros Hyrtakenos complains that if he had been a gold- or silver-miner he would be surrounded by gold and silver, but although he is occupied with rhetoric that is much more valuable than precious stones and gems, he has become more ignoble than the miners.<sup>75</sup> Philes voices the same grievance, reproving the sudden enrichment of manual labourers such as the shoemaker, the tanner or the fuller.<sup>76</sup> Argyropoulos reproves Katablattas for the fact that his father had been a manual labourer, a simple weaver, though again this ignobility becomes connected to education since, Argyropoulos continues, Katablattas abandoned the art of weaving suddenly to become a scholar, although he was illiterate before.<sup>77</sup> The *archontes* who seek to appropriate ecclesiastical property in a discourse by Nikolaos Kabasilas are in fact 'evil, pitiable men and no better than manual labourers or a huckster.'<sup>78</sup> The worst evil that could befall an educated man, according to Chortasmenos, was not poverty, the inability to serve in the imperial bureaucracy or living among the barbarians, but being compelled to speak with sappers.<sup>79</sup> Ioannes VIII Palaiologos, furious at Antonios, the metropolitan of Herakleia, disparaged him as an 'unskilled man, uneducated manual labourer and peasant.'<sup>80</sup>

On the other hand, away from the culture and the values of the educated elite, in a more provincial/rural milieu, the occupation of the civil servants may have been regarded negatively. Distrust could be directed against those with this specialised knowledge, thus defying the ideal of prudence professed by the educated. In a chapel in Attica, a thirteenth-century fresco depicting the Last Judgement shows a civil servant (perhaps a notary) among those unhappy men condemned to Hell, alongside someone who gave false measures (perhaps a trader), an avaricious archimandrite and some farmers who cultivated their neighbour's field (see Figure 2).<sup>81</sup>

Trade was a profession often regarded pejoratively in the early and middle Byzantine periods. Laws prohibited merchants from occupying offices in the state hierarchy and prevented those of esteemed social position (defined

<sup>74</sup> Kant., 2:485.

<sup>75</sup> Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, eds Karpozilos and Fatouros, 96–8.

<sup>76</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 5.52, ed. Miller, 2:416–418.

<sup>77</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 31–3.

<sup>78</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Discourse against the archontes attacking holy property*, 44.5–8, ed. Ševčenko, 116.

<sup>79</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 19.5–15, ed. Hunger, 168.

<sup>80</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 402.

<sup>81</sup> Mouriki, 'Unusual representation', plate 88.

as possessing high birth and honours, in other words, titles and offices) from occupying themselves with banking or trade activities.<sup>82</sup> However, from the eleventh century onwards, these attitudes slowly changed, and as international trade and contact with Italian merchants increased, members of the elite increasingly, and sometimes exclusively, became involved in trade.<sup>83</sup> Regardless, this negative reputation still persisted in a few cases. Philotheos Kokkinos, when referring to the Laconians who inhabited Constantinople in his time, says that most of them had come because of their trade and maritime activities and that, owing to their occupation, most of them were more like barbarians: bold and ready to quarrel.<sup>84</sup>

In most sources, however, the picture is different. Kantakouzenos acknowledged that trade, along with agriculture and artisanship, were sources of sustenance for (non-elite) people.<sup>85</sup> Authors such as Maximos Planoudes, Nikephoros Gregoras, Nikolaos Kabasilas and the hieromonk Makarios Makres recognised the toil (*kopos*, *talaipōria*) that a merchant could incur, mainly because of sea travel.<sup>86</sup> In particular, Theoleptos, the metropolitan of Philadelphia, places the merchant's toil on the same level as a peasant's and notes moreover how little profit he can expect for this toil. He has further, a sympathetic eye for a merchant who took a loan from a rich man to conduct trade and then acted in humility, struggling with all his means to repay this loan.<sup>87</sup> Isidoros Glabas, when he counsels his flock to pay heed to their spiritual rather than their material wealth, uses the negative example of both the man who is constantly occupied with his lands, houses, slaves and livestock and the merchant who travels far away to amass different kind of products that will bring him wealth.<sup>88</sup> Thomas Magistros in the early fourteenth century and Demetrios Kydones in the

<sup>82</sup> See Papagianni, 'Byzantine legislation', 1083–85.

<sup>83</sup> Gerolymatou, 'Aristocratie et commerce', 77–89.

<sup>84</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Isidoros*, 31, ed. Tsames, 1:365–66. See also Kiousopoulou, 'Η στάση', who believes that churchmen had generally negative attitudes to trade and banking activities.

<sup>85</sup> Kant., 1:238.

<sup>86</sup> Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, no. 12, ed. Leone, 28; Greg., 2:628; Nikolaos Kabasilas, *On usury to the empress*, eds Congourdeau and Delouis, 231; Makarios Makres, *Consolation to friend Ioannes*, ed. Sideras, 321 (placing it at the same level as a farmer's or an artisan's toil). For a different interpretation of the opinions of Nikephoros Gregoras and Nikolaos Kabasilas, see Loungis, 'Βυζαντινές λόγιες απόψεις'.

<sup>87</sup> Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *Letters*, no. 3, ed. Constantinides Hero, 72; Theoleptos of Philadelphia, *Monastic discourses*, no. 17, ed. Sinkewicz, 288–90. The phrase εἰς ἐμπόριαν ('to conduct trade') has been translated by the editor as 'to make purchases'. To the extent of my knowledge, ἐμπόρια always means 'trade' in late Byzantine texts.

<sup>88</sup> Isidoros Glabas, *Homilies*, no. 32, ed. Christophorides, 1:104–5.

1380s considered that merchants were quite useful to a city: they might not contribute from their own funds to salvage a city from poverty, but through their toil they build ships and travel far away to bring necessities to other citizens.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, trading is often evoked positively in a metaphorical sense.<sup>90</sup> In the Palaiologan period, what is particularly criticised is not enrichment through trade, but rather other sudden causes of enrichment, such as tax farming. Tax farming was exploited by elite individuals from at least the eleventh century until the fifteenth century, despite the scorn that many other members of the elite express towards it throughout the period.<sup>91</sup>

In most complex societies, economic criteria are of paramount importance in defining social status. In late Byzantium, wealth remained praiseworthy and can be considered, in equal degree to honours, as the most frequent factor of elevated status. As Konstantinos Akropolites writes regarding the parents of St Theodosia, '[They were] most pious and God-loving, and wardens of God's law. What more need I say? I will just say that they were full of riches and glory; in short I can say that they were worthy of such an offspring'.<sup>92</sup> Saints did not come from poor backgrounds: until the twelfth century, poverty and low origins might have been ascribed to saints in Byzantium, but high social status and wealth came progressively to be deemed praiseworthy for saints.<sup>93</sup> Ioseph Kalothetos stresses these features for the Patriarch Athanasios, whereas even in the case of the ascetic monk St Romylos we learn that 'his parents were not wealthy, but they had sufficient money (*autarkeia*) for their necessities and for distribution to the poor'.<sup>94</sup>

Poverty had started to become regarded as a negative moral attribute. The reason was that, supposedly, it could easily lead to greed and excess. Demetrios Kydones in his *Apology* says that poor people, who had no occupation, envied all those who did not share their misery, making the accusation that

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Magistros, *On Kingship*, 23, ed. Cacciatore; Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, nos 328 and 328\*, ed. Loenertz, 2: 258–60.

<sup>90</sup> For example, Nikephoros Gregoras, *Encomium to St Demetrios*, ed. Laourdas, 91.

<sup>91</sup> For example, the *megas papias* Arsenios Tzamlakon, *sympentheros* of the emperor Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and a great landowner in Thessalonike, is attested as an *apographeus* around Constantinople: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 234 (no. 102: 1349).

<sup>92</sup> Konstantinos Akropolites, *Life of St Theodosia*, 3.39–42, ed. Kotzabassi, 124: Εὐσεβέστατοι, καὶ φιλόθεοι, καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκριβεῖς φύλακες. Τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν; Ἐὼ γὰρ ὡς ἐκόμων πλοῦτῳ καὶ δόξης ἀπῆλαυον· ἐν βραχεῖ δέ φημι, γεννήτορες τοιοῦτου τῷ ὄντι γεννήματος ἀξιόχρεοι.

<sup>93</sup> See Patlagean, 'Sainteté et pouvoir'; Morris, 'Political saint'; Magdalino, 'Byzantine holy man'.

<sup>94</sup> *Life of St Romylos*, ed. Halkin, 116.

everything they possessed had been gained by either bribery or seizure.<sup>95</sup> The 'poor wretched men' that Apokaukos had gathered around him 'would dare the most terrible acts because of their poverty.'<sup>96</sup> Gregoras calls the Zealots, the eager adversaries of Kantakouzenos in the second civil war, 'poor who seek out wealth and glory.'<sup>97</sup> Thomas Magistros praises Patriarch Niphon because during his patriarchate the poor supposedly ceased lying to the rich. As with the lack of education, poverty can be said to diminish someone's quality; it can be used as an element of *psogos*. So Gregoras says that Apokaukos was raised in poverty and that he used to 'wander from master to master begging for money.'<sup>98</sup> Likewise, he writes, regarding the *nomophylax* Symeon, who was hated by Gregoras for his Palamite allegiance and the help that he had provided to the 'friends' of Palamas, that he was poor and lived in hunger, and that it was by flattering the honoured men that he obtained the necessities of life.<sup>99</sup> One should note that *nomophylax* was a high ecclesiastical office that required a high level of education, which could not have been obtained unless Symeon had at least some financial means. Similarly, in Mazaris' satirical *Journey to Hades*, Padyates accuses Holobolos, among other things, of becoming rich and glorious from poor and inglorious origins.<sup>100</sup> It suffices to recall that the Holobolos family had a long tradition in holding judicial offices, and was indeed a family of the civil elite.

Poverty was a bad condition since, as Gregoras advances the argument in the mouth of Kantakouzenos, 'the character of a man is shown more by his authority, wealth and autonomous power, than by poverty or dependency.'<sup>101</sup> In his *Political discourse*, Thomas Magistros advises that the guardians of a city should not come from the ranks of poor and worthless men, but rather

<sup>95</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Apology*, ed. Mercati, 414. Kydones, who converted to Catholicism, replies to the accusation that he was receiving money from the pope.

<sup>96</sup> Kant., 2:137.

<sup>97</sup> Greg., 2:674.

<sup>98</sup> Greg., 1:577.

<sup>99</sup> Greg., 3:111.

<sup>100</sup> Mazaris, 28: ὁ ἐκ πενήτων πλούσιος, καὶ ἐξ ἀτίμων τίμιος καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐξ ἀδόξων καὶ ἐξ ἀγνώστων γνωστὸς γενόμενος, ὁ τὴν πατρίδα μὲν οἰκῶν, οἰκίας δ' ἀνοικοδομήσας λαμπράς, ἃς οὐδ' ἐν ὄνειροις εἶδε ποτε, ὁ λευκὰς καὶ σηρικὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς ἡμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτας, πρότερον δὲ διφθέραν φορῶν, ὡσπερ ὁ τοῦτου πρόγονος. ('The man who became rich from poor, honourable from dishonoured, glorious from inglorious and renowned from unknown he was, who, while remaining in his mother-town [and did not suffer the toil of Padyates who followed the emperor to his trips], erected splendid mansions that he had not even dreamt of, and is wearing white silk and imperial garments, while before he was wearing just a leather jerkin like his ancestor.')

<sup>101</sup> Greg., 2:594.

they should have ‘fields and houses in the city and ancestral tombs.’<sup>102</sup> An author like Alexios Makrembolites, who felt actual sympathy for the poor, wrote that the rich considered them as ill-born because of their poverty.<sup>103</sup> Manuel Philes also connects ill-birth (*dysgeneia*), malice and uselessness with poverty.<sup>104</sup> In a letter addressed to Demetrios Kydones, the emperor Manuel II, citing the ancient Greek author Theognis, states that he feels very content with the fact that he has not been struck by the worst evil of the world: poverty.<sup>105</sup> And a soldier named Demetrios Phatmeris, ‘son of Kaisaras Doukas’, buried in a church in Ochrid, declares in his epitaph inscription: ‘I have been deprived of my wealth and glory and my *people* (*dēmos*) and my house. Now I am laid in a dirty tomb, a naked poor man (*penēta*).’<sup>106</sup>

Furthermore, some leading churchmen tried to stress that wealth *per se* was not bad or sinful but rather that greed was bad, from which even poor people could suffer. They also stressed that the famous beatitude: ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven’ (Matt. 5:3), was not related to ‘physical poverty’ but rather to spiritual virtue.<sup>107</sup> Similar was the fate in contemporary literature of Christ’s parable of the poor Lazarus and a rich man, who lived lavishly without helping the poor Lazarus, with Lazarus ending in Paradise and the rich person in Hell (Luke 16:19–31). Gregorios Palamas immediately stresses that not all rich people go to Hell: Lazarus was greeted in Paradise by Prophet Abraham, who had been wealthy.<sup>108</sup> Christ’s proverb, ‘it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven’ (Matt. 19:24), is met only twice: once as an argument against the evident wealth of the Muslims in the fifteenth century and once in connection not with wealth itself but with avarice.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Magistros, *Political discourse*, 521<sub>B</sub>. The ‘ancestral graves’ can be interpreted as an element of high birth in connection with the wealth that the ‘houses and fields’ opulariz (see *ODB* s.v. ‘Thomas Magistros’).

<sup>103</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 210.6: Πλὴν εἰ καὶ δυσγενεῖς διὰ τὴν ἀυλίαν δοκοῦμεν ὑμῖν [τοῖς πλουσίοις].

<sup>104</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina* I, no. 2.198, ed. Miller, 1:361 (vv. 51–3): Κἂν μὲν νομίση δυσγενῆς, φαῦλος, πέννης / ἄδοξος, ἄφρων, εἰς ἀπόστροφον τύχην, / καὶ μηδαμοῦ χρήσιμος εἰς λειτουργίαν.

<sup>105</sup> Manuel Palaiologos, *Letters*, no. 8, ed. Dennis, 21–3.

<sup>106</sup> Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, 101. *Dēmos* in this context can have the meaning of the people of his *oikos*, including his family.

<sup>107</sup> Gregorios Palamas, *Homilies*, no. 31.7–8, ed. Chrestou, 10:287–9; Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 6.1–3, ed. Pseftonkas, 155–7.

<sup>108</sup> Gregorios Palamas, *Homilies*, no. 48, ed. Chrestou, 11:137–59.

<sup>109</sup> Makarios Makres, *Orations to those who are offended by the success of the impious*, 1.42, ed. Argyriou, 248 and Gregorios Palamas, *Ascetical orations*, ed. Chrestou, 5:208–9, respectively.

The possession of land remains among the recognisable traits of status in the late Byzantine period. When Gabriel, metropolitan of Thessalonike, was advising his flock to abstain from caring for their earthly prosperity, he was speaking of ‘wealth, honours, possession of fields, multitude of children, splendour of parents and prosperity of one’s own relatives and friends.’<sup>110</sup> But the Byzantine elite was primarily – and the higher elite exclusively – an urban elite, and for this elite, wealth was conceived foremost as an abundance in portable wealth, in cash and money.<sup>111</sup> Land was predominantly a financial asset; it was a source of income much more than one of status or power in its own right, a circumstance created partly by the absence of lordship rights and the extent of conditional grants of land in Byzantium. Paul Magdalino has demonstrated how the Byzantine elite in the late twelfth century treated both land and other financial occupations (for example, trade, banking, tax farming) simply as sources of income.<sup>112</sup>

Wealth also enabled the exclusive lifestyle that characterised the Byzantine upper strata. Luxurious objects of expensive style, manufacture and material have survived to the present day and can be found in museum collections all over the world.<sup>113</sup> The importance of refined dressing is expressed in the more popular *Story of Belisarios*, when Belisarios rewarded the first two soldiers who climbed the wall of an enemy fortress by providing them with rich vestments and ‘established them as *authentai*.’<sup>114</sup> A single belt could be as expensive as 300 *nomismata*, a fortune in itself.<sup>115</sup>

But apart from these ‘everyday’ objects, the upper strata used to invest wealth in patronage of arts, such as holy icons, or in building and restoring churches, monasteries and other edifices. Numerous inscriptions that commemorate these investments and attest the sentiment of self-satisfaction and self-projection of these people have survived.<sup>116</sup> Many of the epigrams authored

<sup>110</sup> Gabriel of Thessalonike, *Homilies*, 2.1, ed. Laourdas, 146.

<sup>111</sup> For example, Isidoros Glabas, *Homilies*, ed. Christophorides, 42–3, where wealth (πλοῦτος) is equated to money (χρήματα). See also in the romance *Kallimachos and Chrysorroë* (ed. Pichard, vv. 1458–65), written by a nephew of emperor Michael VIII, Andronikos Palaiologos; Kant., 2:549; Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Discourse against the archontes attacking holy property*, 4.1–2, ed. Ševčenko, 92.

<sup>112</sup> Magdalino, ‘Money and aristocracy’.

<sup>113</sup> See, for example, the extraordinary exhibitions organised in the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1997 and 2004: Evans and Wixom (eds), *Glory of Byzantium* and Evans (ed.), *Faith and power*.

<sup>114</sup> *Story of Belisarios*, version χ, eds Bakker and van Gemert, vv. 242–6.

<sup>115</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 318 (no. 124: 1366).

<sup>116</sup> Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation*, 136–70; Horden, ‘Memoria, salvation’; Kalopissi-Verti, ‘Patronage and artistic production’; Malatras, ‘Τὰ μοναστήρια του Αγίου Όπους’; Morris, *Monks and laymen*, 90–119.

by Manuel Philes were reportedly destined for specific icons. In many cases patrons had themselves portrayed as donors in mosaics and frescos, a practice rare in the preceding periods, but increasingly apparent in the late Byzantine period and one that should probably be connected to a higher degree of self-appreciation among the Byzantine elite.<sup>117</sup> This patronage should be also understood as a part of the redistribution of economic and social capital connected to the concept of philanthropy, as we saw in the preceding chapter.

There seems to be no specific type of food that characterised the consumption of the upper strata, such as meat for more modern societies. Meat, in fact, was neither so rare nor a marker of distinction in the ancient and medieval worlds; it became so after the fifteenth century, when the increased population did not correspond with a substantial rise in meat production, thus making it much more expensive until the post-World War II era, when its production rose to unprecedented levels.<sup>118</sup> The main social divergences in consumption patterns were in the quality of food and the preference for gourmet cuisines with spices and omnifarious food colours.<sup>119</sup> These disparities, even in a monastic context, were a recognisable problem for Makarios Choumnos who, in his advice to his monks, demanded equality in food consumption.<sup>120</sup> The eleventh-century *typikon* of Pakourianos, although it prescribes equality of food distribution among monks, recognises that there could be people of an upper stratum background who may desire quality food and who could cook for themselves in their cells.<sup>121</sup> Already in the twelfth century, Theodoros Prodromos wrote a satire about monastic life wherein the simple monks expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of the food they ate compared to that of their abbots.<sup>122</sup>

Theodoros Metochites composed a poem wherein he describes the splendor of his mansion, boasting of his wife's jewellery and the expensive utensils that 'we the rich use, who live gloriously and splendidly, unlike our other fellow countrymen, the citizens, those of the *dēmos*, the wretched'. These items were not comprised solely of jewellery, precious metals and

<sup>117</sup> Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions*; Velmans, 'Portrait'.

<sup>118</sup> Dyer, *Everyday life*, 77–100. Recently Zuckermann, 'On a beautiful harvest', 746–49 has spoken too against the over-appreciation of cereals as the primary source of nutrition in the Mediterranean. Bioarchaeology has also determined that meat, fish and dairy products played an important role in the diet in a range of different sites across mainland Greece: Bourbou, 'Fasting or feasting'.

<sup>119</sup> Koder, 'Stew and salted meat', 59–72. For a more recent and popularised approach to Byzantine cuisine, with undiminished scientific value, one should consult Anagnostakis, *Flavours and delights*.

<sup>120</sup> Makarios Choumnos, *Testament to the monks of Nea Mone*, ed. Laurent, 83–4.

<sup>121</sup> Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon for the monastery of Petritziotissa*, ed. Gautier, 48–9.

<sup>122</sup> Ptochprodromos, no. 4, ed. Eideneier, 139–75.

stones, but, like the food eaten, they were supposed to be variable, tasteful and crafted with skill.<sup>123</sup>

The lavish life of the upper strata is vividly portrayed in Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the rich and the poor*. The Rich Man would drink high-quality wine from golden cups, eat all sorts of delicacies, make use of and hoard gold coins, wear gold-stitched clothes – which he was able to change according to the weather conditions – while, antithetically, the Poor Man should be satisfied with soured wine in clay cups, simple bread, salted fish, silver and copper coins for his daily usage, and always wear the same clothing, of hair fabric full of insects and vermin. Luxury consumption patterns are also visible through the affluent table of the Rich Man, his use of splendid garments and fine Egyptian perfumes; through his luxurious and attractive bedrooms full of golden and silver-sewn fabrics and marvellous carpets, the tall three-storey houses allowing him to enjoy the air during mild weather, and an abundance of landed properties. A rich person's civil privileges and indicators of esteemed position consisted of the possession of a retinue of parasitic flatterers, many friends praising them, servants tending to them, their everyday feasts, their horseback riding, their place of honour at public feasts, the deference shown to them, and the quick fulfilment of their wishes. Finally, the rich would enjoy better health through their use of doctors, medication and bathhouses.<sup>124</sup>



<sup>123</sup> Guiland 'Le palais', vv. 138–40; Theodoros Metochites, *Poems*, ed Polemis, no. 19.

<sup>124</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 208–9.





Figures 3–5 Elite mansions in Melenikon.

Although there were many values that defined and displayed social status, it would be pointless to assemble statistics on their frequency in the sources. Much depends on the concision of the authors, their literary style, their audience, the content of their work, the purpose at hand and their

skill. When Ioannes Argyropoulos defended his higher social status against Katablattas, he highlighted his family origin (defaming Katablattas' 'lesser origin'), his valour, his wealth, his splendid lifestyle, his offices, his imperial honours and his birth in Constantinople.<sup>125</sup> Usually, however, the list is considerably abridged. In any case, the most frequent qualities are wealth (not necessarily from specific sources) and honours (expressed as the possession of epithets, offices, and titles), followed by birth and origins, since nobility is usually attributed only to the higher segment of the elite. When Gregoras, for example, needed to describe the upper class, he was speaking about those who 'excelled in birth, wealth and honours'.<sup>126</sup> This is apparent even in authors such as Symeon of Thessalonike, who preached against the mistreatment of the common people by the elite.<sup>127</sup>

Less common, and more subjective, are qualities related to merit (valour, wisdom/prudence, physical characteristics) or occupation. Education, for example, is frequently mentioned in our literary sources, since the educated people who wrote these works needed to defend their social position and magnified the importance of education as a value of social status. All other qualities should usually be understood as either by-products of previously mentioned qualities (for example, the elite lifestyle is a product of wealth) or an elaboration on the same categories (for example, possession of land, cash, livestock for wealth; an imperial wedding or friendship/entourage for honours).

### Status Incongruence and Social Ascent

Having analysed the value and weight of various criteria for high social status in late Byzantium, it is also worth evaluating the opportunities for social mobility in late Byzantium, to what degree these criteria were exploited in order to achieve social ascent, and whether there was a sort of inconsistency in the different statuses that a person might possess. Status incongruence describes the situation where a person ranks high in one value dimension but low on another value, with both being determinants of social position. This phenomenon is quite common among societies experiencing social

<sup>125</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 35.

<sup>126</sup> Greg., 2:613.

<sup>127</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Theological works*, B14.1, ed. Balfour, 222: (l. 15–18) Ἐγνώμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ρίζης τῆς σῆς καὶ φυῆς, ὡς ἐκ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων εἶ τῶν αὐτόθι καὶ τῶν ἐκ μακροῦ προεχόντων, καὶ ὡς τῶν πλούτῳ κομῶντων καὶ ἰσχυόντων καὶ τὰς πρώτας περιβεβλημένων τιμᾶς ('We happen to know about your origins, that you come from the illustrious men of this land, who have a distant line of descent, who are abundant in wealth, have power, and have acquired the most important titles').

upheaval, or passing from one model of social stratification to another. Inconsistency in status can, for instance, be observed among the impoverished French nobility before the revolution. In late Byzantium, an obvious and extreme example of status incongruence is Ioannes IV Laskaris after his deposition and blinding in 1261. The fame that he still possessed, at least for a large spectrum of people (especially in Asia Minor), and his imperial birth (honorific criterion), along with a meaningful income, which was given by the usurping emperors as provision (economic criterion), were contradicted by his lack of any political authority (political criterion) or access to social networks (social criterion) because of his compulsory confinement to his house.

In what follows, I will avoid referring to specific persons who are, for reason of enmity, painted negatively and subjectively in our sources, such as Alexios Apokaukos, for whom Kantakouzenos and Gregoras claimed lesser birth and thus presented a status incongruence between his origin on the one hand and his possession of wealth and offices on the other. Most often these comments were exaggerated, false or simply contradictory, as we saw above – for example, in cases where intellectual opponents were defamed as manual labourers. Undoubtedly, Alexios Apokaukos could not compare his origins to those of Kantakouzenos, but he was almost certainly a member of the lesser elite, perhaps with an illustrious background (as a unique source claims), who managed to engineer his own social ascent.<sup>128</sup> In a similar manner, Georgios Akropolites defamed Konstantinos Margarites, one of the men that Theodoros II Laskaris (1254–58) chose to favour Konstantinos; he was ‘a peasant born of peasants, reared on barley and bran and knowing only how to grunt.’ But Akropolites betrays Margarites’ origins when he says that he came from the district of Neokastra, where he was already serving among the higher officials of the local army, positions usually occupied by those already members of the elite. It was only then that he was chosen, because of his merit, by Ioannes III Batatzes to become *meγas tzaousios* in the imperial guard; later, Theodoros II Laskaris promoted him to *meγas archōn* of the imperial guard, an unprecedented promotion, according to Akropolites.<sup>129</sup>

Status incongruence could occur in late Byzantium primarily among two groups of people: popular ascetics and intellectuals. Since Late Antiquity, the beggar-saint, hermit, stylite and holy fool had experienced a remarkably elevated status through their negation of standard social values

<sup>128</sup> See Malatras, ‘Social aspects,’ 106–8.

<sup>129</sup> Akrop., 123. Translation of the passage is by Macrides, in *George Akropolites*, 297. See also her valuable comments on pp. 40–1 and 299.

and charismatic authority. Although their importance faded in the following centuries, especially in the twelfth century when they were stigmatised, they experienced a rejuvenation in late Byzantium, thanks to the hesychast movement. St Sabas, who was from a family of the military elite of Thessalonike, played the holy fool. He was an exception, though: he was calm, silent, did not commit outrage against social morals and was not aggressive. His encomiast, Philotheos Kokkinos, refuses to call him a 'fool' (*salos*) and muses upon the difficulty for one honestly to be a fool rather than, as in the case of most pretenders, to fool people into believing one to be a holy fool.<sup>130</sup>

Monastic communities were also stratified in a manner that resembled lay society. Below the abbot, who had the role of father (like the emperor), was an elite of monks (the officials), who were mostly educated and originated from wealthier milieux (they might have offered more property too, once they joined the community) and finally the ordinary monks. But the ordinary monks were also divided between the unprivileged, who were assigned manual duties, and the privileged, who were either people from an upper social background or those who had purchased an *adelphaton* and who were either not assigned manual duties or were otherwise allowed a more lenient life within the community.<sup>131</sup>

However, the monastic environment could, conversely, offer opportunities for social mobility. People of mediocre or obscure background could achieve social prestige due to their spiritual superiority. This is the case for St Romylos, who was from a middling background. Romylos served three hesychast teachers successively before himself retreating to solitude. When, due to the Turkish incursions in the mid-fourteenth century, he was forced to flee to Mt Athos, he became revered by the Athonite monks and acquired disciples.<sup>132</sup> Contemporary with Romylos was Maximos Kausokalybites. He was born in 1280 in Lampsakos and his origins are rather obscure. One of his two *Lives* mentions that his parents were not 'ignoble but distinguished'. Regardless, his origins did not determine his social position since, at the age of seventeen, he fled his home in order to become a monk. He soon turned to solitude and hesychasm. He was still relatively young when he visited Constantinople during the second patriarchate of

<sup>130</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabas the Younger*, 19 and 22, ed. Tsames, 1:195–6, 201 and *passim*. Philotheos wrote several *Lives* of hesychast teachers, such as that of St Gregorios Palamas (*ibid.*, 427–591) or St Nikodemos (*ibid.*, 83–93 and the English translation by Talbot, 'Nikodemos') in an attempt through sanctification to defend and promote Hesychasm in the 1350s–70s.

<sup>131</sup> Charanis, 'Monk', 61–84; Talbot, 'Monastic world', 258–60.

<sup>132</sup> *Life of St Romylos*, ed. Halkin.

Athanasios I (1303–9) and was able to enter the palace and converse with the emperor, but he was reproached (probably) by Theodoros Metochites for his lack of education. Maximus, deeply affected by the contempt he had encountered but also himself consequently despising the courtly and Constantinopolitan environment, left for Mt Athos where he became a revered monk whom the emperors Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and Ioannes V later visited in order to pay their respects (c. 1350).<sup>133</sup>

The second group of people among whom status incongruence can commonly be encountered are the intellectuals. Byzantium was a society that had appreciated education throughout its existence and which, like other imperial societies, had a strong tradition of secular education and literature. It has been calculated that educated individuals in late Byzantium were almost equally divided between the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres.<sup>134</sup> One case of a prominent and respected intellectual who lacked any exalted social background was Ioseph Rakendytes, or ‘the Philosopher’. He originated from Ithaca, and his family likely did not have an elevated status. Ioseph was an autodidact. He became a monk and preferred to dress in poor garments. On four occasions, he declined the patriarchal throne when offered to him.<sup>135</sup> Like holy ascetics, intellectuals too possessed ideological power. They could shape imperial ideology and influence public opinion and government decisions. Not least, their writings form the main source for most of what has been said so far in this study regarding social values; on the other hand, since we possess too little evidence regarding the values of other social groups, we cannot easily appreciate how universal the reception of their ideas was.

Their social/political power was derived predominantly from their ability, thanks to their education, to acquire powerful positions, to participate in public discourse, to create networks of friends and powerful associates and to influence decisions. Theodoros Hyrtakenos was a simple teacher from a rather obscure background, certainly not very wealthy, and he never acquired an official position. But, by being highly educated and a teacher to people such as Alexios Apokaukos and the son of Theodoros Metochites, he was able to acquire opportunities for public speaking – he delivered orations at public occasions – and an income from the emperor.

<sup>133</sup> Niphon, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, eds Kourilas and Halkin, 43 and Theophanes, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, eds Kourilas and Halkin, 67–9.

<sup>134</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 236–7.

<sup>135</sup> Treu, ‘Philosoph Joseph’, including an obituary by Theodoros Metochites on pp. 2–31 and the autobiography of Ioseph on pp. 34–8.

Other intellectuals who originated within the lesser elite could – with sufficiently influential connections – achieve entry to the elite and effectively rule, or at least participate in ruling, the empire. Theodoros Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos and Demetrios Kydones are all similar cases. Georgios Metochites, owing to his stance in favour of the Union of Churches, had been forced to leave Constantinople for Nikaia, where several years later his son Theodoros came to the attention of Andronikos II. This signalled the beginning of a brilliant career. Theodoros Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos gained a place in the elite of the empire based on their education and service in government and, thanks to imperial favour, were able to conclude prestigious marriages and permanently establish their place among the elite. A policy of promotion and social ascent of these intellectuals during the reign of Andronikos II has been identified by Niels Gaul. Obviously, co-opting the literati would allow the government to regulate public discourse and control opposition more efficiently.<sup>136</sup>

The cases of the intellectuals just mentioned are reminders of the fact that the main avenue for social ascent remained state service and imperial favour. In another domain, military merit and success could prove to be an avenue for social ascent. Manuel Tagaris, of lesser origins, gained honours thanks to his valour and was rewarded with marriage to the emperor's niece.<sup>137</sup> In a similar vein, the brothers Alexios and Ioannes, lacking even a surname (something indicative of their lack of notable descent), managed to occupy Anaktoropolis during the second civil war and to resist the attack of Kantakouzenos in 1349. By 1357 they were recognised by the government – through agreement with either Kantakouzenos or Ioannes V – as lifetime rulers in Anaktoropolis and nearby places (this was one of the first appanages), while Ioannes was provided with an imperial bride and titles.<sup>138</sup> Although, in the case of these two brothers, their success in establishing and defending an almost independent lordship, and thus their social ascent, was accomplished outside the sphere of imperial service, the brothers realised that their political and social ascent would only be legitimised and accepted when they entered the imperial system.

<sup>136</sup> Gaul, 'All the emperor's men.'

<sup>137</sup> Kant., 1:91.

<sup>138</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 71 (no. 137: 1357, for the holding of these places on hereditary status by imperial chrysobull); *Acts Pantokrator*, 78 (no. 4: 1357, first mention of imperial titles and affinity), 90 (no. 8: 1369, mention of the bride, the cousin of the emperor Anna Asanina Kontostephanina), 93–4 (no. 9: 1374), and 99–102 (no. 10: 1384, the testament of Ioannes).

Enrichment through state service was another means for able individuals to achieve social ascent, at least during the first century after the recapture of Constantinople. Ioannes Batatzes, Alexios Apokaukos and Theodoros Patrikiotes became wealthy through their service in the state machine, especially through tax farming, and were able to climb in the hierarchy by assuming higher offices and positions in the bureaucracy.<sup>139</sup> Ioannes Kalekas and Apelmene were able to gain critical positions through their association with Ioannes Kantakouzenos, the former reaching the patriarchal throne.<sup>140</sup> However, most of them were not completely 'new men' and their rise was not so sharp or sudden. Metochites' and Choumnos' families already belonged to the civil elite; the surnames of Batatzes, Kalekas and Apokaukos betray that they belonged to families that probably had some social standing in the past and, it should be stressed again, a certain level of financial security that would allow them to gain an education. Since Apelmene and Patrikiotes may have originated from a lower background, their social ascent was restricted to the level of the lesser elite. Although a connection cannot be established with certainty, we should mention *kyr* Theodoros Batatzes, one of the *kommerkiarioi* (commercial tax collectors) of Constantinople a century after Ioannes Batatzes.<sup>141</sup> Not all of them were successful in preserving their line into future generations, unlike Metochites and Choumnos. Nevertheless, even in the fifteenth century, entering imperial service was still regarded as an important mark of status and a route to enrichment and social ascent. Holobolos became rich by becoming a secretary to the emperor Manuel II and composing imperial documents, and a beloved and trusted agent of the emperor.<sup>142</sup>

After the middle of the fourteenth century another means of social ascent through wealth acquisition gained traction: enrichment through trade. The examples of the families of Notaras, Goudeles, Sophianos and Argyropoulos are indicative in this respect and are analysed in more detail in Chapter 7, below.

One final issue needs to be clarified. The social ascent of these people signified a change in their social behaviour. Once they entered the higher elite, they adopted a new role conforming to the social standards of their new social position. Most, if not all of them, acquired landed property and *oikonomiai* from the emperor. Alexios Apokaukos built a fortress for himself near Constantinople and strove to acquire land; his widow is known

<sup>139</sup> Greg. 2:741; Kant. 2:58–9.

<sup>140</sup> Kant. 1:432–5; Greg. 1:496 and 2:813–14; for Apelmene: Kant. 2:247.

<sup>141</sup> See also Ganchou, 'Giacomo Badoer'.

<sup>142</sup> Mazaris, 12. Notably in this case the sudden enrichment had a positive tone and thus shows how often inconsistent our sources are in their comments.

to have had properties and houses in Traïanoupolis.<sup>143</sup> Both Alexios Apokaukos and Ioannes Batatzes also assumed military offices and led armies on the battlefield. Similarly, the brother of Loukas Notaras, Ioannes, was killed in battle against the Ottomans.

In all aspects, they strove to become aristocrats. They became patrons of the arts and monasteries: Alexios Apokaukos was *ktētōr* of at least one church in Selymbria;<sup>144</sup> Alexios and Ioannes founded the monastery of Pantokrator on Mt Athos;<sup>145</sup> Theodoros Metochites founded the well-known monastery of Chora in Constantinople; and Georgios Goudeles transformed his house into a hospital for the poor.<sup>146</sup> Following the practice of aristocratic families, new members of the elite sought to benefit their own families. Ioannes Batatzes had a large family, and we learn that several of his relatives had been appointed simultaneously as governors of towns in Thrace.<sup>147</sup> Alexios Apokaukos, accustomed to being accompanied by a large retinue, adopted heraldic symbols and had himself portrayed in full courtly dress in a manuscript of Hippokrates that he commissioned;<sup>148</sup> his son Ioannes preferred to sign documents with his other more distinguished surname, Doukas.<sup>149</sup> Their offspring could claim nobility: Ioannes Notaras was noble thanks to his parents, and Paulos Tagaris, grandson of the *homo novus* Manuel Tagaris, boasted about his parents' nobility.<sup>150</sup> In the case of the two brothers Alexios and Ioannes, rulers of Anaktoropolis, who were certainly of obscure origins, they claimed nobility on an inscription on a tower they erected in the Macedonian countryside.<sup>151</sup>

Social climbers also sought to conclude noble and even imperial marriages. Theodoros Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos, Georgios Goudeles

<sup>143</sup> Kant. 2:70–1 (for the fortress and the desire of Apokaukos to acquire more land and governorship of towns); Greg., 2:797 (for the properties in Traïanoupolis). For the landed property of Theodoros Metochites, see this volume, p. 299.

<sup>144</sup> Eyice, 'Alexis Apocauque', 89–93. Magdalino, 'Byzantine churches', 313–14, has assumed that a second church might also have been renovated by Apokaukos.

<sup>145</sup> *Acts Pantokrator*, 99–102.

<sup>146</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 8, ed. Hunger, 157–9.

<sup>147</sup> Kant., 2:475–76. On him, see also Chatziantoniou, 'Ιωάννης Βατάτζης'.

<sup>148</sup> Kant., 2:102, (for the following); MS Paris. Gr. 2144, f. 11r (for the depiction) and see this chapter, note 35 for the heraldic symbols.

<sup>149</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 171.

<sup>150</sup> Ioasaph, *Verses*, ed. Korakides, 85–92. For Paulos Tagaris, see this chapter, note 45.

<sup>151</sup> Papangelos, 'Πόρος του Μαρμαρίου', 338–9: Ἀνιγέρθη ὁ πύργος οὗτος τῆς νέας μονῆς Παντοκράτορος διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν πανευγενεσιτάτων κητόρων Ἀλεξίου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν ἀυταδέλφων, ἐν ἔτει ζωοε' ('this tower of the new monastery of Pantokrator was erected through the aid and the expenses of the most-noble *ktētores*, the brothers Alexios and Ioannes, in the year 6875').



and Nikolaos Notaras all acquired imperial brides for themselves or their offspring. The daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, Eirene, married the *kaisaras* Ioannes Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II. The daughter of Alexios Apokaukos married twice into the imperial family, first the *prōtostratōr* Andronikos Palaiologos, and second, after his death and the end of the second civil war, the *sebastokratōr* Ioannes Asanes, brother of the empress Helene Kantakouzene.<sup>152</sup>

In short, once individuals achieved social ascent to the higher elite, they ceased to belong to their former social category, either the upper middle class or the lesser military/civil elite. From this perspective it would be a mistake, and one that has been made several times in the past, to ascribe to these ‘new men’ – if indeed they can be so called – a social behaviour different from the rest of the elite or the desire to pursue another direction in the state and the economy.<sup>153</sup>

Byzantine society in the Palaiologan period was more closed than it had been in the past.<sup>154</sup> Most of the social values that defined the Byzantine upper strata had developed since the twelfth century, but by the late thirteenth century they had become more articulated. However, after a certain point, this attitude seems to have stopped being mere snobbery. It may be snobbery to boast about one’s supposed nobility by adding titles and surnames to one’s signature; it may be snobbery to despise uneducated or poorly educated people. But this was also an attitude directed at people who belonged roughly to the same social stratum as the snob. It therefore reflected an effort to establish social status, since the formal hierarchy of offices and titles alone was obviously not reckoned sufficient to establish a social hierarchy. However, the contempt towards common people, the imprudence and the irrational behaviour with which they were stigmatised, the negative moral values attributed to poverty and the fact that Andronikos III deemed the common people unworthy to listen to the ‘holy mysteries of theology’, are all indicative of a society that had built solid walls against social mobility.

Despite this, Byzantine society maintained several avenues for social ascent, satisfying a small, successful, often well-educated segment of the lower orders, thus maintaining social peace. Social ascent, though, was accompanied by conformity to the established factors of social status: association with

<sup>152</sup> Greg., 2:797. For Theodoros Metochites and his family, see Chapter 3, and for the families of Goudeles and Notaras, see Chapter 7.

<sup>153</sup> For more regarding social cohesion, see Chapter 4.

<sup>154</sup> See the conclusions of Yannopoulos, *Société profane*, 306–8 for the seventh to ninth centuries.

other elite/noble families, the adoption of a specific lifestyle and the pursuit of traditional sources of wealth (land) and status (offices, titles). The fact that there were no legal boundaries among social categories, as discussed in the next chapter, undoubtedly aided this process. In Byzantium, social ascent was achieved by demonstrating intellectual, military or financial ability, and then obtaining imperial favour; it was secured by conforming to the established rules of cultural hegemony.

It should be made clear that the ideas about the functioning of the social system and the values that generated social status in Byzantine society, as analysed in these two opening chapters, were in large part a product of the ruling class, whose interests they served. Intellectuals, too, regardless of their origins, served markedly in recycling and enforcing these beliefs. The influence of this cultural hegemony on the lower classes is at the least doubtful. These beliefs and values circulated among the elite, their servants and acquaintances. More than 90 per cent of the population would never have seen or heard any of the literati, on whose evidence our account so heavily relies, and a large segment of the rural population would never have encountered a member of the elite in their whole life either.

### 3

## Social Stratification

Social stratification is the categorisation, and mostly the hierarchisation, of people of a society into groups, based on set criteria such as income, occupation, ethnicity, religion and power. In most modern societies, a system of social stratification ranks the different social groups into a hierarchy, making apparent the existing inequalities in the possession of valued resources, the defining criteria being created by the society. In most of our modern societies, wealth and income are usually the defining criteria, creating thus the upper, middle and lower classes. In other societies, political criteria, such as citizenship, often intermingled with economic criteria, defined social stratification. In ancient Athens, the basic social groups were the citizens (further divided according to their wealth), metics, freedmen and slaves. In republican Rome, the three major social groups were the senators, the *equites* and the plebeians.

In many historical societies, stratification along the lines of estates or orders was of crucial importance. In ancient Sparta, the basic social stratification was between the *homoioi* (that is to say, the Spartans themselves, who formed the main part of the army, had political rights and did not perform any labour), the *perioikoi* (who were free but had no political rights and performed mainly crafts and trade), and the helots (who were serfs, the simple workers, deprived of any property or rights). In some societies, occupational roles were far more salient and rigid. In ancient China, for example, structured under the influence of the Fengjian ideology, society was divided into four groups according to occupation, although the occupational roles of each social group were not, in theory at least, hereditary. The lowest social group comprised the merchants, because they were seen as not contributing to the general welfare of society but working only for their personal gain. Thus, although many of them were able to become extremely rich, their wealth could not alter

their entrenched social position. In the most extreme cases, these estates become castes, closed social groups with enforced endogamy, occupation, status and lifestyle.<sup>1</sup>

Many past societies developed schemata of social hierarchy, based as much on contemporary experience as in metaphysical or philosophical models and theories. The best example in medieval Europe is the system of the so-called three orders: the priest, the warrior and the peasant, each one with a distinct function in society. As has been pointed out, however, this model little reflected the realities of medieval society and served foremost those who created it: the clergy.<sup>2</sup> Medieval society in the Latin West was certainly stratified, but this stratification was mostly along the lines of economic, political and social power. The nobility, the lords and among them the bishops, occupied the top rank; the knightly class, their vassals, were quite distinct. There were middle classes, particularly developed and conscious of their position in the late Middle Ages; and there were lower classes, the serfs in the countryside and the workers in the cities. On the other hand, as Otto Oexle has claimed, this trifunctional model of social stratification partly manifested corresponding tendencies in medieval society and, once the model was developed, it intensified these tendencies.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that regional differences developed and modifications were adopted, and although the complexity of society was noticed in the late Middle Ages and the middle classes needed to be incorporated, the model remained in force and influenced society and politics until the eighteenth century. The Estates General in France in 1789 was comprised of the three estates of the realm: the clergy, the nobility and the commoners. But it did not reflect social reality; the first estate comprised both bishops and parish priests, the second estate comprised also impoverished nobility and the third estate ranged from wealthy merchants and local officials to common citizens.

Our objective in this chapter is to analyse the different models of social stratification in Byzantine society. We begin from the models the Byzantines created and examine to what degree these were dominant and whether indeed they consistently described Byzantine society. In the first section, we consider models of social stratification based on the function of social groups in society (occupations, estates and so on), only to discover their relative unimportance to the Byzantine social structure. Rather,

<sup>1</sup> Against terming the Fengjian system as feudal, see Chan, *Orientalism in Sinology*.

<sup>2</sup> See Constable, *Three studies*, 249–359; Duby, *Three orders*; Dumézil, *L'ideologie des trois fonctions*; Hilton, *English and French towns*, 108–17; Iogna-Prat, 'Le "baptême"'; Powell, 'The "Three Orders"'.  
<sup>3</sup> Oexle, 'Perceiving social reality'.

the Byzantines stratified their society according to possession of economic and political capital, corresponding thus to the prevalent criteria of social status (wealth and distinction). We will further see that their models of stratification were usually based on a binary opposition (rich–poor, or *archontes–dēmos*) – which, even if valid, hardly described the complexity of society with all sorts of social groups in between. Therefore, we have introduced the concept of middle class to describe all these in-between, diverse social groups, such as merchants and artisans or soldiers, and we attempt next to identify these groups, their occupations and their level of wealth, and delineate them from the lower and the upper classes.

In a lengthy section we analyse the upper social groups, the social elite and their various groupings in terms of either their relative social power or their function in the social/political system, adopting thus a division first on terms of higher–lesser elite and, second, on terms of military–civil elite, at least as concerns the prevalent traditions within the lesser elite. All this analysis is corroborated with specific examples from late Byzantine elite families.

Finally, another section is devoted to the study of the peasantry and social conditions in the countryside. The main discussion revolves around the question of the status of the dependent peasants, the *paroikoi*, who formed most of the peasant population, and the nature of their dependence. As will be shown, they differed significantly from the dependent peasants in other parts of medieval Europe, as well as from their earlier and later equivalents in middle Byzantium and the Ottoman empire. For their dependence was not personal, but fiscal; landlords possessed no judicial or political jurisdiction in their domain, and peasants often possessed non-negligible private properties. Land fragmentation, as much in the large domanial properties, so much in the peasants' lots, contributed to the diverse social conditions.

## **Estates and Orders in Byzantium**

As in other societies, so in Byzantium, ideas about the stratification of society, the topic of this chapter, circulated. Ideas of a functional division of society, although known to Byzantines, did not have the same appeal as in the Latin West. The only case, to my knowledge, where the Western tri-functional schema can be found in Byzantium is the proemion of the *Geoponica*, a tenth-century compilation drawn mainly from the Late Antique works of Anatolios and the sixth-century Kassianos Bassos, which themselves also relied heavily on earlier sources. The proemion is addressed to the emperor Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos (913–59), and thus certainly

derived from the tenth-century compiler. However, given his reliance on the ancient material, it is difficult to recognise where the schema originated from. The author praises the emperor for his achievements and in particular his revival of high culture and his promotion of science. He adds that Konstantinos having observed that the state (*politeia*) is divided into three parts, the army, the clergy and agriculture, decided to advance the last, which in fact was the one preserving human life.<sup>4</sup>

There are also other earlier Byzantine texts that perceive an occupational division of the Byzantine polity (under the influence of Platonic ideas), such as the *Strategikon*. This was probably composed in the ninth century by Syrianos Magistros, who divides the Byzantine polity into the constituent orders (*merē*) of priests (*hieratikon*), judges (*nomikon*), counsellors (*symboloutikon*), money-dealers (*chrēmatikon*) – which includes tax assessors and collectors, engineers (*technikon*), – understood not as artisans but as architects, traders (*emporikon*), wholesalers – though this probably includes farmers – servants (*hypēretikon*) and useless people (*achrēston*), which includes old or ill people and children. But, even here, when the treatise goes on to describe their anticipated characters, it actually divides society into the *archontes* and those who served them.<sup>5</sup>

One occupational division of late Byzantine society can be found in a horoscope of 1336 from Trebizond. The horoscope predicts the fortunes of each social group in the New Year. It refers successively to the emperors (*basileis*), to the magnates (*megistanes archontes*), to the secretaries and the notaries (*grammatikoi kai notarioi*), to the ecclesiastical *archontes* and the priests (*archieireis kai klēroi*), to the military elite (*archontes kai stratiōtai*), to the elder notables and noble men (*onomastikoi kai eugeneis gerontes*), to the eunuchs, to the notable women, to the merchants (*pragmateutai kai emporoi*), to the entertainers (*paigniōtai*) and to the common people and the small traders (*koinos laos kai pazariōtai*).<sup>6</sup> The author of this horoscope

<sup>4</sup> *Geoponika*, proemion, ed. Beckh, 1–3. For a recent summary of the textual tradition of *Geoponika*, see Rodgers, ‘Garden making’, 159–64.

<sup>5</sup> *Strategikon*, ed. Dennis, 10–18. For the author and the dating of the treatise, see recently Rance, ‘Date of military compendium’.

<sup>6</sup> The latest edition for the predictions of the horoscope is still Lampros, ‘Τραπεζουντιακὸν ὠροσκόπιον’, 39–40; Mercier, *Almanac*, first edited the almanac with the tables and provided a useful translation and commentary to the predictions of the horoscope (pp. 147–56). The author is not known and although the horoscope is preserved in an autograph manuscript containing works of Andreas Libadenos, the almanac was written by another hand and, therefore, Libadenos cannot have been the author. Mercier also finds it possible that the author of the astronomical tables is distinct from the author of the predictions (pp. 92–7), but he suggests, convincingly, that a certain priest Manuel from Trebizond may have been the author.

clearly envisages a functional–occupational division of society. If we exclude some elements, such as the rather exalted status bestowed upon the author’s own category (the secretaries, or civil servants), just below the magnates, and the strange prominence of entertainers, the whole schema seems quite stratified: the emperor, a higher aristocracy, the ecclesiastics, the military elite, the merchants and the common people.

In the last decades of the empire, a few more indications of a functional construction of society can be discerned. First, the *Constitution* of Georgios Gemistos ‘Plethon’ proposed to the despot of Mystras Theodoros as a model of ideal society and state that would help rejuvenate the declining empire, a trifunctional division whereby the ruler would govern with the aid of a small corps of intellectuals (the ‘philosophers’), the soldiers and all these sustained by the peasants (the ‘helots’). This is not, however, something that corresponds with contemporary realities; it is rather an implementation of Plato’s *Constitution*.<sup>7</sup> Manuel II Palaiologos, in his *Epitaph* to the despot Theodoros, his brother, says that ‘the soldiers, the traders, the farmers, the clerics, the monks, the poor and the rich, and simply every age and class’ would mourn the latter’s death.<sup>8</sup> This thinking, similarly, is probably more influenced by the application of Platonic ideals than a description of reality or the persistence of a conception in Byzantium along the lines of estate social stratification.

Turning away from ideas of the educated elite to the social realities, we find a different picture. Late Roman legislation progressed towards more rigid social control; this was also expressed through the intervention of the state in the structure of the professional guilds. Among the legal stipulations concerning them was the hereditary nature of their professions, something that might have been difficult to maintain strictly and did not survive in later centuries, as we know from sources dated after the tenth century.<sup>9</sup> Even the status of the members of city councils (*curiales*) was imposed hereditarily, evidently to ensure that the public obligations of these *curiales* were fulfilled. Legislation tried also to regulate and impose public dress codes for specific social groups in accordance with their status (senators, soldiers, officials and slaves).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Advisory to despot Theodoros regarding Peloponnesos*, ed. Lampros. About Plethon, see Woodhouse, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon* and lately Siniosoglou, *Radical Platonism*.

<sup>8</sup> Manuel Palaiologos, *Funeral oration on own Brother Theodoros*, ed. Chrysostomides, 243. Similarly, Makarios Makres, *Orations to those who are offended by the success of the impious*, 4.15, ed. Argyriou, 290, l. 4–5: εἰ γὰρ στρατιῶται καὶ γεωργοὶ καὶ ἔμποροι καὶ πάντες συλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι.

<sup>9</sup> See Cracco Ruggini, ‘Associazioni’.

<sup>10</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, eds Mommsen and Meyer, 14.10.1.

Although occupation was important, labelling middle or late Byzantine society a caste or an estate society would be inappropriate. Regardless of all the late Roman legislation, Byzantine society moved in the opposite direction. Despite family traditions – even effectively till our own age – the professions never became hereditary in nature, nor was there a specific attitude, way of life or dress code that would be obligatory under law or at least essential to define such a category. By the tenth century, the state sought to regulate and control the guilds (which existed only in Constantinople), but these were not closed associations of professionals that would obstruct easy admittance. Nor did the Byzantine guilds seek to regulate or influence, as far as we know, the social lives of their members.<sup>11</sup>

Similar structures within Roman society, which had long expressed social distinctions in terms of orders, experienced thorough change. The ancient Roman orders (*ordines*) were social groups defined by wealth, occupation and political power, and were generally hereditary in spite of the frequent mobility that can be observed. The recognisable *ordines* were the senators, the *equites*, the *curiales* (the members of the local city councils) and the lower classes (*humiliores*), while each of these orders was subdivided into hierarchical categories (or in the case of the lower classes horizontally into the urban and rural classes). But in Late Antiquity citizenship was applied to all free subjects of the empire, slavery contracted in significance and numbers and the order of the *equites* disappeared, having been absorbed by the senators above or the *curiales* below, while the gap between the upper strata and the lower strata, in terms of political power and wealth, deepened. Therefore, all the older distinctions now seemed obsolete as society progressed towards a simpler two-fold distinction.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, while good birth (nobility) was a condition ever more present in the sources, and while the continuity of families is evident, the aristocrats never evolved into a legal category *defined* by birth, acquiring thereby hereditary titles and similar privileges. This was not a failure of the legal system of the empire: the latter had a long tradition of defining orders, classes and other social categories legally with different privileges, obligations or punishments, as we noted above, before they disappeared or lost their importance.

The officials, as a political and social category, did enjoy some special legal privileges. These privileges did not evolve into those of the Western medieval nobility, such as lordship, immunity from taxes and special judicial status.

<sup>11</sup> See this volume, p. 209.

<sup>12</sup> See in general Alföldy, *Social history of Rome*, 94–121. For the fate of slavery, see lately Harper, *Slavery*, 504–6.



Lordships and immunities were elements present in Palaiologan Byzantium, too, but were not connected to membership of a specific social group. Tax immunities were a special privilege granted by the emperor to a specific individual on a piece of property (rarely on the entire property of an individual). Regarding lordship in the case of *oikonomiai*, as we shall see later in this chapter, government ceded only its fiscal rights to the recipient, not any political or judicial rights, while the grant itself was considered temporary, for a lifetime. Before the fifteenth century (and excluding the case of appanages), it was extremely rare for the Byzantine government to concede in full its rights to an individual, even with respect to the defence of an area.<sup>13</sup> One of these few instances is the grant to the *parakoimōmenos* Manuel Sergopoulos. The emperor (either Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos or Ioannes V) conceded to him the isle of Prokonnesos in the Propontis. The concession involved all rights of the state: all the taxes from the island including the *kommerkion*, pre-emption rights on purchasing of products on the island itself, defence and military conscription.<sup>14</sup> One judicial privilege of a group of officials was the stipulation in earlier times that senators could only be judged by other senators. Nevertheless senators cannot be considered an estate. It should be recalled that membership of the senate hinged essentially on the holding of a high-ranking office, and that senators moreover lost this privilege after 1329 when they became subject to the judgement of the newly established tribunal of the *katholikoi kritai*.<sup>15</sup>

In Christian Europe the division between clergy and laity had persisted in ecclesiastical context and rhetoric since the Late Antiquity. Outside rhetoric and spiritual matters, however, in Byzantium this distinction meant little. Priests in Byzantium had never evolved into an estate as they did in the high Middle Ages in Western Europe. In Latin Christendom, after the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century, priests essentially became subordinated to the Church; they were immune from secular courts, they could not be serfs, they ought to remain celibate, lay investiture was abolished and the Church became separated from the state. In the Byzantine countryside, priests were usually included among the notables of a village who represented it to the outside world. They were also firmly integrated into peasant society: they mostly had the status of *paroikos*; they owned and cultivated land or livestock, and they paid their taxes, although since the time of the Komnenoi they were exempted from *corvées*.<sup>16</sup> The tax lists corroborate

<sup>13</sup> Oikonomides, 'Donations of castles', 413–17.

<sup>14</sup> Magdalino, 'An unpublished *pronoia*', 156–7.

<sup>15</sup> Schilbach, 'Hypotyposis', 52; Zepos and Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, 1:581–3.

<sup>16</sup> For the exemption from *corvées*, see Zepos and Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, 366.

that they were not in a better financial situation than the rest of peasant population. Although the canons forbade it, simple priests commonly had an occupation; they could be artisans for example.<sup>17</sup> They could even be members of the senate: we know that the teacher of the Gospel, the priest Ioannes Adeniates, was a senator in 1393 and had refused to go on trial before the patriarchal synod.<sup>18</sup> Priests in the Orthodox Church did (and do) not practice celibacy as in the Catholic Church; they can marry. Moreover, they were not the only educated and literate men, as was mostly the case during the high Middle Ages in the Latin West, and nor, more significantly, was theology an area exclusively reserved for ecclesiastics. Laymen could deliberate and study theology and regularly participated in church synods, the case of Nikephoros Gregoras being a prominent example. Finally, although priests were subject to ecclesiastical courts according to canon law, in practice forum jurisdiction was not conclusive in Byzantium and priests commonly resorted, or could be brought, to lay courts as well.

The significance of slavery in late Byzantium contracted even more. It still existed, intense warfare was always a major source of slaves and the slave trade remained important in the eastern Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages. However, since Byzantium was much more on the losing side of warfare in this period, Byzantines (and other Balkan peoples) are often found in the records to be sold as slaves, especially during the Turkish incursions in the Balkans in the fourteenth century, rather than themselves buying slaves.<sup>19</sup> Slaves are still recorded in the Palaiologan period, although very rarely. They are exclusively located in the cities and households; slavery in agriculture, already of little importance during the middle Byzantine period, had disappeared altogether.

More relevant to our subject is the change brought in the medieval period to the social status and the perception of slavery in Byzantium. Unlike other periods, slaves in Byzantium did not form a social group with distinct social or economic role. They are barely distinguished from the serfs in the countryside and from the 'free servants' in a household. The institution of patronage, snobbery to the social inferior and deference to the social superior made terms such as servant (*therapōn*), household servant (*oiketēs*), 'human' (*anthrōpos*) and slave (*doulos*) practically indistinguishable. Late Roman law recognised slaves as equal humans, even if

<sup>17</sup> Constantelos, 'Clerics and secular professions'; Kraus, *Kleriker*, 483–7; Laiou, 'Priests and bishops'.

<sup>18</sup> MM II, 174.

<sup>19</sup> Barker, *Most precious merchandise*; Mergiali-Sacha, 'Οι Βυζαντινοί ως εμπορεύσιμο αγαθό'.

unfree, they could even legally marry or possess some property, and, once manumitted, they did not differ socially from regular (low-born) citizens. They are no longer invisible and mute in literature; they have become individuals, they have their opinion and can later even be sanctified.<sup>20</sup> One of the few mentions of slaves in Palaiologan Byzantium comes from the *Patriarchal Register*. A slave girl had fled her master, Georgios Tempratze (de Bracce?), obviously a Latin and possibly a convert to orthodoxy, and sought asylum in Hagia Sophia. The patriarchate refused at first to turn her back and did so only after interference by the Genoese podesta of Pera. Georgios promised then, under the threat of excommunication by both the patriarch and the pope, not to 'do anything improper' to the girl, that is not to mutilate, kill or sell her.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the legal rights that a master had over his slave were considered 'improper'.

In Byzantium there were then categories of people with special legal status, at least in some respects. None of these categories was defined by birth or inheritance; the legal status was assigned to the occupation or function of the individual and could be subject to change if their role changed. Above all, these categories did not encompass the whole of society, but a fraction of it. Having observed that social stratification along the lines of estates or occupations is not appropriate to describe Byzantine society, we are going to study other models and structures of Byzantine society, namely stratification in terms of the possession of economic, social and political power.

### **The Rich and the Poor, the *Archontes* and the *Dēmos***

Unlike the trifunctional schema prevailing in the thought of the Latin West, the Byzantines preferred dividing their society into binary schemata. Symeon of Thessalonike once spoke of 'priests and people, herded and herdsmen, kings and people, ruled and rulers, rich and poor, elders and youngsters.'<sup>22</sup> The Byzantine binary schemata were little related to any functional or occupational stratification of the society. One of the most common divisions of Byzantine society, and the most recurrent in our sources, is

<sup>20</sup> On slavery in middle and late Byzantium, see Hadjinicolaou-Marava, *Recherches sur la vie*; Prinzing, 'On slaves and slavery'; Rotman, *Byzantine slavery*.

<sup>21</sup> MM II, 462: μηδὲν ποιήσω πρὸς αὐτήν τι τῶν οὐ πρεπόντων, ἤγουν οὔτε ἀκρωτηριάσω αὐτήν, οὔτε φονεύσω, οὔτε μὴν πωλήσω.

<sup>22</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Liturgical works*, ed. Phountoules, 29: Ἱερεῖς καὶ λαὸς ἐξέστημεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ· ποιμαίνόμενοι καὶ ποιμαίνοντες ἐξημάρτομεν ὁμοῦ, βασιλεῖς καὶ λαός, ἀρχόμενοι τε καὶ ἄρχοντες, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, γεγηρακότες καὶ νέοι.

that between rich (*plousios*) and poor (*penēs* or *ptōchos*). The origins of this division are traceable back to the Late Antique division of *honestiores* (the higher, honourable classes) and *humiliores* (the lesser, humbler classes). The components of this division could be expressed with different designations. In the middle Byzantine period the main division was between powerful (*dynatos*) and poor (*penēs*), where the powerful had become a legal term defined by the *Novel* of Romanos I Lekapenos.<sup>23</sup> According to Évelyne Patlagean, who studied poverty in the fourth to seventh centuries, the term *penēs* is used technically, designating those who work but still have fiscal obligations, whereas the term *ptōchos* is usually used for those in need of charity.<sup>24</sup> A probing of the use of these terms in the late Byzantine period reveals that they are used interchangeably, although *ptōchos* might carry stronger connotations:<sup>25</sup> the term *ptōchos* is more common than *penēs* in theological, homiletic or other evocative works, while *penēs* would be preferred in other literary genres.

This division between rich and poor is in force in many works of the late Byzantine period and has acquired special importance. So, for example, when Patriarch Athanasios refers to ‘all the people’, he means ‘the kings, the rich and the poor’.<sup>26</sup> We saw above how Manuel II, although using a functional schema of society, added the binary division between rich and poor.

More concrete information allows us to build up a portrait of the poor and the rich. The most important text providing information about the dichotomy between *plousioi* and *penētes* is the previously discussed *Dialogue between rich and poor* of Alexios Makrembolites. Makrembolites’ Poor Man is neither a social outcast nor a beggar; he is a manual labourer, a builder, an artisan who works hard for a living. The Rich Man is less easy to identify. He does not seem to work personally; his main worry is how to maintain the wealth he has amassed, which is at stake because of thieves and confiscations. He has servants, large houses and an affluence of material goods and fields.<sup>27</sup> The wealth of the Rich Man is said to stem from trade (*emporía*), his powerful position (*dynasteia*), seizures (*arpagē*), know-how (*epistēmē*) and self-control (*enkrateia*). In addition, the Rich

<sup>23</sup> Zepos and Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, 1:209. See also for discussion of this division by Morris, ‘Powerful and poor’, 3–27.

<sup>24</sup> Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique*, 11–36.

<sup>25</sup> See for example Theoktistos Stoudites, *Life of Patriarch Athanasios*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 43–4: a certain Christodoulos was ordered to deliver grain to some ‘*penētes*’ while the same people are latter called ‘*ptōchoi*’.

<sup>26</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 53, ed. Talbot, 118 (l. 5).

<sup>27</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 209 (l. 20–1): ἄρκει ὑμῖν [. . .] ἢ τῶν κτημάτων περιουσία καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀπόλαυσις.

Man asserts that those who ‘belong to both extremes’ – the very poor and the very rich – are responsible for greed and for all abuses, and not he himself, who belongs to the middle (*mesotēs*) of the rich spectrum. Based on this, and the fact that trade is a source of his wealth, Ihor Ševčenko believed that he is none other than a *mesos*, a member of the rising urban middle class.<sup>28</sup> Leaving aside for the moment the problem arising from the designation *mesos*, still it seems that we may not speak of the Rich Man as appertaining to the middle class. He owned fields and could use his powerful position (his office),<sup>29</sup> characteristics that a middle-class person was not normally supposed to have. In fact the combination of trade, seizures and his powerful position more reasonably point to the activities of a local governor rather than a merchant. It is well known that local governors often confiscated goods, while they had the right of pre-emptive sale of certain commodities, from which they could then profit by selling at a higher price in the local market. Moreover, it is possible that the designation *mesotēs* here meant not the person of middle economic standing or belonging to the middle class, but simply someone of modest means, in accordance with the Aristotelian principle of *mesotēs* and autarky, in contrast to greed (*aplēstia*). To summarise, I do not believe that the Rich Man was a person of a specific social group, that is, a member of the elite or the rising middle class. Makrembolites probably targeted the wealthy people of the capital regardless of their source of wealth or their social position. The opposition was indeed between the wealthy and the indigent.

Thus, if we accept this strong division between ‘rich and poor’ as the essence of the Byzantine understanding of their society and as the simplest and fullest division of Byzantine society, we come close to the Marxist division of social classes: those who own the means of production, and those who must sell their labour.

Additional information allows us to question economic power as the sole difference between the two groups. Poor is not always contrasted with rich. Patriarch Athanasios once juxtaposed a poor to a notable man (*onomastos*),<sup>30</sup> and Gregoras contrasts poverty with both wealth and glory.<sup>31</sup> Besides, a wealthy man is commonly connected not only to wealth, as we would expect, but also to glory, honours (titles and offices) and noble

<sup>28</sup> Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 200–2. On the contrary, Maksimović, ‘Богаташи’, 99–109 believes that the Rich Man was a member of the higher aristocracy.

<sup>29</sup> The term *dynasteia* commonly means ‘abuse’ of authority by officials. See also Saradi, ‘On “archontike” and “ekklēsiastike dynasteia”’.

<sup>30</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 108, ed. Talbot, 268.

<sup>31</sup> Greg., 2:807.

birth.<sup>32</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos recognises this connection when he states that wealth is often connected to power.<sup>33</sup> The three criteria (wealth, noble birth and honours) are thus closely connected in Byzantine thought in such a way that they all become characteristics of that upper social group.<sup>34</sup>

This leads to one more criterion for the stratification of society: political power. Political power has always been an important component of social power since it is through political power that public resources are administered and allocated in a society, and, in a state, that legitimate power is transferred and exercised. Legitimate power in our case denotes the ability to legislate, to make decisions and implement them on behalf of society (at both the macro- and the micro-level) and to exercise legitimate force. A person possesses political power when they can implement, influence, or at least oppose, the administration of public resources, the use of authority and the assumption of decisions on behalf of the society or the community. Besides, we have already mentioned the importance of the possession of titles and offices for higher social distinction in Byzantium.

All our sources are quite explicit in recognising a higher layer of society who held the political power in late Byzantium, not only in Constantinople, but in the provincial cities as well, called the *archontes*, those *en telei*, the *aristoi* or, less frequently, the *dynatoi* ('those who rule', 'those in office', 'the best', 'the powerful', respectively). The *archontes* are, by definition, those who hold titles and offices and are usually summoned to make decisions; they are referred in a sale contract as 'worthy witnesses'; they participate in important local trials and other cases in the provinces beside the governor; they are the ones with political power in their hands; they possess considerable personal property and they are grantees of *pronoiai* for their military or administrative services.

The *archontes*, then, were the upper class of the empire: they constituted its social elite. The term 'social elite' can be used for groups who are in possession of the largest share of economic and political capital in a society, as applies in our case. In order to determine if they can be classified as an aristocracy, we need to examine whether wealth and political power

<sup>32</sup> Konstantinos Akropolites, *Life of St Theodosia*, in PG 140, 897B; Greg., 1:65, 175, 190, 428, 438, 548, 551; 2:585, 594, 613, 680, 765; III, 97–8, 111; Kant., 1:134 and 2:235. For the growth of the importance of high birth as a characteristic of the aristocracy in the late Byzantine period, see Angold, 'Introduction', 2–4; Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine culture*, 102–10; Laiou, 'Byzantine aristocracy', 136–7; Matschke, 'Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen', 202–3.

<sup>33</sup> Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, no. 8.26–7, ed. Hunger, 157: τὸ μὲν γὰρ δύνασθαι μετὰ τοῦ πλουτεῖν κοινὸν γίνεται πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς οὐδαμνοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>34</sup> See also the findings on the defining values of social status in the previous chapter.

routinely carried across generations. The connection of birth to wealth and honours in our sources, as noted above, is an important element endorsing the view that this elite had a perceived continuity and persistence in time. Second, without disregarding the possibilities of social ascent (see Chapter 2), a survey of the holders of titles and posts in the Palaiologan period reveals that there is a solid degree of family continuity in the occupation of the empire's military, administrative, judicial, financial and ecclesiastical offices (see Table 26, Appendix). Offices, in turn, brought additional wealth to the occupant, not only because they implied an income in the form of *pronoia* or wages, but because there were also possibilities of enriching oneself through the opportunities present in most of them ('gifts', plunder from war, tax farming, proximity to the imperial or ecclesiastical courts), which provided prospects of additional privileges or higher positions. Wealth also provided opportunities for the acquisition of titles or closer connections with influential people. Additionally, the families who occupied these posts and possessed such wealth intermarried among themselves. Wealth alone made it possible for a man to contract a beneficial marriage (either for himself or for his immediate family) into an already established family and thus perpetuate the possession of significant offices and sources of wealth.

The borders of this upper class are not clear. Apart from the possession of offices and titles, most of these criteria are subjective. Angeliki Laiou defined the lesser late Byzantine aristocracy as the soldiers who held *pronoiai* between 12 (the minimum attested) and 80 *hyperpyra*. She reckoned that anyone who owned a *pronoia*, a grant from the state, was automatically placed in the privileged class.<sup>35</sup> At any rate, however, the *archontes* must be distinguished from the simple soldiers, not only in the perception of the contemporaries, but also in their economic power. Despite the prevalence of the binary schema between *archontes* and *dēmos*, in some instances we can see the soldiers emerging as a distinct social group. Kantakouzenos clearly differentiates between the two, saying that during the first civil war the soldiers were concerned that 'their own *archontes*' might betray them.<sup>36</sup> In a chrysobull of Andronikos II, granting immunity to the properties of the monastery of Chilandar, he distinguishes the following groups: *archontes* kinsmen of the emperor (*prosgeneis archontes*), other *archontes* (*alloi archontes*), soldiers (*stratiōtai*), every other layman (*alloi pantes kosmikoi*), clergy (*ekklēssiastikoi*) or monks (*monastēriakoi*).<sup>37</sup> The same distinction,

<sup>35</sup> Laiou, 'Byzantine aristocracy'.

<sup>36</sup> Kant., 1:107; see also 2:297.

<sup>37</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 269, l. 112–15 (no. 42: 1319).

between *archontes*, army and people, is made by Pseudo-Kodinos.<sup>38</sup> Thus, soldiers were considered different from any *archōn*.

The distinction between these groups can be based also in economic criteria. In late Byzantium there were two main types of soldiers: mercenaries and *pronoia*-holders. Unfortunately, we have no evidence for the rate of a mercenary's wage in Byzantium, but it is possible that it was not very different from the salaries customary among the empire's neighbours. The wage of a mercenary in Venetian Crete was established at between 1.9 and 5.2 ducats per month (or between 4 and 10 *nomismata*), but a mercenary was not expected to serve all the time; he usually served for merely some months.<sup>39</sup> Mercenaries in Byzantium were usually foreigners and sometimes came to serve as companies of men, such as the Alans or the Catalans. There were Byzantine mercenaries, too: sometimes their compensation was composed not only of cash payments, but also plots of land. In 1322 Andronikos III granted to the mercenaries serving under him land worth 10 *nomismata* (that is 20–30 *modioi* of land, calculated based on the average land price in this period) in addition to raising their cash payments. Andronikos III considered that this grant of land would not distract them unnecessarily from their military duties because the plots were so small; neither would it prove detrimental to the state income.<sup>40</sup> This implies that these mercenaries were (or were expected to become) permanent residents of the empire. Besides, in some campaigns, part of the Byzantine force was recruited among the locals, such as in 1304 when the *stratopedarchēs tōn tzungatorōn* was sent with his troops to Asia Minor and given money to complement their numbers through local recruitment.<sup>41</sup>

The income of the second type of soldier, the *pronoia*-holders, ranged substantially. Demetrios Deblitzenos for example had an *oikonomia* of 400 *hyperpyra*;<sup>42</sup> Manuel Mperilas had a *pronoia* of 80 *hyperpyra*;<sup>43</sup> Nikolaos

<sup>38</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 271.

<sup>39</sup> See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 151–3.

<sup>40</sup> Kant., 1:164–5. Bartusis (*Land and privilege*, 352–5) favours the scenario that Andronikos III granted each soldier a small *pronoia* of 10 *nomismata*, but I think the text is quite clear that land (and not a *pronoia*) worth 10 *nomismata* was offered. Besides, this is also suggested by the fear of 'distraction' from the military affairs, which should be related to the possibility that the soldiers might cultivate these small fields personally and not rent them out. The income from these pieces of land would be minimal, it can be calculated to no more than 2 to 3 *nomismata* annually, however, the land was expected to be their own now.

<sup>41</sup> Pach., 4:455.

<sup>42</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 185 (no. 26: 1349). For a list of all the known sizes of *pronoiai*, see Table 8.12 in Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 498.

<sup>43</sup> Schreiner, 'Zwei unedierte Praktika', 38 and 42–6; see also for corrections Oikonomides, 'Notes sur un praktikon', 335–46.



Maroules had an *oikonomia* of 72 *hyperpyra*,<sup>44</sup> Michael Sabentzes had an *oikonomia* of 70 *hyperpyra*,<sup>45</sup> Nikephoros Martinos had a *pronoia* of 30 *hyperpyra*,<sup>46</sup> the *megas adnoumiastēs* Georgios Kazaras held a *pronoia* of 2,400 *modioi* of land representing a *posotēs* of 48 *hyperpyra*.<sup>47</sup> All these were officers of the army and were probably expected to serve alongside their retainers; their *pronoiai* were partly a compensation for the office they held and partly a reward for their services and loyalty. The size of the grant places them certainly among the privileged elite of the empire.

At the same time, however, soldiers with a minimal amount of revenue are mentioned: Theodoros Mouzalon, from the *mega allagion* of Thessalonike, was given land of 1,000 *modioi*,<sup>48</sup> the Barbarenoi soldiers (an unknown number of them) altogether 900 *modioi*; Neokastrites only 600 *modioi*,<sup>49</sup> the *sebastos* Euthymios Kardames and Demetrios Isauros, both of the *mega allagion* of Thessalonike, jointly held 900 *modioi*,<sup>50</sup> the Klazomenitai soldiers in Serres held *oikonomiai* of 10 and 12 *nomismata* each.<sup>51</sup> These incomes placed them hardly above the peasant soldier of the tenth century. In fact, in some cases they were in a worse position. A cavalry peasant soldier in the tenth century was expected to have a property of at least 4 to 5 *litrai* of gold (288 to 360 *hyperpyra*), which corresponded to around 500 to 700 *modioi* of land.<sup>52</sup>

The differing sizes of *pronoiai* corresponded with both the social position of each recipient and the soldier's role in the army, as an officer,

<sup>44</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 143–4 (no. 16: 1321).

<sup>45</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 139–40 (no. 15: 1321).

<sup>46</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 402 (no. 207).

<sup>47</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 188 (no. 27: 1351).

<sup>48</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 193 (no. 29: 1355). Not specifically designated as *pronoia*, but since Mouzalon was a soldier of the *allagion* (i.e. a *pronoiaros*) and this land was taken from the monastery of Docheiariou in order to be given to Mouzalon (until his death sometime later at war against the Turks) and then reverted back to Docheiariou (in 1355), it must have been given under the status of *pronoia*.

<sup>49</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 142 (no. 18: 1337). Like Mouzalon they were given land by the monastery of Docheiariou. The editor of the document, Oikonomides, also considers them *pronoia*-holders (cf. his notes on pp. 139–41), but for the unit of soldiers known as Barbarēnoi, this land was probably just part of their total grant.

<sup>50</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 158 (no. 19: 1322/23).

<sup>51</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 90–1 (no. 20: 1342). They were probably coming from Klazomenai in Asia Minor, modern Urla in Smyrna. See also discussion under Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 346–8 and Oikonomides, 'À propos des armées', 368. Sometimes the evidence is contested since we are not certain whether the *posotēs* mentioned in the document is the full size of the grant. In only 13 cases (ranging from 830 and, the second largest, 400 to just 33 *hyperpyra*) we know that they represent explicitly the entire grant.

<sup>52</sup> Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De cerimoniis*, 2.49, eds Dagron and Flusin, 3:383.

a cavalry or an infantry soldier. This was the only way of maintaining a sizeable army of several thousand soldiers. Nikos Oikonomides took the view that the wages of soldiers with similar low-value *pronoiai* must have included a combination of *pronoia* and mercenary (cash) payments, although there is no real evidence for this assumption.<sup>53</sup> It is also possible that they had substantially more property. Whatever the case, they could still not compete in either political power or wealth with the officers of the army, who belonged to the elite and some of them potentially served with a military retinue. Hence, it is probable that the Byzantine state awarded them with a small fixed income in order to ensure their service as an infantry or a cavalry soldier, whenever they would be summoned to perform their military service. In any case, the very fact that they were not dependent and could have *paroikoi* placed them socially above the peasantry, even if the lesser of the soldiers may have had to cultivate their land personally and were no wealthier than some well-off peasants. I would then modify the figure of Laiou and consider as members of the elite those soldiers who held *pronoiai* larger than 40 to 50 *hyperpyra*. The gross income from such a grant could rise to 100 *hyperpyra*, which would be three times the estimated income of the wealthiest peasant in the village of Prebista (Table 7). This calculation does not consider the possibility that these *pronoiaroi* held some additional private property, and in this case, they would be a part of the elite. Therefore, it is no easy task to verify members of this stratum, unless there is also external evidence, such as a non-elite evident status or surname, or membership of a company of soldiers.

There were also soldiers who served in the army without any connection to *pronoia* or mercenary payment. These were given tax immunity for certain plots of land, which they were expected to cultivate personally or perhaps with the assistance of wage workers and tenants: these then were the 'smallholding soldiers', the heirs in late Byzantium of a form of 'farmer-soldier'. Such a setup applies to numerous units such as the *tzakōnai* (who served as city garrisons), the *gasmuli* (who served as marines), the *prosalēntai* (rowers in the ships) or the *thelēmataroi* (inhabitants of the vicinity of Constantinople, who had helped in recovering Constantinople from the Latins).<sup>54</sup> Similar might have been the status of the Cretan soldiers

<sup>53</sup> Oikonomides, 'À propos des armées', 368–9, followed by Bartusis, *Late Byzantine army*, 174–5.

<sup>54</sup> See Bartusis, 'Smallholding soldiers', 13–19; Kyriakidis, *Warfare*, 93–6. Analogous was most probably the case of the *akritai* in Asia Minor of the thirteenth century (although Bartusis questions their status: 'Smallholding soldiers', 2–3).

who settled in Chalkidike and founded a homonymous village (the Kre-tikoi) sometime before 1335.<sup>55</sup> The payment for some smallholding soldiers could also have been ensured, or at least supplemented by the grant of a specific tax: the *thelēmatarios* Katakalon received 8 *hyperpyra* as tax from the monastery of Psychosostria in Constantinople,<sup>56</sup> while Preakotzelos in Serres received 7 *hyperpyra* for his payment from the monastery of Prodromos.<sup>57</sup>

The use of peasant soldiers was not a rare phenomenon in late Byzantium. Plethon states that in fifteenth-century Peloponnesos most of the soldiers were farmers, and as such were neither trained sufficiently nor keen to fight and campaign,<sup>58</sup> and in Lemnos peasant militia were used for garrison, watch and defence duties under local commanders who may have been their lords.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, *paroikoi* could be enrolled in the army in an emergency, or in other cases they could be accorded the status of a soldier on a permanent basis. This was the case of Michael, son of Daniel, who was taken from the possession of the monastery of Zographou and to whom was also assigned one *paroikos*.<sup>60</sup> A second case was the confiscation of part (or the

<sup>55</sup> Kant., 1:455 (cf. also *Acts Xenophon*, 177 [no. 23: 1355]).

<sup>56</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 236 (no. 102: 1349).

<sup>57</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 416 (no. 214). For this practice called *epiteleia*, see Ahrweiler, 'Épiteleia', 71–93.

<sup>58</sup> Georgios Gemistos, *Memorandum to Manuel II*, ed. Lampros, 251–2.

<sup>59</sup> Haldon, 'Limnos', 177–80; Lowry, *Nature of early Ottoman state*, 98–101. The conscription of peasants is also reflected in the privilege granted to Kontostephanos in the 1430s, whereby his tax-immune *paroikoi* were obliged to serve under the *kephalē* of Lemnos whenever asked, as was the norm, but, in the privileged case of Kontostephanos, he would act as intermediary between his peasants and the *kephalē*: Laurent, 'Dernier gouverneur', 197–8.

<sup>60</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 520–1 (falsified no. 2) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 37–8). The document is dated only with indiction and its dating causes problems (probably around or after 1325 and certainly in the first half of the fourteenth century; the surviving copy comes from late fourteenth century); and it has been questioned regarding its authenticity (Cyril Pavlikianov in his new edition of the documents of Zographou; Bartusis, 'Smallholding soldiers', 4–5; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2509; Mavrommatis, 'Le pronoia d'Alexis Comnène', 211). Whatever the case, even a false document should reflect real practices, especially since it originates from the same period. Bartusis also questions that the terms *στρατεία* and *στρατεύω* mean 'military service' and 'enrolment in military service' and believes that these terms reflect a fiscal obligation. He bases his hypothesis on Lemerle's assumption from a document of the monastery of Patmos in 1089 (Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Έγγραφα*, no. 89), i.e. even before the establishment of the institution of *pronoia* and when the old practice of commuting military thematic service to a monetary payment was still in force.

whole) of the village of Zablantia in Thessaly by the governor Ioannes Angelos sometime between 1342 and 1348, and the conversion of its inhabitants into soldiers, an act that was annulled just after the Serbian emperor, Stefan Dušan, occupied Thessaly.<sup>61</sup> That this was a practice in periods of crisis, or of shortage of military personnel, is illustrated by the measure Andronikos II took following the collapse of defences in Asia Minor in 1303. He ordered that all the *paroikoi* in the *oikonomiai* of churches, monasteries or the imperial entourage should be set free, take full control of their properties and defend them against the Turks. The plan was never realised due to the rapid loss of Asia Minor, yet it indicates that the enrolment of peasants in the army was an eventuality at least in emergencies.<sup>62</sup>

The status of these soldiers troubled Marc Bartusis, who has tried to draw a clear line between these 'smallholding soldiers' and the other two categories, the mercenaries and *pronoiaroi*. Bartusis terms them as those soldiers whose military service was connected to a specific holding, was rather small and was not bestowed upon them through a personal, individual order of the emperor (which would make them privileged).<sup>63</sup> The difference lay, however, not so much in their status, but rather in their form of payment. Byzantium cared less for the status of individuals than the status of their property and the ensuing financial or political/military outcome. The above-mentioned Klazomenitai were not given *pronoiai* individually, and their holdings were rather small; they may have even cultivated their land personally.

<sup>61</sup> Soloviev and Mošin, *Diplomata graeca*, 164–6 (no. 21: 1348): 'Ἐπεὶ διωρίσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου, ἵνα ἐπιλάβηται ἡ σεβάσμια μονὴ Ζαβλαντίων, τὸ [. . .] χωρίον τὸ καὶ Ζαβλαντία λεγόμενον, ὅπερ ὁ σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος κύρ Ἰωάννης ἀπέσπασε καὶ εἰς τάξιν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεκατέστησεν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκομένους παροϊκοὺς [. . .], ἡ βασιλεία μου, δι' οὗ προστάσει [. . .], ἵνα κατέχη ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ Ζαβλαντίων, τὸ εἰρημένον χωρίον τῶν Ζαβλαντίων μετὰ πάσης τῆς νομῆς [. . .] καθὼς ἐκράτει καὶ ἐνέμετο αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἀποσπᾶσαι τοῦτο ὁ δηλωθεὶς σεβαστοκράτωρ ἐκεῖνος, ἦγουν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκομένων παροϊκοὺς καὶ εἰς τάξιν στρατιωτῶν ἀποκαθισταμένους [names of ten peasant *staseis* plus seven abandoned ones]. 'Since my rule [i.e. 'I'] has ordered that the reverent monastery of Zablantia receives the village itself called Zablantia, which the late *sebastokratōr kyr* Ioannes had confiscated and transformed the *paroikoi* that were there into a corps of soldiers, my rule orders that the monastery of Zablantia should possess the mentioned village of Zablantia with all its rights [. . .], just like the monastery was holding it, before that late *sebastokratōr* confiscated it.')

<sup>62</sup> Pach., 4:425–7.

<sup>63</sup> Bartusis, 'Smallholding soldiers', 20–5.

In the case of political power, the binary schema of *archontes* and *dēmos* is commensurate with the division between rich and poor that we examined earlier. Manuel II made a public speech in front of everyone, the *archontes* and the *dēmos*.<sup>64</sup> The term *dēmos*, in some cases, does not refer to a specific social group but may denote the whole populace of a city.<sup>65</sup> In most cases *dēmos* refers to the common people of a city. To convince Arta to surrender after a long siege, Andronikos III said that the prolonged siege harmed everyone, both the *dynatoi*, who now had no incomes and the *dēmos* who was oppressed by hunger.<sup>66</sup> This distinction becomes even more apparent in the narration of the second civil war. Kantakouzenos comments that the cities were divided in two: the *dēmos* moved against the *dynatoi* and *archontes* and imprisoned them.<sup>67</sup> Kantakouzenos elsewhere distinguishes the wealthy citizens of Thessalonike from the *dēmos* and Gregoras differentiates the *dēmos* from those that have titles and high birth.<sup>68</sup> The socio-economic status of the *dēmos* will be analysed further on in this chapter and their political power and organisation considered later, in Chapter 5; however, let us first turn back to the *archontes* to examine their profile and internal stratification.

### The Anatomy of the *Archontes*

The *archontes* were not a uniform social group but formed various subdivisions. This lack of uniformity is not only the product of modern historiography; it equally represents the Byzantine perception of the *archontes*. We have already referred to the two main divisions of the late Byzantine aristocracy: Laiou's classification of a higher and lesser aristocracy on the grounds of wealth and political power, and Kyritses' and Matschke's categorisation of a military and civil aristocracy on the grounds of family tradition and occupational roles, with the civil aristocracy (according to Matschke) supporting efforts towards a more centralised state machine. But do these divisions comply with Byzantine concepts or categorisations of their *archontes*? And how stable were these categories?

The Byzantines did have their own perception of the groupings of the *archontes*, yet these comply only slightly with the conclusions of modern

<sup>64</sup> Doukas, 14.3, ed. Greco, 83.

<sup>65</sup> For example, in Kant., 3:278, meaning the whole populace of Kallipolis and Greg., 1:429 for Herakleia.

<sup>66</sup> Kant., 1:518.

<sup>67</sup> Kant., 2:180.

<sup>68</sup> Kant., 2:674–5; Greg., 2:981. For the term *dēmos*, see the analysis of Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 70–8 and Kontogiannopoulou, 'Notion of δῆμος'.

historiography. The elite was first divided according to prominence. Many contemporary sources adopt different terms for these different social and political layers. Georgios Akropolites, when speaking about the surrender of Thessalonike to the Nicaean empire, divides the Thessalonians who supported the coup against the despot Demetrios between ‘notables’ (*onomastoi kai gnōrimoi*), namely Spartenos, Iatropoulos, Kampanos and Koutzoulatos, and ‘distinguished’ (*episēmoi*), namely Michael Laskaris and Tzyrithon. Judging by the surnames and the interchange of *episēmoi* with *eugeneis* in the chronicler Ephraim’s account of the same incident, the *episēmoi* here seem to be the first-tier elite and the *onomastoi*, the second tier.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere too, Akropolites divides the ‘nobles’ and ‘of the first tier’ from the *onomastoi* and *chrēsimoι*.<sup>70</sup>

One prominent, frequently mentioned group among the *archontes* were the *synklētikoi archontes*, the *archontes* of the senate. In the late Byzantine period the senate was comprised of the higher dignitaries, but it did not have any concrete and institutionalised role as a body. The members of the senate served primarily in their individual posts, while a rather closed circle of a handful of high-ranking senators (many of whom were members of the imperial family) became an unofficial council around the emperor, which convened at his request to discuss important matters.<sup>71</sup>

The composition of the late Byzantine senate is not clear at all. It certainly did not comprise all the *archontes*. In many cases there is a distinction between

<sup>69</sup> Akrop., 79: ὧν οἱ ὀνομαστοί τε καὶ γνώριμοι Σπαρτηνὸς ἦσαν καὶ Καμπανός, ὁ Ἰατρόπουλος τε καὶ ὁ Κουτζουλάτος, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐπισήμων ὁ τε Μιχαὴλ ὁ Λάσκαρις καὶ ὁ Τζυρίθων, ὃν καὶ μέγαν χαρτουλάριον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης τετίμηκεν; Ephraim, vv. 8552–6, ed. Lampsides, 303: καττύεται οἱ σκέμμα καὶ σκευωρία παρὰ πολιτῶν γνωρίμων τῇ πατρίδι, Ἰατροπούλου, Σπαρτηνοῦ, Κουνσουλάτο, σὺν οἷς Καμπανός, Σίσυφος ἄλλος τρόπους, ἐκ δ’ εὐγενῶν Λάσκαρις καὶ τις Τζυρίθων.

<sup>70</sup> Akrop., 154–5: ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ συνθήματος συνδραμόντες πάντες οἱ ἐφευρεθέντες ἐκεῖσε Ῥωμαῖοι—στράτευμα δὲ ἦν ἰκανὸν συνηγμένον ἐκεῖσε—οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως [Theodoros II Laskaris] κεκακωμένοι ἄνδρες εὐγενεῖς καὶ τῆς πρώτης τυγχάνοντες τάξεως [names of several noblemen], ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν’ (‘all the Romaiοι who were there present gathered, as if they had been called. There was assembled a good part of the army, but also the noblemen and those of the first tier, who had been maltreated by the emperor [names of several noblemen], and many more others of the excellent and notable men.’)

<sup>71</sup> On the Byzantine senate, see Beck, ‘Senat und Volk’, which has little to contribute for the late period; Magdalino, ‘Court society and aristocracy’, 217–18. Especially for the later period, see Raybaud, *Gouvernement*, 112–39. More importantly, see the exhaustive analysis of sources by Christophilopoulou, *Σύγκλητος*, 60–74, who argued that there was no distinction between senators and senate members. Kyritses, ‘Byzantine aristocracy’, 53–71, also reaches the same conclusion after fully analysing the evidence from the Palaiologan period.

the *synklētikoī* (members of the senate) and the rest of the officials.<sup>72</sup> Sometimes it seems that the kinsmen of the emperor were not included among the *synklētikoī*,<sup>73</sup> while in other cases, not all the 'nobles' were included in the senate;<sup>74</sup> and last, not all the members of the senate were considered 'fully noble'.<sup>75</sup> Raybaud believed that there was a distinction between the members of the senate and the senatorial class.<sup>76</sup> Howbeit, after the seventh century there is no evidence that there was a hereditary senatorial class. Furthermore, the Byzantines used different terms to designate the senate, which they employed randomly. So Theodoros Hyrtakenos, in a funerary oration, addressed the following groups: the kinsmen of the emperor, the magnates, the members of the senate (*tous tēs synklētou*), the members of the council (*tous tēs boulēs*), the members of the *gerousia* (the classical Greek equivalent of the Latin term *senatus*), the Church, the holy synod and the body of citizens (*politeia*).<sup>77</sup> This division is simply a rhetorical way of addressing 'everyone' and has no functional use.

A surviving list of the members of the senate from the year 1409 may shed some light, even though it comes from a period when the empire was much contracted, which means that there may have been fewer senators than during the early Palaiologan period. On this list, nineteen names are included: all of them descendants of well-known families of the empire who had held major posts in the past; some are members of the same family. Although relatives of the emperor are included, members of the immediate imperial family (such as brothers) are not present on this list. All non-relatives of the emperor are termed his *oikeioi* but only two of them are mentioned with a title.<sup>78</sup> If one compares the full list of senators known by name in late Byzantium (Table 1) and the list of all known title holders in the same period (Table 26), it becomes evident that all the senators were the most high-ranking officials; they certainly occupied the top half of the ranked hierarchy of all offices. Nevertheless, Kantakouzenos leads us to believe that their number was much higher. He says that many senators were in Berroia, and the same was true for Thessalonike.<sup>79</sup> During the civil

<sup>72</sup> For example, Kant., 1:54, 100, 551.

<sup>73</sup> Kant., 1:27.

<sup>74</sup> For example, Kant., 1:27; 3:260.

<sup>75</sup> Sphrantzes Palaiologos is considered as 'not so noble': Kant., 1:451.

<sup>76</sup> Raybaud, *Gouvernement*, 116–17.

<sup>77</sup> Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *Monodia to the empress Eirene*, ed. Boissonade, vol. I, 290. See Christophilopoulou, *Σύγκλητος*, 11–33 for the terminology of the sources for the whole Byzantine period.

<sup>78</sup> Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 134. This does not mean that the remaining had no titles. As discussed in Chapter 5, it seems that the social role of titles had changed by the fifteenth century.

<sup>79</sup> Kant., 3:120; 1:287 and 396.

war Apokaukos had imprisoned or had placed under house arrest most of the senators, yet there were still many that followed him on a campaign in 1344, and others who were supporters of Kantakouzenos.<sup>80</sup>

Another, rather rarer term used to mean a substratum of the *archontes* is *megistanes* (the equivalent of magnates or the Latin *magnus*). Its paucity, and especially its use by the historian Doukas to denote Western European barons,<sup>81</sup> has led some scholars to speculate that the term fell out of use and that the collapse of the state and the loss of the vast estates of the aristocrats contributed to making the aristocracy of the last century of Byzantium dissimilar to the semantic notion of 'magnates'.<sup>82</sup> However the term seems simply not to have been favoured in contemporary sources; only the *History* of Georgios Pachymeres and the romance *War of Troy* employ it regularly.<sup>83</sup> Even Kantakouzenos, who was a proverbial magnate himself, according both to his own and our categorisation, never employs the term; he prefers *synklētikos* or *dynatos*. Moreover, the term does not disappear completely but is used intermittently to mean the Byzantine higher *archontes* throughout the last century of Byzantium's existence.<sup>84</sup>

The *synklētikoi* are the *dynatoi* and the *megistanes* of our sources. Yet these terms (*synklētikoi*, *dynatoi* and *megistanes*) do not seem to apply to all the *archontes* in general. Thus, in Edessa the *dynatoi* at the time of the first civil war were only the three brothers called Angeloi Radiporoi and a Laskaris, not all the *archontes* in the city.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless we should note once again that the terminology of our sources is not always precise. In short, our sources seem to recognise the existence of an elite group within the *archontes* that was distinguished from its other members, although the precise terminology employed by authors varied.

<sup>80</sup> Kant., 2:421. Obviously, there must have been a degree of exaggeration in these comments.

<sup>81</sup> For example: Doukas, 13.8, ed. Greco, 79.

<sup>82</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 57.

<sup>83</sup> *The war of Troy*, eds Jeffreys and Papatomopoulos, *passim*. In the first part of Pachymeres' text he uses the term *megistanes* twenty-nine times and *synklētos* only eight times. In the second part of his work (the reign of Andronikos II) he uses it only fourteen times, while at the same time the term *synklētos/synklētikos* appears fifteen times. He generally refrains from using the term *synklētikos* and prefers to use *synklētos*. He uses the term *synklētikos* only for the *meegas logothetēs* Georgios Akropolites (Pach., 2:493). Therefore, a semantic relation between the terms *megistanes* and *synklētikoi* is possible.

<sup>84</sup> See Kallistos of Constantinople, *Homilies*, 31.7, ed. Paidas, 146 (l. 8); Niphon, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, 62; Symeon of Thessalonike, *Historical discourse*, 8.1, ed. Balfour, 56 (l. 6); Symeon of Thessalonike, *Theological works*, B1.3 (l. 90) and B9.13 (l. 318), ed. Balfour, 86 and 181; Gennadios Scholarios, eds Jugie, Petit and Siderides, 1:288.

<sup>85</sup> Kant., 1:274. Presumably there were more than two families of *archontes* in one town.



Table 1 Senators in the Palaiologan era.

Name	Position	Date(s) attested
Konstantinos Komnenos Palaiologos	<i>Kaisaras</i> , brother of Michael VIII	1259 <sup>a</sup>
Alexios Strategopoulos	<i>Megas domestikos</i>	1259 <sup>a</sup>
Konstantinos Tornikios	<i>Megas primmikērios</i>	1259 <sup>a</sup>
Georgios Akropolites	<i>Megas logothetēs</i>	1274 <sup>b</sup>
Demetrios Iatropoulos	<i>Logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn</i>	1274 <sup>b</sup>
Konstantinos Akropolites	<i>Megas logothetēs</i>	1285–1320 <sup>c</sup>
Theodoros Skoutariotes	<i>Epi tōn deēseōn</i>	1270 <sup>d</sup>
Nikolaos Panaretos	<i>Prokathēmenos tou bestiariou</i>	1274 <sup>e</sup>
Berroiotes	<i>Megas diermēneutēs</i>	1274 <sup>e</sup>
Theodoros Boilas Mouzalon	<i>Megas logothetēs, prōtobestiarios</i>	1285 <sup>f</sup>
Theodoros Angelos Komnenos	<i>Gambros of Andronikos II, megas domestikos</i>	1287 <sup>g</sup>
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos	<i>Epi tēs trapezēs</i>	1287 <sup>g</sup>
Rimpsas	<i>Praitōr tou dēmou</i>	1287 <sup>g</sup>
Berenguer d'Entenca	<i>Megas doux</i>	1304 <sup>h</sup>
Ioannes Glykys	<i>Logothetēs tou dromou</i>	1310 <sup>i</sup>
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	<i>Megas primmikērios</i>	1312/13 <sup>j</sup>
Nikephoros Choumnos	<i>Epi tou kanikleiou</i>	1321 <sup>k</sup>
Theodoros Metochites	<i>Megas logothetēs</i>	1321 <sup>k</sup>
Theodoros Synadenos	<i>Domestikos tēs trapezēs</i>	1321 <sup>l</sup>
Ioannes Kantakouzenos	<i>Megas papias</i>	1321 <sup>l</sup>
Manuel Tagaris	<i>Megas stratopedarchēs</i>	1321 <sup>m</sup>
Theodoros Kabasilas	<i>Logothetēs tou stratiōtikou</i>	1327 <sup>n</sup>
Kokalas	<i>Megas logariastēs</i>	1327 <sup>n</sup>
Sphrantzes Palaiologos	<i>Megas stratopedarchēs</i>	1334 <sup>o</sup>
Andronikos Palaiologos	Cousin of Andronikos III	1337 <sup>p</sup>
Demetrios Palaiologos Tornikes	Uncle of Andronikos III, <i>megas droungarios tēs biglas</i>	1337 <sup>p</sup>
n/a	<i>Prōtallagatōr</i>	1337 <sup>p</sup>
Georgios Choumnos	<i>Epi tēs trapēzēs</i>	1337–1342 <sup>q</sup>
Ioannes Laskaris Kalopheros	<i>Paidopoulon</i> of Ioannes V (1351)	1360 <sup>r</sup>
Maurodoukas Palaiologos	In Serbian-occupied Serres	1365 <sup>s</sup>

(Continued)

Name	Position	Date(s) attested
Michael Schoules	In Serbian-occupied Serres	1365 <sup>s</sup>
Georgios Amarantos		1390 <sup>t</sup>
Andreas Komnenos Kalothetos		1390 <sup>t</sup>
Theodoros Koumouses		1390 <sup>t</sup>
Ioannes Adeniates	Priest	1393 <sup>u</sup>
Theodoros Kantakouzenos	Uncle of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Konstantinos Asanes	Uncle of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Andreas Asanes	Cousin of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles	Cousin of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Nikolaos Notaras	<i>Sympentheros</i> of emperor, <i>diermēneutēs</i>	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Alexios Kaballarios Tzemplakon	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Manuel Kantakouzenos Phakrases	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Nikolaos Sophianos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Georgios Goudeles	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Andronikos Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Demetrios Leontares	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Demetrios Chrysoloras	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Andronikos Melissenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Demetrios Palaiologos Eirenikos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Sphrantzes Sebastopoulos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Matthaios Laskaris Palaiologos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Kantakouzenos	<i>Megas primmikērios</i>	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Manuel Bryennios Leontares	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Manuel Agathon	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II	1409 <sup>v</sup>
Ioannes Angelos Philanthropenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Thomas Chrysoloras	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Demetrios Palaiologos Prinkips	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Michael Palaiologos Krybitziotes	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>

Name	Position	Date(s) attested
Andronikos Metochites	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Michael Angelos Trypommates	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Theodoros Diagoupes	<i>Oikeios</i> of Manuel II in Thessalonike	1421 <sup>w</sup>
Georgios Scholarios	<i>Katholikos kritēs, katholikos sekretarios</i>	1438 <sup>x</sup>
Ioannes Argyropoulos	<i>Katholikos (?) kritēs tou dēmosiou</i>	1438 <sup>x</sup>
Georgios Gemistos	<i>Katholikos kritēs</i> of Mystras	1438 <sup>x</sup>
Loukas Notaras	<i>Megas doux, mesazōn, prōtos</i> of the senate	1453 <sup>y</sup>

## Notes

<sup>a</sup> Greg., 72.<sup>b</sup> Pach., II, 483.<sup>c</sup> Kantakouzenos, I, 67.<sup>d</sup> MM V, 246–8.<sup>e</sup> Pach., 2:493.<sup>f</sup> Pach., 3:103.<sup>g</sup> MM IV, 276.<sup>h</sup> Pach., 4:545.<sup>i</sup> Ephraim, *Catalogue of Patriarchs*, ed. Bekker, I, 10378–9.<sup>j</sup> Gregoras, I, 263.<sup>k</sup> Kant., 1:67.<sup>l</sup> Kant., 1:71–2.<sup>m</sup> Kant., 1:91.<sup>n</sup> Kant., 1:232 and 240. These two were members of a tribunal of six ‘ecclesiastics’ and six ‘senators’ who would judge differences between Andronikos II and Andronikos III (cf. Kant., 1:225–6).<sup>o</sup> Kant., 1:451 and 457.<sup>p</sup> PR II, 110.<sup>q</sup> PR II, 110; Kant., 2:20–1.<sup>r</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, 1:106.<sup>s</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162.<sup>t</sup> MM III, 143.<sup>u</sup> MM II, 172–4.<sup>v</sup> Laurent, ‘Trisepiscopat’, 134.<sup>w</sup> Acts Iveron IV, 158.<sup>x</sup> Doukas, 213–14.<sup>y</sup> Greg., 72.

Examination of the sources reveals that this higher elite was comprised of no more than ten to twenty extended families – no more than some one hundred individuals – at any given time. They were the families of Palaiologos, Asanes, Kantakouzenos, Philanthropenos, Raoul, Tornikes, Tarchaneiotēs, Synadenos, Laskaris, Metochites, TzAMPLAKON, Phakrases, Monomachos and a few more that had less persistence in time, such as

Choumnos, Goudeles, Notaras, Akropolites, Philes and Nestongos. These families intermarried among themselves and monopolised roughly 90 per cent of the higher titles and offices of the empire at any given time; Table 26 is indicative in this respect. Few members of these families are ever attested in lower titles. Finally, it was they who asserted, and were acknowledged as being of, noble origin. This elite among the *archontes* may then rightfully be called the higher aristocracy, quite distinguishable from the rest of the *archontes*, the rest of the upper class of the empire. The degree of stability of these families for most of the period under discussion is impressive. However, at the same time there was also a small degree of renewal. Success in the military or administrative sphere could provide an individual with entry to this elite among the *archontes*. Subsequently it remained the concern of rising individuals and their heirs to secure their position within the elite through intermarriage with other socially similar families or through imperial favour.

Among these successful social climbers was the family of Metochites. In the thirteenth century the family belonged to the lesser elite; Georgios Metochites was an archdeacon of the imperial clergy and had intervened in the question of the Union of the Churches. His pro-unionist stance led to his disgrace after the succession of Andronikos II and the latter's stance against the union.<sup>86</sup> Soon though, the family found its way into the higher elite through the impressive figure of Theodoros Metochites. Metochites invested in his education, came to the attention of Andronikos II and quickly climbed to the highest ranks of the administration by becoming the emperor's *mesazōn* and closest associate. The daughter of Metochites, Eirene, married the nephew of Andronikos II, the *panhypersebastos* Ioannes Palaiologos; her daughter in turn married the Serbian king Stefan Uroš III (1322–31).<sup>87</sup> For years he was the mastermind behind the government and every single appointment of an office passed through his hands; his opponents complained that offices were not assigned according to merit. The social ascent of Metochites was at least recognised by Andronikos II, when the latter urged him to learn astronomy from the rather obscure astronomer Michael Bryennios, even if this man was much inferior to Metochites in terms of honour and education. Metochites became extremely powerful and rich and was loathed for this very reason.<sup>88</sup>

Despite the confiscation of Metochites' property after the end of the first civil war owing to his high position in the government, his children did

<sup>86</sup> Pach., 3:31. Laurent, 'Georges le Métochite', 136–56.

<sup>87</sup> Greg., 1:271 and 373–74.

<sup>88</sup> Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites', 25–37 (note 72 for the comparison with Michael Bryennios).

not lose their place in the higher elite. Their fate is an indication that the tradition of serving in the civil administration was not continued after the entry of a family into the higher aristocracy. Rather, his sons were assigned offices as governors in the provinces, and high titles. Alexios Atuemes Laskaris Metochites was governor of the Peloponnesos, later of Thessalonike during the last phase of the Zealot regime, and again in c. 1366–9, by which time he had acquired the office of *megas domestikos*.<sup>89</sup> Demetrios Angelos Metochites was governor of Strumica in 1326 and of Serres in 1328/9 and, by 1355, held the title of *megas stratopedarchēs*.<sup>90</sup> Michael Laskaris Metochites was governor of Melenikon (today Melnik in Bulgaria) in 1326 and Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites became, like his father, *megas logothetēs*.<sup>91</sup> As a family belonging to the higher elite, the Metochitai were allied with other families of the same rank. Theodoros Metochites was perhaps married to a Laskarina, since three of his sons (Alexios, Nikephoros and Michael) bear this second surname. The fact that Demetrios bears the additional surname of Angelos and not that of Laskaris, like his brothers, probably indicates that Theodoros Metochites married more than once, but that both his wives were members of the higher aristocracy, as their surnames testify. It is interesting that they returned many decades later to their grandfather's pro-unionist stance, as three of them – Alexios, Demetrios and Nikephoros – were supposed to promote the pope's plan for a union in Byzantium.<sup>92</sup> Decades later, the Union of Churches was also promoted by Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, who was one of those who participated in the Byzantine emperor's embassy to the Council of Basel in 1433/4.<sup>93</sup> This suggests a link, quite frequent today as well, between family tradition and political stance over generations.

A Manuel Raoul Metochites is attested in the 1360s–70s in Mystras, indicating the marriage of a son of Metochites with the equally noble family of Raoul.<sup>94</sup> Some Metochitai must have remained in Thessalonike until its

<sup>89</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 342 (no. 129: 1369); Manuel Raoul, *Letters*, no. 7, ed. Loenertz, 153–54. See Table 26, note 4 (Appendix) for the epithet Atuemes.

<sup>90</sup> Kant., 1:209; Halecki, *Un empereur*, 45 note 1.

<sup>91</sup> For Michael: Kant., 1:210. For Nikephoros: *ibid.*, 2:554; MM III, 126 (no. 29: 1357). Nikephoros was considered worthy to take part in a most important crown council: Kant., 3:295. It should be noted here that the mention 'at the house of the *megas logothetēs*' should be linked to him and not to his father Theodoros, as the editors of PLP suggest, who had been deceased for more than 20 years and whose house had been burnt to the ground.

<sup>92</sup> Halecki, *Un empereur*, 45 note 1. Michael is not mentioned again after 1326; he may have been deceased by then.

<sup>93</sup> Hofmann, *Orientalium documenta minora*, vol. III, no. 4 (pp. 8–9).

<sup>94</sup> Manuel Raoul, *Letters*, no. 6, ed. Loenertz, 149.

surrender to the Venetians; in 1421 an Andronikos Metochites is attested as a senator in Thessalonike, though no Metochites appears in the list of 'noble' Thessalonians four years later during the Venetian occupation.<sup>95</sup> The last known Metochites, Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, held the title of *prōtobestiariētēs* around the time of the Council of Basel, but was soon promoted to *meḡas primmikērios* and appointed *kephalē* of Lemnos.<sup>96</sup> Later he returned to Constantinople, and was promoted to *meḡas stratopedarchēs* and appointed *kephalē* of Constantinople.<sup>97</sup> He was allied with another unionist family, the Dishypatoi, his son-in-law Ioannes Laskaris Dishypatos having also participated in the same embassy in Basel,<sup>98</sup> and with the family of Leontares, a new higher elite family that had emerged in the late fourteenth century, through the marriage of his daughter Euphrosyne to Demetrios Laskaris Leontares.<sup>99</sup> Demetrios Metochites died in battle along with his sons at the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>100</sup>

The TzAMPLAKON family only entered this higher aristocracy during the first civil war. The TzAMPLAKONES were known since the mid-thirteenth century as members of the lesser provincial elite,<sup>101</sup> but their sudden rise was owed to Alexios TzAMPLAKON, who chose to support Andronikos III and climbed within one year from *meḡas tzaousios* to *meḡas papias* (fifteen places in the hierarchy).<sup>102</sup> Subsequently, they became a renowned aristocratic family until the early fifteenth century.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, some families disappeared from the scene. The families of AKROPOLITES

<sup>95</sup> *Acts Iveron* IV, 158 (no. 97: 1421); cf. Mertzios, *Μνημεία*, 48.

<sup>96</sup> Laurent, 'Démétrius Paléologue', 197–8.

<sup>97</sup> *Chronica Breviora*, no. 98<sub>B</sub>, ed. Schreiner, 647.

<sup>98</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 126 and Hofmann, *Orientalium documenta minora*, no. 4 and no. 8 (for the other two Disypatoi brothers, Georgios and Manuel, who were sent to Basel on the same issue).

<sup>99</sup> *Chronica Breviora*, no. 98<sub>B</sub>, ed. Schreiner, 646–7 (written by Demetrios Leontares himself). We do not have enough evidence about the stance of the family of Leontares towards the union, but the eulogistic comment of Demetrios Leontares for the emperor Ioannes VIII (the emperor who initiated the Union of Churches in 1439), 'may God place his soul together with the holy emperors' (καὶ ὁ θεὸς τάξαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλείων), may be an indication of Leontares' pro-unionist stance.

<sup>100</sup> Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *History*, ed. Darkó, II, 161.

<sup>101</sup> The first attested TzAMPLAKON was a *domestikos tōn scholōn*, who was awarded a large estate in eastern Macedonia (Prinarion) by the emperor Ioannes III Batatzes: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 247 (no. 105: 1355).

<sup>102</sup> Kant., 1:262; MM III, 111 (no. 25: 1332).

<sup>103</sup> For the family of TzAMPLAKONES, see Bănescu, 'Peut-on identifier'; Theocharides, 'Vermächtisurkunde'; idem 'Τζαμπλάκωνες'; and more recently Estangüi-Gomez, 'TzAMPLAKONES'.

and Philes, prominent in the thirteenth century, disappeared in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>104</sup> The family of Akropolites had produced two prominent high ministers who held the office of *megas logothetēs*, the historian Georgios Akropolites and his son Konstantinos. Konstantinos Akropolites was himself married to Maria Komnene Tornikina, daughter of the *sebastokratōr* Ioannes Tornikes, and at least two of their daughters married other prominent men, such as the emperor of Trebizond Michael Komnenos, and the *megas doux* Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos.<sup>105</sup> An explanation for the disappearance of the family name may have been that Konstantinos had mainly daughters, but we should remember that in the Palaiologan period, when the use of multiple surnames was common within the aristocracy, the disappearance of a family name might mean that it was no longer considered prestigious enough to be adopted by the offspring, in preference of their lineage from the other parent's side.

The families of Monomachos, Nestongos and Choumnos disappeared around the middle of the fourteenth century, as did the family of Tornikes during the last quarter of the century. The disappearance of the Choumnoi should not be related to the apparent fall from grace of its most prominent member, Nikephoros Choumnos, after the rise of his political opponent Theodoros Metochites; the political background of this 'rivalry' has been decisively challenged.<sup>106</sup> Choumnos had secured association with the imperial family through marriage bonds and his offspring had an equally illustrious career. But soon after the end of the second civil war, wherein the *megas stratopedarchēs* Georgios Choumnos, a son of Nikephoros, and the *stratopedarchēs tōn monokaballōn* Ioannes Choumnos supported the regency, they left the political scene.<sup>107</sup> Their last members were churchmen: Makarios Choumnos, abbot of Nea Mone in Thessalonike and later of Stoudios in Constantinople, and Michael Doukas Choumnos, a simple priest in Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Several members of the family of Akropolites are known as civil officials in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: e.g. Nikolaos Akropolites, *chartouarios tou stratiōtikou logothesiou* (Vranousi, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα Πάτριου*, 1:339.235) and Michael Akropolites, *megas chartouarios tou genikou* (Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux*, nos 353 and 1153).

<sup>105</sup> For Konstantinos Akropolites and his family, see Nicol, 'Constantine Acropolites' and PLP, no. 520.

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter 1, note 13.

<sup>107</sup> For the Choumnoi, see Verpeaux, 'Notes prosopographiques'. For Georgios Choumnos, see Kant., 2:120–3, 218, 325–6 and 336 and MM III, 114 (no. 26: 1342). Ioannes Choumnos was rewarded the lands of Maurophoros, due to the latter's 'apostasy' to Kantakouzenos: *Acts Philotheou*, 22–3 (no. 8: 1344).

<sup>108</sup> For Makarios Choumnos, see Laurent, 'Nouvelle fondation'. For Michael Doukas Choumnos: MM II, 153 and 401.

At the same time, several newcomers, such as the Goudeles, Notaras, Sophianos and Leontares families, actively entered the scene in the second half of the fourteenth century (see Chapter 7). For the first three of these families the means must have been their engagement in large-scale trade, but the Leontares family first appears in the sources at the very end of the century as supporters of Ioannes VII. Bryennios Leontares was governor in Selymbria before the peace agreement between Manuel II and Ioannes VII in 1399, while he acted as agent of Ioannes VII to mercantile enterprises with the Genoese.<sup>109</sup> Thus, their rise might have been a consequence of imperial favour rather than engagement in trade activities. There were still other persons who tried to become part of the higher elite but failed to cement their families' positions within it in the long term, such as Alexios Apokaukos in the wake of the second civil war.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, it is useful to distinguish between families that achieved such continuity of wealth, power and nobility on the one hand, and the 'intruders', people with power but no continuity such as Ioannes Batatzes, Alexios Apokaukos or Demetrios Kydones, on the other. They appertained to the lesser elite, but through their own ability, they managed to acquire political power and climb to the top ranks of Byzantine society. None managed to preserve their exalted position for their families, who subsequently returned to the lesser elite from which they had originated.

A second subdivision of the elite, which most of our primary sources acknowledge, is the church elite, the ecclesiastical *archontes*. The ecclesiastical *archontes* are constantly present in the sources; they are immersed not only in ecclesial matters but in secular ones as well, such as taking part in embassies suing for peace between the two parties in the civil wars. In Peritheorion, Berroia and Bizye they sent representatives to negotiate the surrender of their cities to Kantakouzenos, along with representatives from the lay *archontes* and the *dēmos*.<sup>111</sup> They took part in important councils and trials, such as the case of a conspiracy during the reign of Andronikos III that aimed at placing the despot Demetrios Palaiologos on the throne.<sup>112</sup>

Among their ranks, many belonged to the literary circles of Constantinople or Thessalonike. According to one estimate, around a third of the total known literati were bishops or church dignitaries, without counting

<sup>109</sup> MM II, 401 (no. 423: 1391) and 503–5 (no. 652: 1400).

<sup>110</sup> A review of the social position of Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos is to be found in Malatras, 'Social aspects', 104 and 106–7.

<sup>111</sup> Kant., 2:214, 352 and 490 respectively.

<sup>112</sup> Greg., 1:531–34.



those that were monks.<sup>113</sup> Among the grand families of the church aristocracy we may enumerate the names of Holobolos, Syropoulos, Eugenikos, Balsamon, Perdikes and Kabasilas. These were usually based in the two major urban centres, Constantinople and Thessalonike.

In pre-Komnenian Byzantium it was not uncommon even for the higher elite and the imperial family to include ecclesiastics among their ranks, wishing to expand their network and influence on the ecclesiastical domain. The ecclesiastical administration had become one of the main career avenues for the surviving senatorial aristocracy in the eighth and ninth centuries. According to the so-called Scriptor Incertus, Ioannes Grammatikos was denied the patriarchal throne in 815 by the senate, on account of his young age and lack of nobility. Instead, patriarch Theodotos I (815–21) of the noble provincial family of the Melissenoi was appointed.<sup>114</sup> In another case, Basileios I (r. 867–86) destined his younger son Stephanos for a church career: indeed, at his father's death, Stephanos became patriarch of Constantinople (886–93). The later emperor Romanos III Argyros (r. 1028–34), from an old provincial aristocratic family that had produced many generals and was related to the reigning dynasty, also counted the office of *oikonomos* (steward) of the patriarchate in his successful civil career.<sup>115</sup> The new system created by the Komnenoi significantly reduced this tendency, although one of the brothers of the emperor Alexios I (r. 1081–1118) chose an ecclesiastical career and the high-elite family of the Kamateroi produced two patriarchs (Basileios II, 1183–6, and Ioannes X, 1198–1206) and an archbishop of Bulgaria (Ioannes, c. 1183). In contrast, in the Palaiologan period there is no evidence that members of the higher elite were directly involved in the church administration, which became the reserve of lesser elite families.

The most important characteristic of the church dignitaries in the Palaiologan period is their impressive family tradition. Most members of these families are found in church administration over several generations. This is even more evident in provincial society, where the possibilities and chances for a career in the civil service were more restricted.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 235–9. Analogous is the estimation that Ševčenko had made earlier especially for the fourteenth century: Ševčenko, 'Society and intellectual life', 72.

<sup>114</sup> Scriptor Incertus, ed. Iadevaia, 55. Ioannes Grammatikos later became a patriarch (837–43).

<sup>115</sup> Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 375. On family traditions in the middle Byzantine period regarding the ecclesiastical elite and their close relation to both the civil and the military elites, see Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrazia bizantina*, 280–4.

<sup>116</sup> See for example in Chapter 6 (p. 320–1) for Serres, where they monopolised church posts like a caste.

In thirteenth-century Smyrna, for example, a fixed group of families maintained the higher posts of church administration. Among them, the Katharos family – with Georgios Katharos (*archōn tōn monastēriōn* in 1257, *archōn tōn ekklesiōn* in 1263 and *megas sakellarios* by 1274), Konstantinos Katharos (*prōtekdikos*, 1231–7, and *megas oikonomos*, 1257–63) and Stephanos Katharos (*megas sakellarios*, 1257–63, and *chartophylax*, 1274–8)<sup>117</sup> – and the Barypates family – with Michael Barypates (*deutereuōn tēs mētropoleōs*, 1257 and 1267, and *prōtopapas*, 1274) and Leon Barypates (bishop of Psithyra c. 1274)<sup>118</sup> – take pride of place. In the same area are attested older Constantinopolitan-based families, such as the Kastamonitai or the Chrysobergai.<sup>119</sup>

The highest members of the Church elite, being mostly bishops and metropolitans, could have large incomes. The bishop of Bitzyne, who resided in the capital, is said to have rented out the collection of incomes from his see for 800 *hyperpyra*, and the bishop of Sardeis, in addition to a pair of oxen, a vineyard, a garden and some workshops, enjoyed the fruits of several *adelphata*.<sup>120</sup> But, in general, the revenues of ecclesiastical dignitaries were not comparable to those of the higher aristocrats. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the latter are not usually attested as church dignitaries, since in imperial service the prospects for wealth and political power were considerably more promising. While the state granted *oikonomia*i to most lay *archontes*, there was nothing equivalent for church dignitaries. Apart from the wage (*roga*) that they received from the metropolis they served; the rest of their wealth was personal.<sup>121</sup>

These two most noticeable groups of *archontes* that the Byzantine sources present to us, the *synklētikoi* and the ecclesiastical *archontes*, do not adequately represent the entire social stratum of *archontes*. They are both valid as categories, but while they partition the Byzantine elite into two different groups – one based on function (ecclesiastical *archontes*) and

<sup>117</sup> Georgios Katharos: MM IV, 164 (*archōn tōn monastēriōn*), 157 (*archōn tōn ekklesiōn*), 108 (*megas sakellarios*); Konstantinos Katharos: MM IV, 54 and 144 (*prōtekdikos*); 157 and 164 (*megas oikonomos*); Stephanos Katharos: MM IV, 108 (*chartophylax*), 157 and 164 (*megas sakellarios*).

<sup>118</sup> Michael Barypates: MM IV, 157, 164 and 170 (*deutereuōn tēs mētropoleōs*); 109 (*prōtopapas*). Leon Barypates: MM IV, 136.

<sup>119</sup> MM IV, Stephanos Kastamonites: 36 (*deacon of the patriarchal rights*); 68–9 (*prōtonotarios*); 157, 164 and 170 (*chartophylax*). Georgios Chrysoberges: MM IV, 157 and 164 (*deutereuōn tōn diakonōn*); 109 (*prōtonotarios*); 260 and 281 (*chartophylax*).

<sup>120</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 25.13–6, ed. Talbot, 56.

<sup>121</sup> See also Papagianni, *Οικονομικά έγγραφου κλήρου*.

one on political power (senators) – this categorisation excludes the largest part of the Byzantine *archontes*. Moreover, outside the higher elite, a family tradition of service to the Church alone was not the rule; many of the families of the ecclesiastical *archontes* also served in the civil administration. The integration of the ecclesiastics into a larger group of ‘civil elite’, as will be subsequently shown, is more functional and closer to reality.

In previous centuries there had been a distinction between civil (*politikon genos*) and military (*stratiōtikon genos*) elites, especially pronounced by authors such as Michael Psellos and Michael Attaleiates. This distinction originated from the distinction between civil and military offices in Roman law and was useful for as long as there was a sharper contrast between civil and military offices and between a Constantinopolitan civil elite on the one hand and a primarily provincially based military elite on the other. This distinction in terms of tradition seems to have faded as the higher military elite moved to Constantinople, intermingled with the upper strata of the civil elite, and assumed governmental functions in the state administration, as Cheynet’s analysis has well shown.<sup>122</sup>

Nowhere in the Palaiologan sources can the term *politikos* be translated as ‘civil’; it has either the classical notions of ‘political’ or ‘civic’ (that is, pertaining to *politēs*), and there is nowhere a distinction between the civil and military domains or their respective elites. The late Byzantines understood distinctions among the ‘political’, the military and the ecclesiastical domains. The political domain included everyone who was occupied with politics and political arts, that is, all the officials; the military domain, all the soldiers and the military officials; and, finally, the ecclesiastical domain, including all ecclesiastics.

The so-called civil elite in the late Byzantine period functioned in the service of five main domains: the Church, finance, justice, education and the lower court administration (secretaries, notaries, etc.). In the domain of finance, the names of several *apographeis* have been preserved thanks to the archives of monastic institutions. As their names reveal, they were very rarely members of the higher or the military elite.<sup>123</sup> This proportion changes after the second half of the fourteenth century, as the evidence of Arsenios Tzamlakon in 1349, Demetrios Palaiologos, Manuel Bryennios Laskaris (both in Lemnos in 1355) and Laskaris Metochites (in Macedonia

<sup>122</sup> Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 191–8.

<sup>123</sup> See partly the names of the *apographeis* and other financial officials attested in the area of Serres in Table 14. Only the *domestikos* Ioannes Tarchaneiotes in 1325/6 can be cited as a member of a high elite family: *Acts Prodromou* (A), 71 (no. 17: 1325) and 76 (no. 19: 1326).

in 1373) suggests, yet the civil elite still holds a larger share of the financial department.<sup>124</sup>

Those who served in justice as *katholikoi kritai* belonged to a similar stratum: Glabas, Nikolaos Matarangos, Konstantinos Harmenopoulos, Demetrios Angelos Manikaïtes, Dermokaïtes, Oinaïotes, Chrysokephalos, Ioannes Syropoulos, Thomas Doukas Alousianos, Nikolaos Boullotes Agallon, Georgios Scholarios et al. Some of them were simultaneously literati (for example, Harmenopoulos), ecclesiastics (for example, Ioannes Syropoulos) or officials in the central administration (Glabas was also *logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn*).<sup>125</sup> In addition, very few of the higher aristocracy are attested as scholars, leaving this domain largely in the hands of the civil elite, a trend prevailing since at least the Komnenian period.<sup>126</sup>

The lower imperial administration was also filled from the ranks of the civil elite: Theophylaktos Basilikos and Phokas Choumnos were imperial notaries.<sup>127</sup> Being a doctor in Byzantium implied more education in classics than actual training; this was thus an occupation usually reserved for the civil elite too. Such was the case of the ‘philosophers’ Georgios Kydones Gabrielopoulos,<sup>128</sup> and Ioannes Zacharias, who held the office of the imperial doctor (*aktouarios*).<sup>129</sup>

Some members of the civil elite may have served as agents and stewards in the estates of the higher aristocracy. Alexios Apokaukos, for example, started his career as an agent of Andronikos Asanes.<sup>130</sup> Demetrios Kasandrenos, sent as ambassador during the second civil war,<sup>131</sup> and Ioannes

<sup>124</sup> Arsenios TzAMPLAKON: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 234 (no. 102: 1349); Demetrios Palaiologos and Manuel Bryennios Laskaris: *Acts Lavra* III, 65–6 (no. 136: 1355); Laskaris Metochites: *Acts Docheiariou*, 233–4 and 237–40 (nos 41–2: 1373); *Acts Vatopedi* II, 409–12 (no. 147: 1375; no. 148: 1376).

<sup>125</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 170 (no. 23: 1344).

<sup>126</sup> See Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 237–9. Among the scholars from the higher aristocracy, one should count Eirene Choumnaina, the emperors Manuel II Palaiologos and Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, and (depending on where socially you place the first members of a rising family), Theodoros Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos.

<sup>127</sup> Theophylaktos Basilikos: Mazaris, 32; MM III, 143 (no. 33: 1390) and 152 (no. 34: 1406). Phokas Choumnos: Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani* II, 137.

<sup>128</sup> See PLP, no. 3433. He was the personal doctor and relative of Demetrios Kydones, who addresses him as ‘Georgios the philosopher’ in his letters (e.g. at p. 63), but he also signs like this: Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani* II, 514.

<sup>129</sup> Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, 274; Georgios Lakapenos, *Letters*, nos 18 and 20, ed. Lindstam, 121 and 128; Michael Gabras, *Letters*, no. 439 (title), ed. Fatouros, 677. For him and his works, see Kourouses, *Ἐπιστολάριον*, 101–52.

<sup>130</sup> Kant., 2:112.

<sup>131</sup> Kant., 2:103 and 192. An earlier Kasandrenos was *logariastēs tēs aulēs* (a financial title): see PLP, no. 11313.

Gabalas, who reached the office of *meġas logothetēs* thanks to his defection from Kantakouzenos and his support of the regency, had previously been *oiketai* of Kantakouzenos, as the latter designates them.<sup>132</sup> The writer Alexios Makrembolites had served the rich tax official Theodoros Patrikiotes,<sup>133</sup> and Michael Kabasilas served the metropolitan of Apros in his duties as *katholikos kritēs*.<sup>134</sup>

Given the practical restrictions on opportunity in the provinces, outside Constantinople and Thessalonike, the main sphere of the activity of the provincial civil elite remained the church and adjacent services (mainly as notaries), as will be demonstrated in Chapter 6 on Serres. The posts of the provincial administration in the domains of finance and justice were commonly filled by Constantinopolitans, since their appointment was reserved for the central government.

A typical family of the civil aristocracy was that of Oinaïotes. The family had representatives in all the domains of civil administration. Ioannes Oinaïotes is attested as *apographeus* in 1321,<sup>135</sup> as is a century later Konstantinos Palaiologos Oinaïotes.<sup>136</sup> Andronikos Oinaïotes was *katholikos kritēs* in c. 1370,<sup>137</sup> as was also Georgios Oinaïotes between 1400 and 1407.<sup>138</sup> Another Oinaïotes is attested as *lampadarios* of the imperial clergy in 1265.<sup>139</sup> More famous was the scholar Georgios Oinaïotes (fl. early fourteenth century). He descended from the family of Pachymeres, since the historian and patriarchal official Georgios Pachymeres was possibly his grandfather. He was married to a family with an ecclesiastical tradition, the Syropouloi, while he was also related to the *aktouarios* Ioannes Zacharias. His spiritual teacher was the church dignitary and later metropolitan of Ephesos, Matthaïos Gabalas. Oinaïotes was connected with other famous literati of his time such as Georgios Galesiotes, also a relative, and Theodoros Metochites whom he served and by whom he was protected.<sup>140</sup> Thus, the family had representatives in all the domains of the civil elite.

<sup>132</sup> Kant., 2:118–20, 138–9, 223, 437.

<sup>133</sup> See Alexios Makrembolites, *Dialogue between rich and poor*, ed. Ševčenko, 190–1. Yet especially for Makrembolites, owing to insufficient evidence, it is uncertain whether we should place him in the lower strata of the elite or in the middle class.

<sup>134</sup> PR II, 286–8 (no. 136: 1342).

<sup>135</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 288 (no. 112: 1321?).

<sup>136</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 121 (no. 20: 1421); *Acts Vatopedi* III, 274 (no. 211: 1418).

<sup>137</sup> Demetrios Kydonēs, *Letters*, no. 36, ed. Loenertz, 1: 68–70; Loenertz, ‘Lettre de Démétrius Cydonès’, 303–8; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydonēs, Briefe*, 2: 414–19; cf. PLP, no. 21124.

<sup>138</sup> MM II, 424 (1400); *Acts Lavra* III, 153 (no. 160: 1407); cf. PLP, nos 21020 and 21025.

<sup>139</sup> Pach., 2:377.

<sup>140</sup> See Kourouses, ‘Πρώτη ἡλικία’ and idem, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς*, 104–21; PLP, no. 21026. His letters remain largely unpublished.

It is also possible to find marriage connections among the members of the civil elite. The *prōtasēkrētis* Leon Bardales was probably a nephew of Theodoros Metochites,<sup>141</sup> while we already referred to the family connections of Georgios Oinaïotes. Although it is possible to find families throughout the Byzantine period that were constantly in the service of the state for many generations, their position was less stable when compared to the stability achieved by the higher elite. Few families are traceable throughout the Palaiologan period (for example, Balsamon, Oinaïotes, Syropoulos). In several instances of documented *apographeis* or notaries (for example, Apelmene, Pergamēnos), no other members of the same family are identifiable.

It is imperative to stress that there was no real struggle or clash of interests between the civil elite on the one hand and the higher elite of the empire or the military elite on the other. The little evidence that we have on the members of the civil elite suggests that they too were dependent on landed and real estate in the cities, just as much as the higher and the military elite. Leon Bardales was a landowner in Serres;<sup>142</sup> the brother of the scholar Maximos Planoudes was a landowner;<sup>143</sup> the *logariastēs tēs aulēs* Kasandrenos is attested as a large landowner during the first quarter of the fourteenth century in Strymon and in Thessalonike, as is the entrepreneur Kasandrenos in Thessalonike in the middle of the century.<sup>144</sup> The picture is similar for the provincial civil elite. For example, the ex-metropolitan of Thessalonike, Theodoros Kerameas, a member of a family of civil elite origins, possessed a church with surrounding fields outside Thessalonike, some other fields that he had bought, two vineyards and a fishpond owing a rent of 30 *nomismata* to the Church of St Sophia.<sup>145</sup> Very few seem to have enriched themselves primarily through service in civil administration, and those rare individuals that we know of, such as Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos, soon changed their social profile, orientated

<sup>141</sup> PLP, no. 2183.

<sup>142</sup> See Chapter 6, note 28. See also pp. 319–25 for the civil elite of Serres.

<sup>143</sup> Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, nos 20–21, ed. Leone, 46–8.

<sup>144</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 107 and 115 (nos 41 and 45: 1319) and Schreiner, *Texte*, 84 (and the explanation of Schreiner at p. 101), respectively.

<sup>145</sup> *Acts Lavra II*, 30–32 (no. 75: 1284). An analysis of the testament can be found in Pieler, 'Das Testament', 177–81. His brother Nikolaos Kerameas was a civil official (*domestikos tōn dysikōn thematōn*), his nephew (?) a deacon in Thessalonike (*Acts Lavra II*, 30), Hyakinthos Kerameus was for more than two decades (1310–c. 1316 and 1317–33) an abbot of the Athonite monastery of Karakallou (see *Acts Kastamonitou*, 34 [no. 2: 1310 and no. 4: 1333]) and Neilos Kerameus was patriarch of Constantinople (1380–8).

themselves toward the military administration, concluded marriage alliances to the higher elite and acquired landed property.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, it is difficult to think that the members of the civil elite were trying to initiate policies against the great landowners (often identified in modern scholarship exclusively as the military elite) or that they coveted a larger and stronger state apparatus,<sup>147</sup> since such policies would be at odds with their own financial interests, social aspirations and connections.

A second observation, which draws together the two traditions, is that in many instances families could not easily be categorised into the military or civil elite. This was, for example, the case of the Kabasilas family with its different branches during the late Byzantine period.<sup>148</sup> The first branch, situated in Thessalonike, produced members of the ecclesiastical elite such as Neilos Kabasilas († 1363), a famous Palamite theologian who was elected metropolitan of Thessalonike in 1361, shortly before his death, and had two brothers who were prelates as well,<sup>149</sup> or the celebrated scholar Nikolaos Chamaëtos Kabasilas, the former's nephew and pupil, one of the three candidates for the patriarchal throne in 1353.<sup>150</sup> To the same branch belonged Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas, a scholar with a long career in the administration of the local metropolis.<sup>151</sup> Demetrios' brother, Andronikos Kabasilas, was an *oikeios* of the emperor and landowner near Thessalonike, whose daughter had been married to the Tornikes family.<sup>152</sup> The *meγas papias* Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas must also have belonged to the same branch, a 'noble, brave man, keen in military strategy', son of a large landowner Georgios Kabasilas, who supported Kantakouzenos during the civil war and, as a consequence, in 1347 was awarded a large *oikonomia* of 250 *nomismata* in Macedonia,<sup>153</sup> and the *meγas archōn* Kabasilas, attested in 1369 and 1377, who could well be related to Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas

<sup>146</sup> See p. 107–9.

<sup>147</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 50–62.

<sup>148</sup> An attempt to reconstruct the family with its different branches has been made by Angelopoulos, 'Οικογενειακόν δένδρον'.

<sup>149</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Dialogue against all heresies*, PG 155, 145A; Sphrantzes, 32; cf. PLP, no. 10102.

<sup>150</sup> Kant., 2:574; 3:102, 275. See for his biography Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας*; Ševčenko, 'Nicolaus Cabasilas' correspondence', 49–59; Tsirpanlis, 'Career and writings', 411–27, and Congourdeau and Delouis, 'Supplique' (Kabasilas, *On usury to the empress*), 218–23.

<sup>151</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 235 (no. 112: 1327) and 246 (no. 117: 1328); PR II, 106 (no. 111: 1337–8). See Kraus, *Kleriker*, 172; PLP, no. 92225.

<sup>152</sup> *Acts Karakallou*, 83–7 (no. 3: 1322 or 1327).

<sup>153</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 45–7 (no. 2: 1347). He is attested again in 1351 and in 1368 with the same title: *Acts Xeropotamou*, 200 (no. 27: 1351) and *Acts Pantokrator*, 88 (no. 7: 1368).

either as a son or a brother.<sup>154</sup> This branch of the family survived into the fifteenth century.<sup>155</sup>

A branch of the family located in nearby Epirus shows similar strategies. Konstantinos Kabasilas was archbishop of Ochrid (*Boulgaria*) in 1259, and his brother Ioannes was the leading minister of the despot Michael Komnenos Angelos around 1258.<sup>156</sup> Another Epirote magnate, Alexios Kabasilas, led a failed revolution against Andronikos III soon after the submission of Epirus to Byzantium in 1338, while Ioannes Kabasilas (perhaps a brother of Alexios) joined the Latin nobility in Corfu in the same period.<sup>157</sup> Yet another branch seems to have had its base in Constantinople; it produced both ecclesiastic officials, such as Michael Kabasilas, or, later, the *prōtopapas* of Blachernai Konstantinos Kabasilas, and imperial officials and intellectuals such as Demetrios Kabasilas, an official at the imperial court for several decades and an intellectual, or Theodoros Kabasilas, who is attested during the first civil war as *meγas dioiketēs* and *logothetēs tou stratiōtikou*, both offices of the civil tradition.<sup>158</sup>

A similar divergence can be attested in the Phakrases family. The rise of the family is documented only through Manuel Sideriotes Phakrases. Manuel served as *logothetēs tōn agelōn* during the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II.<sup>159</sup> The surname Sideriotes recalls a merchant in Caffa,

<sup>154</sup> Theocharides, 'Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας.' See here Table 26, note 48.

<sup>155</sup> Manuel Kabasilas is attested as landowner in the same area (*Acts Dionysiou*, 85 [no. 11: 1409]) and Doukas Kabasilas is referred as one of the lesser *archontes* in Thessalonike in 1425 (Mertzios, *Μνημεία*, 48).

<sup>156</sup> Akrop., 166 (cf. PLP, no. 10097) and Akrop., 258, respectively.

<sup>157</sup> Kant., 1:509–22. See PLP, no. 92226; Angelopoulos, 'Οικογενειακόν δένδρον', 385; Mystoxydes, *Ἐλληνομνημίων*, 356–8. Philip II, the titular Latin emperor of Constantinople, granted him a fief in Corfu and proclaimed him 'count of Aëtos, baron of Corfu and marshal of the despotate of Romania'. This branch has survived to the present.

<sup>158</sup> Michael Kabasilas: PR II, 286–8 (no. 136); III, 176 (no. 205: 1353/4); Kant., 2:445 and 609. Konstantinos Kabasilas: MM II, 20 (no. 339: 1380) and 51–60 (no. 361: 1383). Demetrios Kabasilas: Gabras, *Letters*, no. 332, ed. Fatouros, 526–27; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Letters*, ed. Leone, nos 65, 66 and 148 were sent to him; cf. PLP, no. 92223. See also Beyer, 'Demetrios Kabasilas'. Theodoros Kabasilas: Kant., 1:240; Kourouses, 'Μέγας διοικητής Καβάσιλας.'

<sup>159</sup> Manuel Sideriotes Phakrases: PLP, nos 29570 and 29583 (whole name at Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.105, ed. Miller, 1:291, vv. 23–4). *Logothetēs tōn agelōn*: Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, nos 3 and 11, ed. Leone, 8 and 24 (without first name); Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.209, ed. Miller, 1:377, vv. 25–6: σοφῶς κυβερνῶν τῶν φυλῶν τὴν ὀλκάδα καὶ λογοθετῶν ἐγκριθεὶς τοῖς ὀλβίοις; I understand that φυλαί, metrically appropriate here, must be another word to mean ἀγέλαι).



Manuel Sideriotes, sometime before 1348,<sup>160</sup> and this might be an indication of the originally lower background of Manuel Phakrases, if indeed he had been the offspring of a union with a family that was occupied with trade. By the next generation, the Phakrasai were already counted among the higher aristocracy. Manuel's son, Ioannes Phakrases, rose by the time of the first civil war to the high title of *parakoimōmenos*.<sup>161</sup> A 'noble woman,' Phakrasina is recorded in the entourage of the empress Anna of Savoy, and Georgios Phakrases was one of Kantakouzenos' commanders in Didymoteichon in 1342/3, and by 1346 held the prestigious title of *prōtostratōr*.<sup>162</sup> By choosing the camp of Kantakouzenos, he clearly secured a family alliance to the Kantakouzenoi, since by 1370 a Manuel Phakrases Kantakouzenos is attested, probably identical to the homonymous senator of 1409 (in spite of the chronological span) and, in 1401, another 'noble' *prōtostratōr* Phakrases Kantakouzenos.<sup>163</sup> The family also built alliances also with the Laskaris and Palaiologos families.<sup>164</sup> But they are attested in the civil domain as well: Theodoros Phakrases was a simple priest in 1357;<sup>165</sup> Moyses Phakrases an *exarchos* of the patriarchate (c. 1369–71);<sup>166</sup> Matthaios Phakrases a metropolitan of Serres (1377–1409);<sup>167</sup> and Demetrios Palaiologos Phakrases a *katholikos kritēs* at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>160</sup> PR II, 402 (no. 151: 1348) and Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 124. The same document testifies to the marriage of Manuel Sideriotes with a Xanthopoulina, member of a Constantinopolitan elite family.

<sup>161</sup> Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, no. 8, ed. Leone, 19. Planoudes wanted to become his teacher. For the title of *parakoimōmenos*: Matthaios of Ephesos, ed. Reinsch, 51 (an undated epitaph to Phakrases' wife) and Pseudo-Kodinos, 332 (dated by Verpeaux between 1321 and 1328) (one of the manuscripts of this poem on court hierarchy mentions Ioannes Phakrases as the author; Verpeaux questions this ascription, claiming that Ioannes Phakrases was never attested as *parakoimōmenos* having ignored the epitaph of Matthaios).

<sup>162</sup> Phakrasina: Kant., 1:409. Georgios Phakrases: Kant., 2:195 and 585. He was learned enough to attend and record a theological debate in 1355: *Dialogue between Gregorios Palamas and Nikephoros Gregoras*, ed. Candal.

<sup>163</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 361 (no. 135: 1370); Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 134 (1409); MM II, 489 (no. 643: 1401).

<sup>164</sup> Demetrios Palaiologos Phakrases: MM III, 153 (no. 34: 1406). For the connection to the Laskaris family, see note 163.

<sup>165</sup> PR III, 408, l. 134 (no. 242).

<sup>166</sup> MM I, 566 (no. 309: 1371) and 572 (no. 313: 1369).

<sup>167</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 112 (no. 148: 1377); *Acts Esphigmenou*, 176 (no. 30: 1393); Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 145 (1409); MM II, 78 (no. 374: 1387, with surname). He was a prisoner after the fall of Serres in 1383 for four years.

<sup>168</sup> Ganchou, 'Ultime testament', 346; Mazaris, 18.

The members of the military elite are attested mostly in the provinces, yet some were stationed in Constantinople too.<sup>169</sup> They were granted *pronoiai* in return for military service and held titles connected to the military (such as *megas tzaousios*, *prōtohierakarios*, *prōtallagatōr*, *hetaireiarchēs*) and offices such as the *kastrophylax* (head of the garrison of a town or fortification) or governor of a *katepanikion* (the subdivision of a *thema*), such as the *prōtokynēgos* Kontophres in Mesothynia (the part of Bithynia opposite Constantinople).<sup>170</sup> Although a number of them are known by name, a lack of detailed information prevents much insight into this group or any conclusions regarding familial continuity in these roles. Nonetheless, it was also possible for them to achieve entry into the higher aristocracy thanks to their military services or their connections. Leon Kalothetos, a local *archōn* of Chios, already a family friend of Kantakouzenos, cooperated in the Byzantine recapture of the island in 1329.<sup>171</sup> Thereafter, he received major titles and posts: he was governor of Chios until 1341 and later of Old Phokaia between 1348 and 1363, where he acted as a semi-independent ruler with the prestigious title of *panhypersebastos*.<sup>172</sup> A few years later another Kalothetos, Stephanos, held the same title while living in Xantheia in Thrace,<sup>173</sup> and Ioannes Komnenos Kalothetos is attested as a senator in 1390.<sup>174</sup>

Several examples of families of the provincial military elite in the region of Serres are analysed in Chapter 6. The Sarantenos family from central Macedonia offers another good example. In the early fourteenth century the *prōtokynēgos* Indanes Sarantenos, recipient of a *pronoia* in Chalkidike, married one of his daughters to Manuel Diplobatatzes, another renowned Thessalonian family of the military tradition.<sup>175</sup> Both the Diplobatatzes and Sarantenos families were large landowners in the village of Pelorygion.<sup>176</sup> The branch of Doukas Sarantenos (with a contingent connection to Indanes Sarantenos), represented by the brothers Ignatios, Diomedes (both monastic

<sup>169</sup> For example Kant., 1:342 and 2:69.

<sup>170</sup> Kant., 2:341.

<sup>171</sup> Kant., 1:371–9.

<sup>172</sup> Kant., 3:84 and 320–2.

<sup>173</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 317.

<sup>174</sup> MM III, 143 (no. 33: 1390).

<sup>175</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 85 (no. 90: 1300) and 191 (no. 108: 1321); *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 313–17 (no. 32: 1330) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 64–8).

<sup>176</sup> Alexios Diplobatatzes had the military title of *hetaireiarchēs* and the office of *krites tou phossatou*, and was a landowner in Pelorygion. A thousand *modioi* from his *oikonomia* were converted to *gonikē* land: *Acts Prodrromou* A, 41 (no. 2: 1307). This privilege had been accorded to Indanes Sarantenos in the same village. Another Diplobatatzes was appointed as governor in Berroia in 1350 (Kant., 3:135).

names), Alexandros and Nikolaos Doukas Sarantenos, was in possession of a *pronoia* in Chalkidike.<sup>177</sup>

The third branch, represented by the *skouterios* Theodoros Doukas Angelos Sarantenos, was mainly located at Berroia. He married Eudokia Angelina Komnene Palaiologina Soultanina, probably a daughter of Athanasios Soultanos, the son of the Seljuk sultan Izz al-dīn Kaykāwūs II (1246–61), who came to Byzantium after his deposition. A poem by Philes praises Theodoros' military valour.<sup>178</sup> At least three of Theodoros' nephews, the *meḡas hetaireiarchēs* Georgios Sarantenos, the *prōtohierakarios* Sarantenos and the *skouterios* Theodoros Kapanrites, as well as one of his grandsons, Theodoros Sarantenos (to whom his weapons and armour were bequeathed), also gravitated to the military tradition. His brother Ioannes Sarantenos, also a soldier, died at war. The last known Sarantenos from this branch was Nikephoros, whom Kantakouzenos appointed *kephalē* of those areas of northeastern Thessaly that had been newly recovered from the Serbians, in 1350.<sup>179</sup>

Theodoros Sarantenos had become very rich, having in his possession four large fields around Berroia with six mills; three large house complexes, which included gardens, trees, vineyards and a bakery in Berroia, plus another house complex in a nearby (?) village; portable property in the form of jewellery, kitchenware, linen, furniture and cash; numerous livestock (300 sheep, 21 buffalos, 25 cows, 27 horses); many domestic servants (12 named male servants and an undefined number of women and children). In addition to all these, Sarantenos further owned *oikonomiai* that are not listed in his testament, but are alluded to when he says that he bequeaths to his nephew Loubros Sarantenos two horses, some jewellery, 50 *nomismata* 'plus whatever our mighty and holy *authentēs* and emperor might consider from those that I hold through his mercy.'<sup>180</sup> It is important to stress that of his four estates one had been bequeathed by his brother, one 'by the emperor's grace' and one from his wife's dowry, which also derived from an

<sup>177</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 176–7 (no. 23: 1335).

<sup>178</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.75, ed. Miller, 1:247–9. The poem was written in c. 1324 since it mentions his wife twice as alive (vv. 18 and 55) and does not allude to the testament of Theodoros in 1325 in which the death of Eudokia is mentioned before his return from Constantinople. There are two entries for Theodoros Sarantenos in PLP, nos 24898 and 24906. But since the poem refers to the foundation of a monastery called Petra and the monastery in Berroia was called Petra, it is more than certain that Theodoros Sarantenos is also the person to whom the poem is dedicated.

<sup>179</sup> Kant., 3:135.

<sup>180</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 353–61 (no. 64: 1325). For the Saratenoi, see also the study of Naupliotes-Sarantenos, 'Σαραντηνοί'.

imperial grant. Sarantenos himself added only a few fields (a little over 103 *modioi*) that he had bought close to one of these estates. Therefore, and in addition to the *oikonomiai*, most of his landed property derived from imperial favour; obviously, the incomes derived from these were then directed to the acquisition and improvement of real estate in the city of Berroia and liquid property rather than the acquisition of more landed wealth.

The higher elite, then, comprised members from both functional categories, civil and military. Different members of a higher elite family could simultaneously occupy places in the top ranks of the central administration (as *mesazontes* or the heads of the central bureaus) or the most senior places in the provincial administration and in command of the army. Therefore, this dichotomy of family traditions cannot be applied to the higher echelons of the elite. But as we have seen, the lesser elite families may be broadly divided into two functional categories: those that pursued mostly a civil career and those that pursued mostly a military career. Although these two functional categories were not exclusive and there were families who followed both traditions, this distinction reflects the dominant trend in the elite, at least before the fifteenth century. Family traditions are understandably important, since a father who had achieved a successful career in a certain domain would have gained some social capital in the form of networking (friends, acquaintances, patrons or supporters, beneficiaries), which he would normally use to introduce his children into the same domain, similar to the way in which children of influential politicians are introduced into politics in the present day.

The *archontes* were not a uniform group, but the Byzantine divisional schema did not correspond to the reality of social relations. The older idea about a division between civil and military officials had been lost by the twelfth century and was never revived. The only actual distinctions that later Byzantines recognised were those of the higher elite and the ecclesial *archontes*. Nevertheless, in the Palaiologan period the older tradition seems to have reemerged in practice among the lower elite, as several families, perhaps the majority (although no safe quantitative data can be collected) chose to pursue distinct career paths, in either the civil or the military domain. This may be related first to an expansion of central and provincial administration after 1261 and second to the revival of the distinction between the military and the civil administration in the provinces; the *doux*, who since the period of Alexios I (1081–1118) had combined both duties, and later the *apographeus*, were confined to their fiscal duties, while the *kephalē* emerged as the military commander of a province. It is, nonetheless, understandable; Byzantium lacked a concept which would allow a stratification that did not correspond to the main divisions that they understood: the economic division into rich and poor on the one hand, the political division into *archontes* and *dēmos* and

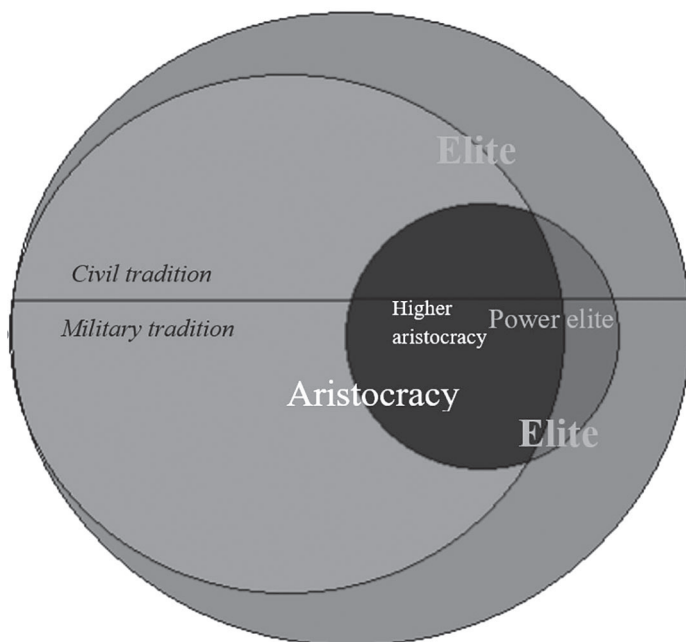


Figure 6 The relation between the elite and the aristocracy.

the functional division between lay and ecclesial *archontes*. The same lack of precision can be noticed once we move down the social pyramid, where we will now turn our attention.

### The Middle Classes and Their Urban Economic Activities

Apart from the soldiers the binary division between the *archontes* and the *dēmos* is often disturbed by the addition of other elements. Other urban social groups are differentiated from the *dēmos* based on their profession. Thus, Kantakouzenos says that there was rivalry over who would better cater for the miserable Catalans who had taken refuge in Constantinople in the winter of 1352 during the raging Genoese war. There took part 'not only the *dynatoi*, the monasteries and the hostels [...] but many of the *dēmos* and of the artisans and the craftsmen, simply everyone competed for them.'<sup>181</sup> In a most striking case in 1347, Kantakouzenos summoned

<sup>181</sup> Kant., 3:227 (original emphasis): οὐ μόνον οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ φροντιστήρια ἱερὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸς κοινὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ξένων κατεσκευασμένοι οἴκοι, [...], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου πλεῖστοι καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ τέχναις προσεχόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ σύμπαντες ἐφιλονεῖκου.

something like an ‘Estates General’ in order to gather support for extra taxation for the creation and maintenance of a strong fleet. In this public assembly participated merchants, craftsmen, abbots, *ktētores* of churches and ‘not a few of the *dēmos*.’<sup>182</sup> Again Kantakouzenos seems to differentiate what we would call the urban middle classes from the urban lower classes, which he designates as *dēmos*.

These middle classes became known as *mesoi*. This term and its derivative *mesotēs* (middle status) have been taken as an indication of the existence in late Byzantium of a middle class and their associated economic activities. However, the term as such is not an innovation; even in the ninth century Theophanes spoke about the vexations inflicted upon ‘those in office, those of the middle and those unworthy’, by Nikephoros I (r. 802–11) in Constantinople.<sup>183</sup>

There has been a lengthy debate over the identity of the *mesoi*, not least because of their supposed ‘disappearance’ from the sources after the middle of the fourteenth century. Scholars have targeted specific professional groups. Oikonomides placed the *mesoi* among the upper middle class, the bourgeoisie. They were, according to him, large-scale merchants, owners of industries, ship-owners, bankers and so on.<sup>184</sup> Matschke identifies the *mesoi* with all people active in urban economical activities, regardless of their economic standing. Interestingly, he identifies a layer of these *mesoi* occupied with providing financial services to the state or the higher aristocracy: they were collecting the taxes or acted as stewards of the aristocrats’ properties.<sup>185</sup> Beck, in reference to the entire of Byzantine history, placed the *mesoi* a little lower; he included the literati and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the middle-sized farmers and the artisans and merchants generally. The wealthier of them often insinuated themselves into the state hierarchy.<sup>186</sup> In fact, he speaks of a middle class and not of a specific professional group.

The term becomes more frequent in the fourteenth century but, in fact, we only have a handful of references and many of these are not at all clear

<sup>182</sup> Kant., 3:34: καὶ κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ πάσης ιδέας βίου συναθροίσας ἐκ τῶν Βυζαντίου πολιτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔμπορος ὑπελείπετο, οὔτε στρατιώτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτέχνηαι παρήσαν, καὶ τοῦ δήμου οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν φροντιστηρίων οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ προστάται.

<sup>183</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 487: τοῖς ἐν τέλει καὶ μέσοις καὶ εὐτελέσιν.

<sup>184</sup> Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 114–15. Followed too by Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεύς*, 42–44.

<sup>185</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 99–138, with an extensive discussion on the debate over the *mesoi*.

<sup>186</sup> Beck, *Byzantinische Jahrtausend*, 253–5; Schreiner, *Byzanz*, 38 declined to integrate the (middle) landowners with the *mesoi*; De Vries-Van der Velden, *Élite byzantine*, 58–60, placed the metropolitans also among the *mesoi*.

regarding the kinds of people they designate. In Kantakouzenos' account of the scaling of the Theodosian Walls in 1328, Andronikos III ordered that the first to climb over should not be nobles (so that they would not boast to their social inferiors), or German mercenaries. Rather they should be 'Romaioi of the middle (status)'. As a result, twelve of them climbed the walls.<sup>187</sup> But here the reference probably is to regular soldiers in contrast to noble ones. It would be surprising if Andronikos III entrusted the important task of occupying the walls to anyone who was not a soldier, but a trader or a banker.

In another passage, Kantakouzenos says that the Zealots obliged the *mesoi* among the citizens of Thessalonike to cooperate with them during the second civil war, judging that the 'prudence and clemency' that marked these *mesoi* was simply a mask for allegiance to Kantakouzenos.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, here again we may have a reference not to the middle classes but rather to citizens who were indifferent or neutral in their political affiliation during the second civil war. Elsewhere, Kantakouzenos recites that 'there was nothing that the more reasonable people (*epieikesteroi*) did not suffer' during the civil war. The *aristoi*, on the one hand, were killed or arrested immediately, either on account of their previous support of Kantakouzenos, or because they did not wage war on him immediately. The *mesoi* among the citizens, on the other hand, were attacked because they were not as cruel as the insurgents (that is, the supporters of the regency).<sup>189</sup> Reasonability seems to be a virtue of both the *aristoi* and the *mesoi* of the citizens, but again it is clear that no specific professional (or even social) group is meant.

More explicit is Kantakouzenos' passage about Didymoteichon during the same civil war: it was possible for the army (obviously including both simple soldiers and noble officers), thanks to the pillage of the surrounding countryside, to assure its subsistence, and the same was true for the artisans and all labourers, who were able to make their living by selling their labour. But, he adds, the *mesoi* had virtually no income and were hard pressed.

<sup>187</sup> Kant., 1:301: Ῥωμαίοις τῶν μέσων.

<sup>188</sup> Kant., 2:235: οἱ Ζηλωταὶ αὐτίκα ἐκ πενεστάτων καὶ ἀτίμων πλούσιοι καὶ περιφανεῖς γεγενημένοι, πάντα ἦγον δι' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μέσους μετήεσαν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ συνασχημονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες αὐτοῖς, ἢ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐπεικείαν ὡς Καντακουζηνισμόν ἐπικαλοῦντες.

<sup>189</sup> Kant., 2:179: οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις ταῖς πόλεσι τότε ἐπεδείχθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ, τι μὴ οἱ ἐπεικέστεροι ὑπέμενον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄριστοι αὐτίκα διεφθίροντο, ἢ τὴν προτέραν πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν εὖνοϊαν ἐπικαλούμενοι, ἢ τὸ μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα ἐκείνῳ πολεμεῖν· οἱ μέσοι δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ὅτι οὐ συνηγωνίζοντο τοῖς στασιάζουσιν, ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι.

As it stands, Kantakouzenos must have meant all non-farmers and non-artisans of the city populace such as merchants, lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries or even non-military *archontes*.<sup>190</sup> Lastly, the designation of *mesos* is ascribed to one of the supporters of Kantakouzenos in Thessalonike by the name of Gabalas, who was murdered by the Zealots.<sup>191</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know anything else about him.

The term is used extremely rarely by other authors. The patriarch Gregorios Kyprios claims that, although his family was noble and rich, after the arrival of the Latin rule in Cyprus their wealth decreased and his parents were then of modest wealth (*metria echontes*); they were neither ‘among the *penētes*, the “many” and the inglorious, nor among the very rich men.’<sup>192</sup> The word is used in a similar meaning by Philotheos Kokkinos, as distinguishing a group (*deuterē kai mesē moira*) between the elite and the mob (*aristoi* and *syrphetos*).<sup>193</sup> Manuel Kalekas says that the father of one of his pupils belonged to the *mesotēs*, because he was neither poor and oppressed by need of the basics, nor rich and envied by others.<sup>194</sup> Yet in all these references, the authors seem to speak of an intermediate financial status between wealth and poverty and not of a specific social-professional group. In fact, they mostly give nuance to the classical notion of *autarkeia* (self-sufficiency). We also noted above the usage of the term in Makrembolites as a reference to the Rich Man, and we expressed doubts as to whether it is indeed a reference to middlemen. But even if Makrembolites’ Rich Man does turn out to be a middleman, we still do not learn his profession and his function in society. His wealth was supposed to come from trade, from fields and from his office. In fact, the Rich Man of Makrembolites may be nothing other than simply a rich person.

Defining the *mesoi* of our sources as a specific group of people is not easy. As we saw, there are only a handful of references and most of them are in the *Histories* of Kantakouzenos. Moreover, if we take seriously the conclusions of Herbert Hunger, who noted the debt of Kantakouzenos to Thucydides and the latter’s use of *mesoi* as meaning those neutral in the civil war in Kerkyra (Corfu) during the Peloponnesian War, then the range of our knowledge of the *mesoi*, or even their very existence as a consistent group – that is, a group of people between the elite and the common people that also had a specific function in society and exercised certain professions – is seriously

<sup>190</sup> Kant., 2:334.

<sup>191</sup> Kant., 2:393.

<sup>192</sup> Gregorios Kyprios, *Autobiography*, in PG 142, 20<sub>A</sub>.

<sup>193</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St Sabas the Younger*, 3.26–46, ed. Tsames, 1:164–5.

<sup>194</sup> Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, no. 7, ed. Loenertz, 176–7.



diminished.<sup>195</sup> Even if we accept that Kantakouzenos and other Byzantine authors also had in mind a specific group of people, it is still difficult to ascertain exactly who these were. Most of the sources agree that the *mesoi* were of a middling financial status. One of Kantakouzenos' passages links them with soldiers and another probably with merchants and church dignitaries. According to my view, which approaches that of Beck, *mesoi* was more of a descriptive term than a structural one. It simply meant those of middling financial status, whatever their professional or social background. Thus, any concept of a middle class in Byzantium should not only incorporate the people of medium economic standing in the cities, but should also include the soldiers and the independent peasants. The main division cannot be profession alone. Notwithstanding, the urban middle classes (as we understand the term today) existed in the late Byzantine period, and their activities differed from those of independent farmers in the countryside (whose activities and existence will be examined in the next section) and the soldiers, whose standing and identity were surveyed earlier.

One of the major fields of financial activity of the urban middle classes was trade. Since the twelfth century the presence of the Italian maritime republics had stimulated a rise in trade and entrepreneurial mercantile activities. Sometimes agricultural production was directed to the market through large-scale commercial activities, in which the Byzantine elite played a crucial role.<sup>196</sup> But, from the thirteenth century, the Venetians and the Genoese came to dominate profitable long-distance trade. The routes from Byzantium to Italy were mostly blocked for Byzantine merchants, while the Genoese tried to block or minimise Byzantine trade in the Black Sea. Large-scale artisanal activity, and the trade connected with it, was also concentrated in the Aegean colonies of Venice; Venetians were importing goods into Constantinople from their colonies.<sup>197</sup>

The elite and the monasteries would also sell part of their surplus produce at the market. No doubt the surplus grain that Andronikos II confiscated from Constantinopolitan monasteries during a crisis period had been stored there in order to be disposed either in the market or in the bakeries belonging to these monasteries.<sup>198</sup> In general, small-scale and

<sup>195</sup> Hunger, 'Thukydides bei Kantakouzenos'; and also, for the debt of Kantakouzenos in the description of the Black Death that struck Byzantium in 1347 to the plague of Thucydides in Athens, cf. Miller, 'Plague'.

<sup>196</sup> Gerolymatou, 'Aristocratie et commerce'; Lemerle, 'Roga'. See also Cheynet, 'Rôle de la "bourgeoisie"', which speaks of infiltration of the ranks of civil officials by the upper strata of artisans and merchants of Constantinople.

<sup>197</sup> See p. 5.

<sup>198</sup> Pach., 4:647.

retail trade remained in the hands of Byzantine traders, who undertook the responsibility of selling the goods procured from large-scale international imports into the Byzantine market. They were also importing grain and other primary commodities from the countryside or other smaller towns. For example, an anonymous meat seller imported 600 sheep through the Theodosian Wall gates, obviously from Thrace, to the market of Constantinople in the late thirteenth century. This meat seller needed the intervention of the city's *eparchos* (and after the latter's failure, of the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios) to help restore to him a large share of these sheep that had been arbitrarily appropriated by the despot Ioannes Palaiologos.<sup>199</sup>

Some of these traders were collaborating in entrepreneurial activities with Italians. Because of the nature of our sources, much of the evidence regarding Byzantine merchants originates from partnerships that have left traces in the notarial acts of the Italian republics. Byzantine middle-class merchants were rarely capable of undertaking large-scale enterprises, comparable to those of the Italians or even at least to those of the Byzantine elite. When they did, it was usually through *syntrophiai* (associations) of many merchants, or with capital loaned by more wealthy people. They were hindered further by the frequent necessity of renting or using another's vessel, since they rarely owned ships themselves. We hear for example that a Genoese shipowner transported several Byzantine merchants from Alexandria to Constantinople along with their merchandise. The charge for the use of the ship amounted to 500 *nomismata*.<sup>200</sup> Only with very high-margin products, or at least with a large quantity of less valuable goods, would they be able to profit from such an enterprise.

Only from the 1340s do the Byzantines reappear more actively in trade, thanks to the last-minute measures of the government. Just before the death of Andronikos III the Byzantine fleet was recreated – it had been dissolved at the start of the reign of Andronikos II – in an attempt to forestall the constant Turkish raids in Thrace. Moreover, after 1348, the commercial tax, which merchants had to pay on the value of their merchandise when arriving in Byzantine ports, was reduced from 10 to 2 per cent, inducing many Byzantines to build ships and actively engage in commerce. Reports of Byzantine merchants active in trade around the Black Sea increase after this point. As Laiou has calculated, the number of attested Byzantine merchants doubles during the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>201</sup> We learn, for example, from a patriarchal document of 1356 that two brothers

<sup>199</sup> Gregorios Kyprios, *Letters*, no. 132, ed. Eustratiades, 117–18.

<sup>200</sup> See Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 2:756.

<sup>201</sup> Laiou, 'Greek merchant', 106.

named Agapetoi often travelled for business purposes to Tana.<sup>202</sup> The example of Theodoros Sebasteianos is an indication of the scope of Byzantine merchants around the middle of the century. He sold 832 *metra* of wine, which he himself had bought from Asia Minor, to a Venetian merchant from Crete for 565 *hyperpyra*.<sup>203</sup> Although most of these merchants (more than two-thirds of the total) originated from Constantinople, two of the most active merchants were the Adrianople partners Ioannes Basilikos and Ioannes Phrangopoulos. In 1360/1 they are attested in Chilia on the Black Sea, investing at least 1,814 *hyperpyra* and 10 *sommi* 20 *saggi* of silver.<sup>204</sup> In 1364 another small trader, Kolebas, is attested in Constantinople: he took a loan of 12 *nomismata* from a certain Sgouropoulos and promised to return 14 *nomismata* 'should the ship sail back smoothly'.<sup>205</sup> Another trader of oil and candles from Thessalonike is attested, named Chalkeopoulos. The only thing that we know about him is that he additionally owned a mill and that his father-in-law was a door-keeper.<sup>206</sup> Some were not lucky. We hear that a certain Sideriotes engaged in a failed business trip to the Genoese colony of Caffa just before 1348.<sup>207</sup> This might be related to the growing antagonism of the Genoese, shortly before the outbreak of the war of 1348.

The middle classes never disappear from the scene of trade, continuing to operate even during the eight-year siege of Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century, albeit with serious difficulties and drawbacks. There was still a vibrant middle-class community in Constantinople in the fifteenth century and some of them even had significant property.<sup>208</sup> One of them, Ioannes Tepefto, is attested as a shipowner.<sup>209</sup> The account book of Giacomo Badoer, recording his transactions in Constantinople during the years 1436–40, is uniquely valuable in this respect. An important industry was clothing; the fabric was imported mainly from Italy and the garments manufactured in Constantinople. We have the names of several middling businessmen related to this trade. Konstantinos Bardas Tzouknidas who also owned a shop, Makrymalles and the brothers Konstantinos and Manuel Makropoulos, are

<sup>202</sup> PR III, 216 (no. 215: 1356).

<sup>203</sup> Laiou, 'Un notaire', 12. This is equivalent to around 13–13.5 tons of wine.

<sup>204</sup> Laiou, 'Greek merchant', 107.

<sup>205</sup> Registro Vaticano, 264 (no. 3).

<sup>206</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 204 (no. 97: 1324).

<sup>207</sup> PR II, 402 (no. 151: November 1348). The successive deaths of almost all the members of the families involved in the case points to Black Death and a date for the trip between 1346 (siege of Caffa by the Mongols) and 1348 (Genoese hostility to the Byzantines). See also Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 124–5.

<sup>208</sup> See a more detailed analysis in Chapter 7.

<sup>209</sup> Badoer, 102.

visible in Badoer's account book with significant transactions; for example, Ioannes Tzouknidas alone made transactions totalling 2,694 *hyperpyra*.<sup>210</sup> These four merchants acted in cooperation quite often too.<sup>211</sup> Another partnership of two tailors in the same period was between Michael Kataphygiotes and Andreas Kinnamos.<sup>212</sup> Ioannes Vrachimi/Brachimini (Brachymes or Brakymenos?) had a trousers manufacturing shop and often acted in cooperation with Theophylaktos Surachi (Tzourakes or Tzyrakes?) of the same trade, as well as the tailor Michael Kataphygiotes.<sup>213</sup> A smaller merchant at the market of Palaios Phoros, *kyr* Phokas, was selling cloth.<sup>214</sup>

Banking was another economic activity wherein middle-class individuals were often engaged in Byzantine cities. There is no specific term to denote a banker in Byzantium. Usual designations are *katallaktēs*, *chrysepilektēs*, *argyramoibos*, while their shops were often designated as 'money-changing tables' (*katallaktika trapezia*). The middle class again competed with the elite since much of these banking and loan activities were also undertaken by members of the elite or the monasteries early on. For example, an *oikeios* of the emperor Andronikos II called Dishypatos, an evidently elite surname, had loaned 325 *hyperpyra* to a certain Theodoros Marmaras. Marmaras himself can be classified as a wealthy member of society, since his wife's dowry accounted to 1,296 *hyperpyra*. His other property included some houses and a vineyard near Pegai outside Constantinople. But the fact that, at the time of his death, he had already borrowed 825 *hyperpyra* in total from three different people might rather indicate an upper middle-class person who was undertaking enterprises and needed capital.<sup>215</sup>

There is evidence regarding banking activities for both Constantinople and Thessalonike. The names of some bankers have been preserved. Apart

<sup>210</sup> Konstantinos Bardas Tzouknidas: Badoer, 295, 368, 371, 374, 417, 444, 450 (reference to his shop), 639, 744. Makrymalles: Badoer, 129, 264, 313, 374. Konstantinos Makropoulos: Badoer, 29, 58, 84–5 (Costa Mancropulo). Manuel Makropoulos: Badoer, 177, 416–17, 804–5 (Manoli Mancropulo).

<sup>211</sup> Konstantinos Bardas Tzouknidas and Manuel Makropoulos: Badoer, 51, 237, 243, 362, 449, 577, 580, 634, 656; Konstantinos Bardas Tzouknidas and Konstantinos Makropoulos: Badoer, 370, 511.

<sup>212</sup> Badoer, 419, 480, 513, 580, 622. Once for example (p. 622) they had bought second-quality linen for 255 *hyperpyra* from Piero Michiel and Geronimo and Giacomo Badoer.

<sup>213</sup> Badoer, 140–1. The surname Brakymenos might derive from his trade: *βράκα*=trousers. For the cooperation with Tzyrakes: Badoer, 154–5. For the cooperation with Kataphygiotes: Badoer, 487, 580, 623, 634.

<sup>214</sup> Badoer, 715, 718.

<sup>215</sup> PR I, 436–8 (no. 74: 1324). Or, of course, simply a spendthrift.

from Dishypatos, a certain Kephalas and an Andreas Antiocheites were the other two creditors of Theodoros Marmaras, and Xenos Agapetos had loaned money to the patriarch Isidoros I (1347–50).<sup>216</sup> Some of the middlemen bankers had close contacts with the Latins, such as a certain Manuel, who lived in Pera.<sup>217</sup> A number of otherwise unknown people (most with non-aristocratic surnames) sold in total twenty bankers' stalls to the monastery of Lavra in 1342.<sup>218</sup> In other cities only rarely can we find mentions of people engaged in banking activities and, for some of them, it is hard to distinguish between the upper urban milieu and the elite. This is the case of the *megalodoxotatos* Georgios Rammatas in Thessalonike or the *megalohyperochos* Athanasios Kabakes in 1327, both designated as *chrysepilektēs* and both distinguished by the lowest-ranking epithet-titles of the Palaiologan period.<sup>219</sup> Later, in the fifteenth century in Thessalonike, a *katallaktēs*, Platyskalites, married his daughter to another *katallaktēs* called Chalazas.<sup>220</sup> An earlier Chalazas in the fourteenth century, Theodoros, was a simple perfumer.<sup>221</sup>

Some middlemen were agents of the elite. The activities of one of them, named Phrangopoulos, are detailed by Nikephoros Choumnos. Phrangopoulos was a curator of the rural property of Choumnos but took advantage of his position in order to obtain profit for himself. He reassigned plots of land to peasants with rent contracts gaining for himself any additional profit; he withheld part of the produce of demesne land; he sold the demesne horses and compelled the peasants to pay more tax than the normal rate, which he also kept for himself.<sup>222</sup> Despite the fact that Choumnos had been orally informed of these abuses, he was unable to do anything until there was a formal complaint by some 'pious people' from the area. He then petitioned the emperor asking him to dispense justice. Thus, Phrangopoulos was not an *oiketēs* of Choumnos. He must have been a private man who had a sort

<sup>216</sup> PR II, 442 (no. 156: 1350). It is important to remember that other Agapetoi in the same period were merchants in Tana, as we said above.

<sup>217</sup> Bratiănu, *Actes des notaires geneois*, 164.

<sup>218</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 24 (no. 123): Kalomiseides, Langidas, Zomes, Laurentes, Romanos, Boilas, Manganes, Kalos, Photiates. Some tables were sold to the monastery of Lavra by members (probably) of the elite: the aunt of the emperor *pinkernissa* Palaiologina, Tzykandele, Chandrene and Sgouropoulos.

<sup>219</sup> Georgios Rammatas: *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 181 (no. 84: 1322), 219 (no. 106: 1326) and elsewhere he signed as witness. Athanasios Kabakes: *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 314–15 (no. 32: 1330).

<sup>220</sup> Kugeas, 'Notizbuch', 153.

<sup>221</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 254 (no. 78: 1320).

<sup>222</sup> Smaller plots to more tenants or better agreements mean more profit for the lodger.

of agreement with Choumnos.<sup>223</sup> Accordingly, we learn that the brother of Maximos Planoudes also had a steward of his properties in Nikomedeia, a private man (*idiōtēs*) not 'at all connected with public affairs', whom Maximos tried to protect from the abuses of state officials with a petition to the high tax official Ioannes Bardales.<sup>224</sup> In the fifteenth century in Thessalonike, a certain Michael Somateianos operated a ship that belonged to the clergy of St Asomatoi, paying them annually 300 *hyperpyra* in rent.<sup>225</sup> Other people who worked as curators of imperial or state property also acted in a similar manner. In 1284, the patriarch Gregorios Kyprios recounts how certain men (named in the letter as Kimpos, Ziras, Niketas, Parachotes, Melias) were making profit from the imperial herds they were assigned to breed in coastal Thrace.<sup>226</sup>

Artisanal occupations were exercised mostly by the middle urban classes. There were two main hindrances for their development: the importation of foreign products from Italy by the Venetians and Genoese, and the fact that the elite and the monasteries owned most of the urban space, including the shops, thus leaving the artisans to be mere workers. In addition, it is possible to find some of the middle-class people as *prōtomaïstores*, directing builders or other workers. In Thessalonike Georgios Marmaras, Demetrios Theophilos and Georgios Pyrros were *prōtomaïstores* of the builders in 1322, 1389 and 1396 respectively,<sup>227</sup> while Theodoros Brachnos was designated as *exarchos* of the perfumers (*myrepsoi*).<sup>228</sup> Demetrios Kydones' sister was a *prōtomaïstorissa*. It is not unlikely that the Kydones family, which emerges only with the father of Demetrios Kydones, might at least have been connected to the local upper middle stratum, even if not fully part of it. Besides, in his *Apology*, Kydones reports that his parents did not send him to learn a manual occupation, but destined him for education, indicating thus that another career path had originally been a possibility.<sup>229</sup> Although artisanal activity is attested in many cities of the empire,

<sup>223</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, no. 20, ed. Boissonade, 25–7. For this explanation, see Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 129–33.

<sup>224</sup> Maximos Planoudes, *Letters*, nos 20–1, ed. Leone, 46–8.

<sup>225</sup> Kugeas, 'Notizbuch', 153.

<sup>226</sup> Gregorios Kyprios, *Letters*, no. 132, ed. Eustratiades, 116.

<sup>227</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 180 (no. 84: 1322); *Acts Docheiariou*, 266 (no. 50: 1389); *Acts Vatopedi* III, 148–9 (no. 177: 1396).

<sup>228</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 254 (no. 78: 1320).

<sup>229</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Apology*, ed. Mercati, 359. Moreover, in his letters about the civil war and subsequent losses of land to the regency supporters, the Serbians and the Turks, he never comments on any loss of land by his family. Kydones is careful, however, to state that his parents had an abundance of material goods.

and particularly in Constantinople, we cannot trace the social position of most of these artisans. Some of them received children as apprentices. From the few such instances preserved, entry into apprenticeship seems to have had the status of a contract with the father of the child. The artisan agreed to have the child in his workshop for a specified period of five to ten years, to teach him the craft (and presumably cover the child's living costs) and sometimes, after the end of the contract, to provide him with a starting capital consisting of a little money or of crafting tools.<sup>230</sup>

Even though the ground and the houses or buildings belonged in large part to the elite and the monasteries, this was not always an impediment for the development of the middle class, since the more accomplished of them could flourish even in this restrictive environment. Before 1400, Konstantinos Samaminthes had rented for his lifetime a perfume shop that belonged to various monasteries of Thessalonike for 14 *hyperpyra* annually. Sometime later he could also afford to rent two neighbouring exchange table-shops that belonged to another monastery for only 3 *hyperpyra* annually, uniting them with the perfume shop by opening a second entrance and transforming them.<sup>231</sup> In fifteenth-century Thessalonike, a certain Dadas was renting several small structures (five grocery stores and three houses) from the monastery of Xenophon for the negligible sum of 3 *hyperpyra*, but after he invested 105 *hyperpyra* into transforming them into a single wine shop, he was able to receive an annual income of 30 *hyperpyra*.<sup>232</sup>

Several real estate owners who cannot be classified as members of the elite are attested in Constantinople and in other cities. This conclusion can be reached based on their otherwise unknown surnames and the fact that they do not bear distinguishing epithets or titles, or even from their evidently middling economic status. A document of 1342 mentions many such people who sold their property to the monastery of the Lavra.<sup>233</sup> Their

<sup>230</sup> Registro Vaticano, 264–6, in total six cases: nos 4–5 (1363), 6, 8–9 (1364) and 14 (1372).

<sup>231</sup> MM II, 525–7 (no. 662: 1401).

<sup>232</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 219–21 (no. 32: 1419).

<sup>233</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 24–5 (no. 123: 1342). Manuel Tzamades (one *kylistareion*: associated with the fabrics), Romanos (a cabin), Kalogeros (a cabin), Litharites (a house), Bartholomaia (a house), Petrenos (houses), the daughter of Polaris (a house), Eupraxia Sabentzina (a house), Melias (three houses), Georgios Polaris (a house), the eunuch Chresimos (three houses), the daughter of Kalochatos (a house), Andronikos Sachas, Ioannes of Spatho and a 'certain' Eirene (some grocery stores), Melito (a house), a 'certain' Aspientes (three butcher stores), Phokas Pantektos (some houses), Kalochatos (a house), Bentouras (a house), Akrites (a house), Ioannes Katallaktes (a house), Pepanos (three wooden houses), Sphentaras (a wooden house), Arabantenos (a house), Langidas (a house), Karyanites (a house).

number far exceeds the number of names of possible elite families, who also sold some properties.<sup>234</sup> That these middle-class real estate owners did not rent the land they sold can be inferred from two facts: there is no statement to this effect in the document, and the sale price itself would have been lower. The latter was the case of a Theodora Gorgaina in Thessalonike, who sold to a certain Ioannes Papadopoulos her house in Thessalonike, which was built on land owned by the clergy of St Asomatoi, to whom a rent of 3 *kokkia* (one-quarter of a *nomisma*) was owed. The house was sold for only 7 *nomismata* (the lowest attested for a house) and a 10 per cent surcharge was paid to the clergy of St Asomatoi.<sup>235</sup>

Evidence regarding the means of this middle class is scarce. A certain Ioannes Kanaboutzes, although simply designated as ‘porter’ (βασταγάρης), agreed to provide a dowry of 155 *hyperpyra*.<sup>236</sup> This sum may be considered modest compared to the hundreds or thousands of *hyperpyra* that made up the dowries of the elite, but still meaningful compared to the 34 *hyperpyra* of the dowry of a certain Theodoros.<sup>237</sup> In late fourteenth-century Thessalonike (1392), we learn the story of Demetrios Tzyringes. Demetrios, who bore no title/office or any other mark of distinction, and was in possession of a shop within the yard of a small monastery that had been burned down more than forty years previously.<sup>238</sup> The monastery and the shop were built on the land of another landlord, who had no means to rebuild the property after the fire. Demetrios, though, had the means to buy the property, rebuild it and later donate it (c. 1376, perhaps at an already advanced age) to the monastery of Nea Mone of Thessalonike. Demetrios also inherited from his (brother- or son-) in-law three fields with a value of 100 *nomismata* (this might make up around 200–300 *modioi* of land, a holding appropriate to very few wealthy dependent peasants) outside Thessalonike but, since he was away for an unknown reason, they were given to the monastery of St Athanasios and, when Demetrios returned, he had to buy them back from the monastery. Demetrios is an example of the local upper middle stratum. His resources were enough to allow for the rebuilding and keeping of a small

<sup>234</sup> Manuel Rentakenos (houses), the *prôtasēkrētis* (probably Leon Bardales) (a house), *kyr* Theophylaktos Palaiologos (four houses), Nikolaos Maroulas (houses and three exchange tables). None of these two lists mentions people who sold exchange tables to the monastery of Lavra (see this chapter, note 218).

<sup>235</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 103–5 (no. 8: 1309). For other two similar cases, see Registro Vaticano, 265 (nos 11–12: 1365).

<sup>236</sup> Registro Vaticano, 266 (no. 16: 1370).

<sup>237</sup> Registro Vaticano, 265 (no. 10: 1365?).

<sup>238</sup> This incident might echo the troubles arising from the second civil war and probably took place in the late 1340s.



monastery (probably nothing more than a large house with a yard) and the repurchase of the fields inherited from his in-law, yet his own shop was initially built upon someone else's land and he does not seem to have had any kind of other property.<sup>239</sup> In the early fifteenth century, members of the family of Tzyringes are attested as landowners in villages near Thessalonike.<sup>240</sup>

Theodoros Karabas, who made his testament in 1314, claimed that he owned 11 houses in Thessalonike, 61 *modioi* of vineyards in different places near Thessalonike, only one field of 10 *modioi*, and some minor moveable property. He had received a dowry from each of his two wives. His second wife's dowry was spent, while that of his first wife had already been allocated to their children. Karabas does not appear to have held any title and was illiterate (he signed with a cross). In that year two other vineyards were sold in Thessalonike for 14.5 *nomismata* per *modios*, thus making the vineyards of Karabas worth around 900 *nomismata*, and if the value of the 11 houses is counted at a median of 50 *nomismata* per house, then we have another 550 *nomismata*. The cash that he had at the time of his testament (78 *hyperpyra*, of which 17.5 were destined to pay some of his debts) thus amounted to only 7 per cent of his total property.<sup>241</sup> This is considerable wealth, but, in view of the unusually high proportion of vineyards in his portfolio, Karabas must have had some connection to the wine trade or owned taverns in the city that he supplied with his wine. Karabas should be placed among those upper middle-class people with financial security but with no political power or distinction, rather than among the elite.

In an earlier case, Gregorios, who was an artisan (*banausiakēn technēn metiontos*) collecting charcoal from nearby forests, decided to found the monastery of Skoteine by deforesting the summit of a mountain near Philadelphiea and planting in its place a vineyard and a small oratory. The church was so tiny that it barely fitted three people at once. Notably, his son and successor Maximos in his testamentary *typikon* does not indicate a surname for either him or his father, an indication of low birth. But Gregorios probably belonged to the upper middle class, since he deforested the area with apprentices he already had, and he was in a position to offer an education to his son Maximos and he had connections to the local lesser elite, as is conspicuous by the later donations and the prosperity of the monastic foundation.<sup>242</sup>

<sup>239</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 126–8 (no. 153: 1392). A contemporary, Theodoros Tzyringes († bef. 1404), was married to Kale Thalassine, whose dowry amounted to a *zeugēlateion* worth 144 *nomismata*.

<sup>240</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 222 (no. 31: 1314) and 237 (no. 34: 1317).

<sup>241</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 215–19 (no. 30: 1314).

<sup>242</sup> *Testament of Maximos of Skoteine*, ed. Gedeon, the reference to his occupation and first erection at 271–3.

Moreover, priests in towns and several ecclesiastical officials serving in the lower ranks of the local metropolis had too low a status to classify as members of the civil elite. This is also evident from the wide range of individuals who occupied these posts whose surnames are otherwise unattested in the sources. This can be ascertained for example in Smyrna, where in addition to the leading families occupying the higher offices in the local metropolis (the Barypates and Katharos families), one can find people such as Isidoros Phalangoulas as *archōn tōn ekklesiōn* or Ioannes Kerameres as *kanstrisios*,<sup>243</sup> with no previous or subsequent family tradition; both these offices rank rather low in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (ninth and twenty-third respectively in a total of around thirty-six offices).<sup>244</sup> The same situation is attested in both Thessalonike and Serres.<sup>245</sup>

Similarly, under the middle stratum one should list an appreciable number of urban notaries who were running the routine civil administration in the provinces but had to earn their daily bread by writing out contracts, testaments, *praktika* and other fiscal or judicial documents in the service of the local authorities. Some non-elite, educated people were considered erudite enough to be appointed as teachers (for example Theodoros Hyrtakenos). Others could enter the service of the elite by composing treatises, poems and epigrams or copying books for them. A good number of these scribes are known only through their colophons in manuscripts that have survived to our day. To one such fortunate individual, a whole recent monograph has been devoted. This Theodoros Hagiopetrites, both a highly professional scribe and an adept illuminator of manuscripts, held the occupation of *anagnōstēs* (the lowest ecclesiastical rank, below deacon) and prepared many high-quality books for the monasteries and educated society of Thessalonike in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. He left this business to his daughter, who continued it with some success.<sup>246</sup>

Consequently, it is possible to speak of a wide range of activities in which the urban middle classes were engaged: they were traders, merchants (involved in large-scale trade), bankers, agents of the elite and lower state officials in the domain of finance, artisans, priests, lower ecclesiastical officials, scribes and notaries, real estate holders and small landholders. Although this middle class is formed from people with very diverse occupations and activities, in many

<sup>243</sup> Isidoros Phalangoulas: MM IV, 109 (no. 1.49: 1274); Ioannes Kerameres: MM IV, 157 (no. 1.84: 1264) and 164 (no. 1.89: 1256). For the families of Barypates and Katharos, see p. 141–2.

<sup>244</sup> See Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les οφφίκια*, 555 (list J, drafted closer chronologically to our case).

<sup>245</sup> See p. 142.

<sup>246</sup> Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites*.

cases it is hard to differentiate them by occupation since many individuals were engaged in more than one. There were some who combined priesthood, for example, with an artisanal activity: the priest Antonios was also a shoemaker;<sup>247</sup> and the fish trader Konstantinos Amnon rented out a vineyard near Thessalonike.<sup>248</sup> Many would own fields in the vicinity of their city, like Demetrios Tzyrigges or Theodoros Marmaras. The two builders Manuel Biblodontes and Theodoros Malakes (notably the first one was literate) were occupied with viticulture near Thessalonike.<sup>249</sup> This practice of diverse activities by the middle stratum, in connection with the absence of guilds in late Byzantium, direly hindered the unfolding of a group consciousness on the part of these middle social layers.<sup>250</sup>

The lower urban social layers would consequently be comprised of people who were completely dependent economically on the elite or the middle classes, either as simple house servants, or as apprentices and wage workers in their shops and workshops or in other places, such as in the fields (inside and around a city) or on building sites, and they would normally have to rent their dwelling space. What separated them from those of the middle stratum, who would work as agents for the properties of the elite or as 'distinguished servants', is that the latter were employees who normally had the ability to change employers, which gave them greater economic independence, and their more skilled occupations attracted a higher wage than the manual labour of the lower classes, in addition to the connections they were acquiring through their services to the elite. These are major differences in both social and economic status in terms of property relations, even when, in some cases, these were not accompanied by a consequential difference in income level. In any case, the lower social layers constituted most of a town's population. Unfortunately, the nature of our sources is not insightful in regard to these people, usually identifying them with the collective terms 'people', *dēmos* and similar. This does not allow us to observe whether through apprenticeship or marriage strategies they tried (or managed) to ameliorate their position. Yet in the same terms we should understand the differences between a *paroikos* and an independent peasant in the countryside, and to this we turn next.

## The Peasant World

Peasants formed most of Byzantine society. They must have comprised at least 80 per cent of the total population, a reality that was disturbed only in

<sup>247</sup> Registro Vaticano, 264 (no. 6: 1364).

<sup>248</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 196 (no. 28: 1299).

<sup>249</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 165–6 (no. 16: 1296).

<sup>250</sup> For the absence of guilds in late Byzantium, see p. 209.

the final decades of the Byzantine state after the 1370s, when most of the countryside was lost and Byzantium was reduced to a few coastal cities. Even then, agriculture still formed an important economic sector, especially since Constantinople itself, as well as the other cities, was reduced in population, an effect of both the warfare and the plague, and the contraction of the cities' hinterlands and the subsequent economic recession had also negatively affected urban economic activity.

Peasants usually lived in villages or smaller communities that were owned mostly by the state, monastic or other institutions, and lay persons, to whom they paid their taxes, rents and other dues. Pastoral communities and mountain pastures (*katouna* or *planēna*) were also often included in the possessions of grand landlords,<sup>251</sup> even if these might have been less lucrative than the richer villages of the Strymon valley or Chalkidike, for example, as the Athonite archive allows us to observe.

Most of the land cultivators were *paroikoi*, in other words, dependent peasants. Their situation as *paroikoi* was tied to the grant of land made by the state to the landlord. During the early Palaiologan period, a land grant was often accompanied by the grant of the peasants who inhabited it. They were now obliged to pay their taxes to the new landlord. Donations of individual peasants are at times mentioned; the *sebastos* Palates was granted by a chrysobull two peasants whom he later gave as a dowry to his daughter when she married Ioannes Orestes.<sup>252</sup> Not even towns were free of *paroikoi*. Stephanos Chreles, a Serbian magnate enrolled in Byzantine service, possessed fifty households of *paroikoi* in the market district of the town of Štip.<sup>253</sup> Escape from dependency in at least parts of the medieval West, when a serf took refuge in a city, was not an option in Byzantium.

In most, if not all, large holdings the landlords established manors (*kathedrai*), which must have had some administrative, storage and residential function at least for the curators of the property, and which may have served the needs of the *paroikoi* too, as is stated in one surviving document.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>251</sup> For example: *Acts Chilandar* I, 174–5 (no. 18: 1299/1300), where the monastery of St Niketas near Skopje, in a largely pastoral society, included in its possessions mostly pastoral communities and pastures; *Acts Iveron* IV, 94 (no. 87: 1341); *Acts Vatopedi* I, 375 (no. 68: 1329); *Acts Chilandar* I, 269 (no. 42: 1319), where state-owned mountain pastures (δημοσιακήν πλανήνην) were then donated to the monastery of Chilandar.

<sup>252</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 325 (no. 60: 1323).

<sup>253</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 276 (no. 131: c. 1333–41). He also possessed the market (φόρος) itself in the market district (ἐμπόριο) of the town.

<sup>254</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 293 (no. 82: 1325).

Each mansion was by itself a large property unit containing yards and other houses or edifices,<sup>255</sup> and often gardens, trees, orchards and vineyards.<sup>256</sup>

Our picture of landholding depends largely on the Athonite archives. These large monasteries, with a history often already spanning across a few centuries by the period under scrutiny, were in a better position than other landlords to control their properties, to acquire more property and to safeguard their holdings. It is quite common to think about the Western European or the Ottoman experience, where land was mostly divided into concrete parts, frequently composed of whole villages, belonging to a single landlord. Yet, despite the introduction of the institution of *oikonomia*, landholding was still largely fragmented in the late Byzantine countryside. Next to the few whole villages owned by members of the higher elite and the large monastic institutions, from whom most of our information originates, most villages and their land were divided among many landowners, often under different conditions. For example, the village of Potholinos, before being granted in whole to the monastery of Chilandar in 1365, belonged to six different *archontes*.<sup>257</sup> The monastery of Vatopedi was renting some land (122 *modioi* of land, 15 *modioi* of vineyard, and 75 olive trees) in the village of Kometissa in Chalkidike, which belonged to the *prōtos* of Mt Athos.<sup>258</sup> Besides, a few peasants could own properties outside their village proper, or properties that did not belong to their respective lord, for which they owed taxes to another lord. In Stomion, Manuel Hierissiotēs owned a vineyard of 1.5 *modioi* for which he paid the corresponding tax to the village community of Abramitai.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>255</sup> As note 252.

<sup>256</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 188; *Acts Iveron* III, 93; *Acts Lavra* II, 248, 257, 266, 272; *Acts Lavra* III, 208; *Acts Xenophon*, 168, etc.

<sup>257</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 315–16 (no. 150: 1365).

<sup>258</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 199 (no. 29: 1300).

<sup>259</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 128–9 (no. 13: 1320). It is contingent upon whether the inhabitants of Abramitai were free peasants or *paroikoi* of some lord who is not named. Here, Manuel Hierissiotēs owed his tax to the Abramitai (ἀμπέλιον ὑποτελὲς εἰς τοὺς Ἀβραμίτας); earlier, the inhabitants of the Abramitai had planted vineyards in the area and the tax assessor, Apelmene, did not want to hurt 'their *paroikikai* properties' (τὴν τοιαύτην γῆν καταπεφυτευμένην εἰς ἀμπελώνας εὐρῶν τῶν ἐποίκων χωρίου Ἀβραμιτῶν, οὐκ ἔκρινα δέον εἶναι παραδοῦναι αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐποίκοις εἰς τὰς παροιικὰς αὐτῶν ὑποστάσεις ζημίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπάξαιμι). The editor Denise Parachryssanthou is undecided between the solutions that (some of) the inhabitants of Abramitai had their own *paroikoi* in whose *staseis* these vineyards belonged, and that they were themselves *paroikoi*. I believe that the first solution should be probably ruled out. But why should Manuel pay his tax to a village and not directly to the landlord, who owns the land, if the Abramitai were simply *paroikoi*? It is possible then that the Abramitai were free peasants, and that their properties are called *paroikikai* since the term *paroikos* has been diffused to mean all peasants since the twelfth century.

Estates where landlords, following the permission of the state, established *paroikoi* are still encountered in the late period, but not in the same frequency as in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Many of these communities had already been turned into proper villages. But the continuity of this practice in the Palaiologan period evinces that, at least until the first half of the fourteenth century, there was a general availability of manpower. One such case is the estate of Kritzista, near Berroia, where, with imperial permission, Theodoros Sarantenos established some peasants.<sup>260</sup> Peasants established on an estate were often designated as poor, and were not numerous. In Panygeristrea, near Serres, the monastery of Vatopedi possessed a small field of 20 *modioi* and a large vineyard of 34 *modioi*, which were cultivated by four families of 'poor' *paroikoi*, all relatively small (12 people in total), with very few of their own possessions (2 oxen, 4 cows and a total of 9.5 *modioi* of vineyards).<sup>261</sup> The peasants inhabiting an estate (called *proskathēmenoi*) were not always assigned plots of land to rent. In the case of the Stomion estate (2,400 *modioi*) of the monastery of Xenophon in 1300, the six peasant families were known as wage workers (*mistharnoi*) and had no property of their own.<sup>262</sup>

Dependent peasants did not inhabit all estates. Quite commonly, next to whole or partly held villages and estates explicitly inhabited by households of *proskathēmenoi paroikoi*, we learn of estates not associated with specific dependent peasants. Thus, in the 1301 chrysobull of Andronikos II, next to the whole villages of Zabarnikeia, Semaltos, Chotolibos and Krimotas, held by the monastery of Vatopedi, there are the *metochia* in Hagios Mamas and Koutoulares that included land and *proskathēmenoi paroikoi*, but also the Raphalion and Leontaria estates, the island of Amoliane and the *metochia* of Prosphorion, of Theotokos of Speliotissa, of Eladiaba and of Almyros, which did not include any dependent peasants.<sup>263</sup> Undoubtedly these properties must have been exploited by either wage workers or by other peasants nearby, not necessarily *paroikoi* of the same landlord, who would rent land to them.

The dependency of the late Byzantine *paroikoi* did not derive from the land, as they were not tied to the land itself; they were tied to a landlord to whom they owed taxes and other dues for the land they cultivated. Quite often in the middle Byzantine period there were grants of *paroikoi*

<sup>260</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 336 (no. 62: 1324) and 375 (no. 68: 1329). Lefort, 'Rural economy and social relations'; Lefort, 'Économie et société rurales'.

<sup>261</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 187 (no. 26: 1297).

<sup>262</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 86 (no. 4: 1300).

<sup>263</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 207–9 (no. 31: 1301).

to landlords, not connected with any piece of land. At times we find *paroikoi* residing in other villages who still fulfill their fiscal obligations for the domain at which they were originally inscribed.<sup>264</sup>

The subordinate status of the *paroikos* vis-à-vis the landlord is confirmed by two main considerations. First, if a *paroikos* died without a direct heir, his property was declared an escheat (*exaleimma*) and reverted to the landlord, who could give it to another peasant for cultivation (under conditional or rental landholding, not full ownership), or keep it as personal land. When the holding was an *oikonomia*, these properties were meant to revert to the state, in principle, but custom often allowed them to revert to the beneficiary of the *oikonomia*.<sup>265</sup> The state contributed to this tendency. When the fiscal official *meγas adnoumiastēs* Manuel Batrachonites appropriated in favour of the fisc the fruits of some *exaleimmata* in the lands of the monastery of Vatopedi, the emperor Michael VIII considered this as an abuse of authority and ordered him to return them and abstain from infringing on the monastery's rights.<sup>266</sup> Patriarch Athanasios I felt quite distressed at this phenomenon of the appropriation of a deceased *paroikos*' land by either state officials or their lord, and decreed the tripartite division of a deceased *paroikos*' property: one-third to his relatives, one to services for his soul and one to the lord (*despoteia*).<sup>267</sup> By the fifteenth century, at least in the Morea, among the habitual rights granted to a *pronoia*-holder was anything that was already, or would become, an escheat.<sup>268</sup> Second, a *paroikos* owed to the landlord not only taxes but also corvées, for a certain number of days per year that varied according to local custom from 12 to 52, depending on the domain, not the geographical area, and three *kani-skia*, baskets with a specified quantity of goods delivered to the landlord on three occasions per year.<sup>269</sup>

Two more important traits have been suggested as restricting the freedom of the *paroikoi*. It has been claimed that they were attached to their

<sup>264</sup> For example: *Acts Lavra* II, 242–3 (no. 109: 1321), concerning the village of Drimosyrta of the monastery of Lavra, one peasant was residing in Epano Bolbos, another in Krene (neither of these is a property of Lavra) and a third one in Thessalonike.

<sup>265</sup> Bartusis, 'Exaleimma'; Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 492–4; Estangüi Gómez, 'Richesses et propriété paysannes', 188–96.

<sup>266</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 171.

<sup>267</sup> Zepos and Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanorum*, 1:533–6. Although occasionally the law is mentioned in the application of justice throughout the fourteenth century, it soon fades out, especially in countryside where the customary right prevailed.

<sup>268</sup> Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια*, 4:20.

<sup>269</sup> Stavridou-Zafraka, 'Άγγαρεία'.

land and could not abandon it.<sup>270</sup> We do indeed infrequently find stipulations in documents stating that a monastery is allowed to claim back *paroikoi*, who for some special reason (usually an enemy invasion) have fled the village.<sup>271</sup> However, the status of a dependent peasant was related more to a series of fiscal obligations rather than personal dependency.

In fact it seems that there was a considerable degree of geographical mobility. Laiou's research on the Byzantine *praktika*, related to villages that we can follow through successive censuses during the first half of the fourteenth century (1300/1, 1320/1 and 1338/41), resulted in remarkable observations. Although the population stayed relatively the same between these periods, only an average of 60 per cent of the households attested in the first census can be traced in the two following ones, an astonishingly low percentage for such a short period. Undoubtedly, for a small part of this inconsistency the fault may have been an imperceptible change in the naming pattern of the members of a family (for example, the daughters of a deceased couple may in the following censuses be identified with their husbands). The most likely explanation is that *paroikoi* were mobile, and moved on or away during the census periods. Such mobility was not only connected with dramatic disturbances, such as an enemy invasion or a natural disaster, but it is also attested in periods of stability. The Catalan invasion of 1307–9 caused major disturbances in the economy of Macedonia, but altogether the percentage of mobility between c. 1300 and 1321 is less than the observable mobility of the next twenty years, which were a period of relative stability (the first civil war was not very destructive, particularly in Macedonia).<sup>272</sup> Consequently, it was possible for some of the *paroikoi*, who felt that they would find better prospects elsewhere, to migrate from their village. This mobility can explain why, despite the plagues and wars during the late Byzantine period, it was always possible, even as late as the 1430s, to locate and install on a domain some 'free *paroikoi*', that is, *paroikoi* unknown to the fisc, not inscribed in any community or domain or in any tax register.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes*, 68.

<sup>271</sup> *Acts Iveron IV*, 94 (no. 87: 1341) and more explicitly in MM IV, 261–2 (no. 1.156: 1240), where the emperor orders the state officials to restore the *paroikoi* of the monastery of Lembiotissa, who have fled to reside and work in other domains and whose income Lembiotissa was missing. The document, however, probably comes from the Lascarid period (d. 1244?): see Dölger, 'Chronologisches und Prosopographisches', 319.

<sup>272</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 247–66.

<sup>273</sup> For more on them, see this volume, p. 183.



Besides, the status of *paroikos* was not even hereditary, or at least it was not applied to all the children of a household. This explains partly the 'disappearance' of many male children in the next censuses.<sup>274</sup> The case of the Gounaropouloi in the village of Bare, near Smyrna, is the most explicit; Maria, the mother of Georgios and Ioannes Gounaropoulos, was a *paroikos* of the monastery of Lembiotissa in 1235, but in 1281, although the recently deceased Georgios Gounaropoulos had been a *paroikos* of Lembiotissa, his brother was not.<sup>275</sup>

It has been claimed that the *paroikoi* did not fully own their landed private property and that they were restricted by the landlord in selling or donating it to someone outside the lord's domain. This was obviously the case in the middle Byzantine period, when peasants were not legally recognised as proprietors of the soil they exploited and even its hereditary transmission – which soon nevertheless became customarily the norm – could be considered illegal by certain judges.<sup>276</sup> Necessarily, any right of pre-emption of a neighbour in buying land significantly limits the options of the vendor. The first person, outside the family of a *paroikos*, who had the right to buy the piece of land was none other than the landlord. If he wanted to prevent a sale, the landlord could base his allegations on the pre-emption right. The only actual evidence in support of the view that the landlord should give his consent for the sale of a piece of *paroikos*' property comes from the Athonite archives, in 1301, when two *paroikoi* sold some land to the monastery of Esphigmenou. In the document it is stated that the sale was made with 'the will and admission of the lord Alexios Amnon.'<sup>277</sup> However, as stated in the document, this piece of land was not an inherited property of these *paroikoi*. It consisted of a deserted holding (*exaleimma*) that Alexios Amnon had assigned to them. They needed his consent just as much as the holder of an *oikonomia*, another type of conditional property, needed the consent of the emperor to sell or donate part of his *oikonomia*. There is an abundance of references to *paroikoi* having sold property to another landlord. For example, the priest Ioannes, a *paroikos* of Katakouzenos, sold a field of 7.5 *modioi* to the monastery of Lavra.<sup>278</sup> Demetrios Pechlampos donated all his property to the monastery of Vatopedi in order

<sup>274</sup> Karayanopoulos, 'Ein Problem', 221–3; Laiou, *Peasant society*, 151–8.

<sup>275</sup> MM IV, 13 (no. 2: 1235) and 93–4 (no. 38). It is irrelevant to our point here whether Ioannes Gounaropoulos was a free peasant (most probably) or a *paroikos* of another lord, though the latter case would need to be stated.

<sup>276</sup> See Oikonomides, 'Πείρα', 232–41.

<sup>277</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 79–80 (no. 10: 1301). For the right of pre-emption, see Papagianni, 'Protimesis'.

<sup>278</sup> *Acts Lavra II*, 135 (no. 97: 1304).

to become a monk there, although he was seemingly a *paroikos* of the monastery of Alypiou, since he calls the monks of Alypiou (who did not accept him in their monastery) 'his *authentai*', unlike the monks of Vatopedi.<sup>279</sup>

Additionally, there is no convincing evidence that the landlord exercised any kind of judicial privileges over his *paroikoi*.<sup>280</sup> Although there is one document from Smyrna in the mid-thirteenth century where the landlord Syrgares seems to have judged a case that involved some of his *paroikoi*, in fact those *paroikoi* had appealed to (*ēnenklēteusan*) Syrgares, who admittedly then passed the case on to the *oikodespotai* (the notables in a village) of his *pronoia*.<sup>281</sup> This is then a case of litigation, whereby the two opposing parties reached an agreement suggested by one person whom they both had designated, a practice common both in Roman and Byzantine law. Syrgares was obviously not a random choice; undoubtedly the local landlord had considerable sway in his domain.

Much misunderstanding about the social conditions in the Byzantine countryside was caused by confusion with the conditions prevailing in Latin and Ottoman-held Greece, which are much better documented. Much progress has been made, however, in differentiating the status of a late Byzantine *paroikos* from that of a contemporary serf of Western Europe, and even that of the Latin-held former Byzantine areas, regarding the possession of property by the *paroikos*, the lack of judicial rights of landlords in Byzantium, and the theoretical freedom of mobility for the Byzantine *paroikos* and his non-hereditary status.

Yet the implications of all these differences on perceptions of the prevailing state of social stratification are in fact negligible. Even if the landlord was not legally the *authentēs* of his *paroikoi*, they perceived him, and he regarded himself, as such, and this is what created the actual status of the Byzantine dependent peasant.<sup>282</sup> The recipient of an *oikonomia*, even if he legally had no right over a peasant's private landed property (other than collecting the tax and other dues), was often perceived as possessing bare ownership (that is, ownership of the land without the right to work it). The peasants could regard him as the true possessor of all land in that domain, even if legally they were the full owners. Nikolaos Angelos Komnenos Malisenos, a son-in-law of the emperor, wanted to purchase the private landed

<sup>279</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 254 (no. 43.XXI: c. 1308–12, he donated all his property to Vatopedi apart from a vineyard, which he donated to the Alypiou for the memorialisation of his parents).

<sup>280</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire*, 362–4; Smyrlis, 'Our Lord and Father', 781–2. On the other side, Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 491–2.

<sup>281</sup> MM IV, 80–4.

<sup>282</sup> On this, see p. 83.

property of a certain Michael Archontitzes in the village of Dryanoubaina in Thessaly, recently conquered by Michael VIII in 1271, in order to donate it to the monastery of Nea Petra, founded by his wife. This property was liable to a tax of 2.66 *nomismata*. In the sale contract, Archontitzes and his family renounced all rights on the land for the rather low price (in comparison to the value of the tax owed) of 12 *nomismata*, claiming also that Nikolaos Maliasenos had the right to appropriate the land since he was their 'lord and master' and the whole village had been donated to him by the emperor. But Maliasenos 'felt generous,' and instead wanted to buy it. Obviously, Maliasenos had been granted the area as an *oikonomia* and had no legal right over the landed private property of Archontitzes, who was also paying tax on it. In fact, the whole village was immersed in this affair, agreeing to assume collectively the tax on Archontitzes' property, since it would belong thereafter to the monastery and needed to be free of any tax burden.<sup>283</sup>

Besides land, peasants could personally own domestic animals: oxen, cows, pigs, goats, sheep, horses, mules or beehives. Although for most animals they paid no direct tax at all, they usually had to pay an *ennomion*, a tax on pasture rights, which could even apply to pigs (as *choiroennomion*) or bees (*melisoennomion*). Smaller domestic animals, like chickens, ducks or geese, are not listed in the *praktika*, but the peasants must have owned some. Peasants could also have fishing, hunting or foresting rights for which again they had to pay a certain special tax. Every peasant also had to pay a poll tax (between one-sixth and half of a *hyperpyron*). The tax exploitation of the peasants was completed by some other additional taxes like the *sitarkia* (a special proportional tax, analogous to the total tax level, imposed by Andronikos II), the *phonikon* (a tax on murder) or the *parthenophthoria* (a tax on the abuse of a virgin girl, eventually a tax on marriage).<sup>284</sup>

In many villages peasants could hold some land in full ownership (discussed below), but usually either the largest share of the land in a village

<sup>283</sup> MM IV, 391–3 and 396–9 (nos 3.26–7: 1271). It is unclear whether the tax due on this land was owned to the holder of the *oikonomia* (in which case the village would now have to pay Maliasenos the tax on his own property!) or, most probably, to the state (in which case, despite the village being an *oikonomia*, owing taxes on certain properties to the state, the village would now pay the tax on Maliasenos' land). Maliasenos proceeded to carry out other purchases of land that were at least as scandalous. Michael Martinos and his family, who were 'poor and starving to death,' accepted only 10 *nomismata* for a vineyard that they owned, donating the remaining money to the monastery of Nea Petra.

<sup>284</sup> Kontogiannopoulou, 'Fiscalité'; Lefort, 'Fiscalité médiévale'.

was held by the landlord, or the land held privately by the peasants was in any case insufficient for their income. Thus, they were compelled to rent domanial land or work it through wage labour. Land rented out to peasants was probably the most common form of exploitation in the late Byzantine period. Even knowing this, we are not able to determine in a given village the patterns of domanial land allocation to the *paroikoi*: whether the *paroikoi* were allocated the domanial land equally or, more likely, this hinged on their man- and oxen-force and other factors unknown to us (such as personal competence/incompetence or different contracts). We also do not know whether that rented land was periodically redistributed, based on any changes to the factors that had initially determined its distribution, or whether the *paroikoi* acquired some rights of transmission on their rented land. There are no signs of cooperation among the peasants, but it is possible that families with no oxen may have used, maybe for a price, domanial or other peasants' oxen. Certainly, a good proportion of the domain was cultivated through the *corvées* of peasants, even if the details for this form of exploitation are also limited. The only Byzantine *praktikon* that includes details for the exploitation of land is that for the half-village of Mamitzon outside Constantinople, donated to the monastery of Chilandar. On top of the 1,812 *modioi* of land (and other property) that was privately owned by individual peasants (on which they paid tax to the monastery), part of which was not the peasants' patrimonial property but bestowed by the monastery,<sup>285</sup> 1,500 *modioi* were allocated to the peasants under rental conditions (the patterns of distribution and the exact terms are regrettably not stated), and another 600 *modioi* of the 'best quality land' were reserved to be exploited through the *corvées* of the *paroikoi*.<sup>286</sup>

Even in the eleventh century and certainly later, *paroikoi* were able to acquire significant land, probably through usucaption – whereby, after thirty years, a plot of land became the property of the one who cultivated it – through appropriation in periods of confusion (for example, raids, depopulation, war), but also through land clearance or emphyteutic contracts (in the case of vineyards).<sup>287</sup> It is also not impossible that formerly free independent peasants and communities who were granted to a landlord under the terms of an *oikonomia* retained (part of) their property, for decades or even one to two centuries after their submission to the status of *paroikos*. Unfortunately, details of this process are lacking, though occasionally we do

<sup>285</sup> See my discussion of this practice, pp. 177–9.

<sup>286</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 194–8 (no. 92: 1323). See also Laiou, 'Agrarian economy', 328–46.

<sup>287</sup> Estangüi, 'Richesses et propriété paysannes', 182–8; Lefort, 'Rural economy', 238–40.

have some glimpses. The monastery of Xenophon had owned some land in the village of Stomion in Chalkidike since the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Owing to the political turbulences the monastery lost dominion over that land and requested the emperor Andronikos II to restore the property. When the assessor Demetrios Apelmene reached the area, he discovered that it was covered with vineyards planted by the *paroikoi* of the village Abramitai. Not wanting to hurt their possessions he assigned to the monastery of Xenophon another nearby piece of land of same size.<sup>288</sup> These peasants thus successfully acquired private land through usucaption.

In the case of *emphyteusis*, in 1310 Ioannes Mamenos undertook from the monastery of Vatopedi a piece of land measuring 3 *modioi* in order to improve and plant it as a vineyard. The contract assigned rights of full possession on the land to Mamenos for twenty-five years – which contradicts the essence of full *dominium* – in return for an annual *telos*, starting from the third year after the contract, and, after the end of this period, the contract had to be renewed.<sup>289</sup> Accordingly, in the village of Mamitzon, Konstantinos Drosinos cleared 15 *modioi* of land that were then assigned to him as personal property.<sup>290</sup>

There was one more route for the acquisition of land by the *paroikoi*: their landlord bestowed land upon them. A few times, instead of the common verb ‘have’ (*echei*) to denote the possession of a *paroikos*, the verb ‘was given’ (*edothē*) or the phrase ‘through attribution’ (*dia paradoseōs*) is used when referring to a *paroikos*’ landed property. The *praktikon* for the village of Mamitzon usually used the latter phrase and, in fact, differentiated between the land that was given to a peasant and the land that he personally owned. Many of the peasants in Mamitzon were not attributed land but kept what they had previously owned.<sup>291</sup> This practice is even more explicit in the village of Brasta in Chalkidike, a property belonging to the monastery of Esphigmenou. With only one exception, peasants who

<sup>288</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 82–4 (no. 3: 1300).

<sup>289</sup> *Acts Vatopedi I*, 259–60 (no. 44: 1310): (l. 11–12) οὕτω κατέχω αὐτὸν [τὸν τόπον] καὶ νέμομαι μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ μέρους μου καὶ τῶν κληρονόμων πάντων καὶ διαδόχων μου δεσποτικῶς, ἐξουσιωδῶς, κυρίως καὶ ἀναφαιρέτως (‘thus I will own and use this [land] on behalf also of my party, of all my heirs and my successors, in full possession, power and authority, and inseparably’). A similar structure of contract is in *ibid.*, 320–1 (no. 59: 1323).

<sup>290</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 196–7, l.103–5 (no. 92: 1323).

<sup>291</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 194–8 (no. 92: 1323). For example, (l. 33–6) ‘Anthes, son of Tzankarios has [names of family members] one house, a vineyard of 1 and 1/6 *modios*, the third of his patrimonial land, that is 27 *modioi*, and 10 *modioi* [land] by attribution: 1 and 1/3 *hyperpyron* tax’.

did not have any oxen received no land; most of the peasants who had one ox received land of 25 *modioi*, apart from two cases (one who did not receive any and one who received double); and with two exceptions, all peasants who owned a pair of oxen (they were the majority) received 50 *modioi* of land. Still the monastery kept 3,000 *modioi* of land as demesne in the same village. The reasoning behind the attribution was purely economic in this case; the land was allocated according to the peasants' ability to cultivate it. Some years later, in the next assessment, land in the same village was distributed in a different manner. Although slightly more land had been attributed, the total number of oxen in the village had significantly declined, by about 30 per cent, perhaps as the result of a disease. This created several disturbances in the distribution. Many peasants without oxen still possessed some land and, equally, a lot of peasants with one ox were still holding a 50 *modioi* lot. It is evident then that the peasants had acquired some usucaption rights on their attributed land during the preceding period, but since the allotments were still the same size, instead of assuming that no land sale had taken place in the village within about twenty years, it probably means that the peasants did not have the right to alienate their allotments and thus some of them acquired more land from those who could not cultivate it or were troubled economically.<sup>292</sup> Some of the attributed land was often not proper domanial land, but land that had been abandoned (*exaleimmatikē*), as in the *metochion* of St Georgios of the same monastery in Chalkidike. The assignment of the *exaleimmatikai staseis* seems to have been made for social reasons, at least in this *metochion*. Most of the families (seven out of twelve) had a few possessions such as small vineyards and orchards, trees and oxen. But four of the families had virtually no possessions and the *exaleimmatikai staseis* were bestowed on precisely those families, thus making their wealth level comparable to that of the other families.<sup>293</sup>

These attributions are rarely encountered but are reminiscent of the pre-Palaiologan situation in the countryside. Previously, peasants were categorised based on their possession of oxen: *zeugaratos* (a pair of oxen), *boï-datos* (a single ox), *onikatos* (owning a mule), *pezos* or *aktēmōn* (no oxen). In principle, on large estates, this meant that the landowner would assign

<sup>292</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 69–72 (no. 8: c. 1300) and 102–4 (no. 14: 1318). Besides, the opposite trend is not visible in this census: with just one exception all peasants who held one ox held either 25 or 50 *modioi* of land and all peasants who owned a pair of oxen held 50 *modioi* of land.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–9 (no. 8: c. 1300): one family had a mule and four pigs, the second just four pigs, the third nothing and the fourth also just four pigs. The *exaleimmatikai staseis* again comprised a few gardens and vineyards, nothing very sizeable.

the rented or private land to the *paroikoi* in proportion to their oxen possession, and thus their ability to cultivate. The last *praktikon* that includes these distinctions is for the monastery of Iveron in 1262: Eirene, the widow of Katholikos (l. 4–5), is a *zeugaratissa* and possesses ‘land appropriate to a *zeugaratos*’ (*gēn zeugaratikēn*). Plenty of inconsistencies soon follow: Michael Kosmas, although a *zeugaratos*, has land ‘appropriate to a *boïdatos*’ (l. 6–7); Georgios Thelematares, although a *boïdatos*, has ‘land appropriate to an *aktēmōn*’ (l. 41); and several *zeugaratoi* and *boïdatoi* do not possess any land at all (for example, Xenos of Melissenos, l. 10–11).<sup>294</sup> These distinctions disappeared in the course of the thirteenth century but reappeared in the fifteenth century in a completely different context and form (discussed below). In the fourteenth century, only the *praktikon* of Mamitzon was motivated by the logic of assigning plots of land according to the oxen ownership of the peasants, but again this manner of distribution was not always consistent. The distinction was more relevant regarding the corvées that the *paroikoi* owed, which were expected to be fulfilled with the use of their own oxen. A *paroikos* with more oxen would obviously be able to cultivate more land. Although in the fifteenth century corvées could be commuted, in the only late Byzantine document that mentions a monetary commutation the *zeugaratoi* would pay 4 *nomismata*, the *boïdatoi* 3.5, the *argoi* (obviously those with no oxen) 3 *nomismata* and the widows only 1 *nomisma*.<sup>295</sup>

Why would a landlord bestow land on his *paroikoi* when he could keep it as demesne, rent it out to them, and at least double his income? First, the cases of land being attributed explicitly or implicitly to peasants were the exception and not the rule. In most villages there were great differences in both the size and the range of landholdings, and thus it is unlikely that the land that the peasants appear to have owned had been previously distributed to them by the landlord. This is shown in the village of Trilission, where those who had no oxen possessed on average 17.5 *modioi* of land, those with 1 ox possessed on average 8 *modioi* of land and those with a pair of oxen possessed 14.4 *modioi* of land (see Table 22). The only possible connection between the extent of personal land and the number of oxen owned must have been financial: a person who owned more oxen could

<sup>294</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 96–103 (no. 59: 1262). Elsewhere, but only with single reference to their status and their property (amount not specified) and uncertain dating: *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 91–2 (no. 9: 1271?).

<sup>295</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 174 (no. 165: 1420). In Latin-held territories, the commutation of corvées was a practice since the early thirteenth century (Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:209). Possibly it could have been a practice in Byzantine lands too, although this is not mentioned. Byzantine *praktika* defined only the days of the corvées.

generally cultivate more land (or not pay to utilise another's oxen), and thus had more income to spend on land from other peasants (if it was available, since selling their own land was the last resort of hard-pressed peasants in most agricultural societies), or at least to preserve his present holdings. The vicissitudes in the life of a medieval village would hardly allow stability for long; oxen could die or be sold after a bad harvest, but peasants with hard work could keep their holding; people could die or become ill or disabled but, more importantly, the holding could be transmitted, regardless of oxen possession. All this creates a mixed picture, and offers explanations for the discrepancies in villages such as Trilission.

Since the obligations and rights of *paroikoi* were never formally established, their status was not inherited and physical mobility was a reality, there was much of regional variation and ongoing negotiation between the landlords and the peasants in each domain. Despite efforts by scholars to establish consistent taxation schemes in villages, this work has not been accomplished. The issue is not only the differences from one village to another village or between two different landlords. Tax attribution patterns cannot be fully explained for all taxable units, even if these are in the same village of the same landlord. Although it is impossible to explore the possible personal agreements between landlords (or state officials) and peasants, the *praktika* indeed allow some observations on common agreements, such as the number of corvée days. But not all *praktika* mention corvées and this may have not been simply a lapse of the author. We should recall that the *paroikoi* of Vatopedi in Hagios Mamas did not perform corvées, and the monastery warned that it would demand them unless they conceded to pay the rents owed for their houses.<sup>296</sup> At the same time, additional taxes, unattested in other places, are encountered. In Doxompo, the *paroikoi* owed the *tritomoiria* for their ships and fishing nets, obviously meaning one-third of their fishing production. This amounted to 300 *hyperpyra*, while the total base tax of the 121 households amounted to just 169 *hyperpyra* (see Table 16). In 1320, aside from the taxes on their vineyards, the *paroikoi* in the village of Palaiokastron near Strumica, where viniculture was thriving, owed the 'usual' *pentamoiria* (the fifth) of their wine production to the monastery of Iveron. This tithe, in addition to tax on a vineyard, is not mentioned elsewhere. Significantly, this is one of the *praktika* that does not mention corvées for the peasants, although it does mention other surcharges.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>296</sup> See p. 76.

<sup>297</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 250 (no. 77: 1320).



Landlords had an interest in preserving both social peace and their *paroikoi*. In assigning them land or negotiating their financial and social conditions with them, they could seek to discourage their migration and consequently prevent the loss of labour. It is more likely, as has been observed by Laiou, that peasants with more property would remain in the village, while poorer households were less likely to appear in the following censuses.<sup>298</sup>

Despite the uniformity of legal status, social stratification in late Byzantine villages was still diversified. In many villages elders who represented the village collectively are attested. The elders were often headed by a *prōtogeros*. Priests, by virtue of their occupation and often their literacy, figured frequently among the village elders. The village of Kometissa in Chalkidike clearly shows these signs of social stratification. The *prōtogeros*, Michael, is an *anagnōstēs* (the lowest ecclesiastical rank). On a document regarding the borders between the properties of two monasteries, he signs below the two priests of the village. Quite importantly both the priests and the *prōtogeros* are literate: the priests signed themselves and the *prōtogeros* was actually the scribe of the document, which, rather unexpectedly, has only a few grammatical mistakes. The document also mentions the *gerontes* (elders) and the *oikodespotai*, who must surely have been the same people. In earlier times, the term *oikodespotēs* was used instead of 'elders' to denote the 'best people' in a village.<sup>299</sup> In 1279 in Mantaia, for example, the upper stratum was composed of the soldiers established in the area and the *oikodespotai* of the land, who were nonetheless also *paroikoi*.<sup>300</sup> Several years later in the same area the term *oikodespotai* has been replaced by elders.<sup>301</sup> Among the elders of Kometissa are some of genuinely old age; four are around seventy years old. In total there are twenty elders, a substantial number. Some of them are related: Basileios is the brother of Theophylaktos Kontostaulos, and Georgios Kyrianes and Ioannes Kyrianes are mentioned one after the other. Noteworthy is the usage of the epithet *kyr* for one of these peasants, Theodoros Misouras, an extremely rare occurrence. The non-elite of the peasantry were referred to on the document as 'the remaining people' (*loipos laos*) and 'small' (*mikroi*). The landlord of Kometissa is the *prōtos* of Mt Athos, whom the peasants called *authentēs*.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>298</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 254–5.

<sup>299</sup> See MM IV, 80–4 (no. 1.28: 1251), whereby *oikodespotai* is interchanged with *kreittones* or *chrēsīmōteroi anthrōpoi* ('better' and 'more useful people').

<sup>300</sup> MM IV, 128–9 (no. 1.60: 1279).

<sup>301</sup> MM IV, 229–30 (no. 1.144: 1293).

<sup>302</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 189–90 (no. 26: 1297). It is likely Theodoros Misouras was not a *paroikos* and may have resided and possessed property in the village; he would still be counted among the elders.

In the micro-society of the Byzantine village, apart from social status differences there were substantial differences in the income of the *paroikoi*. Resources were unequally distributed – and not only in relation to the landlord, who in most instances possessed most if not all the arable land in a village. The possession of oxen was often related to the available arable land in a domain, but oxen possession itself was a major source of inequality; the inequality index of their distribution amounted usually to around 50 per cent but could reach up to 80 per cent (Gini index).<sup>303</sup> The possession of private land by *paroikoi* was accordingly also unequally distributed. The most unequal distribution of resources can be observed among the sheep and goats. The inequality index here often rises to as much as 80–90 per cent. It is also possible that this type of property was under-registered. The numbers of sheep owned by *paroikoi* are often suspiciously round: 20, 25, 30 and so on.

The least unequal distribution of resource can usually be observed in the possession of vineyards (mostly below 50 per cent). While most peasants were unable to increase their livestock easily, as it was subject to diseases or consumption, or land, which was mostly owned by the landlords, they were more usually able to clear or improve a small area and plant a vineyard of 2–3 *modioi* on it. This could be sustained with little input and would raise their income substantially. The importance of viticulture has often been overlooked in research, which has focused more on the peasants' income from arable land; this in turn was often surmised, on the principle of the autarky of the peasant economy and the importance of cereals, as the primary source of nutrition in the Mediterranean. Recent work has

<sup>303</sup> See Gini, 'Concentration and dependency ratios.' The Gini index measures the unequal distribution of wealth. It ranges between 0 and 1 but it can also be represented as a percentage, as here. The two extremes cannot be met in a real economy. A Gini coefficient of 0 would mean that the wealth is distributed equally to all the population (i.e. each of 10 families own one of the total 10 cows) and a Gini coefficient of 1 would mean that all the wealth is owned by a single person (one family owns all 10 cows). Therefore, the closer an index is to zero per cent, the more equally a resource is distributed. It was used for late Byzantine Macedonia by Laiou, *Peasant society*, 164–75, who drafted a visual representation of it, the so-called Lorenz curve. The Lorenz curve, which has not been used here, can visualise the trend and the intensity of inequality (especially in large populations), something that cannot be observed simply with a Gini coefficient. The Gini coefficient is regularly used today for the measurement of wealth inequality. For the sake of comparison, the modern situation in Greece is that the inequality in the distribution of income is at 33 per cent (2019), in the United Kingdom 35.1 per cent (2017), 41.5 per cent in the United States (2019), 31.9 per cent in Germany (2016), 27.7 per cent in Norway (2019), 48.9 per cent in Brazil (2020) and 63 per cent in South Africa (2014) (World Bank data).

questioned the preponderance of cereals in the Mediterranean diet and modern research has shown the growing importance of viticulture and wine production in the late Byzantine period, especially in view of its marketing prospects.<sup>304</sup> Both Ottoman registers and Byzantine sources evince how important viticulture was to peasant income and, in some cases or areas, it may have substantially surpassed the income derived from land.<sup>305</sup>

A sizeable fraction of peasant society was composed of the so-called 'free' (*eleutheroi*) and the 'impecunious' (*aporoï*). The 'free' *paroikoi* were peasants who were not inscribed in any *praktikon*, at least not at the time they were 'discovered'. As suggested above, they may have been *paroikoi* who had abandoned their domain. In most cases, their households were not related to any other household in their new domain, and were composed of fewer members on average. Often their existence is not clear from the document, but in cases such as in the village of Gomatou in Chalkidike they formed a quarter (21 households) of the total population in 1300, and in the smaller Aeidarokastron half the population (13 out of the 27 households) in 1317.<sup>306</sup> In the village of Bare near Smyrna, in a period and area of prolonged stability, 6 out of the 21 households of *paroikoi* were composed of 'outsiders, unknown to the fisc'.<sup>307</sup> The *eleutheroi* formed the population of *paroikoi* recently established in estates, often also called *proskathēmenoi*. The households of *eleutheroi* were generally poor in possessions and rarely owned any land or oxen.<sup>308</sup> Monasteries, which knew well the long-term effects of attributing land to peasants due to usucaption, refrained from providing them with land as much as they refrained from providing their own *paroikoi* with land, but even so they must have created for them some prospects to allow their establishment. Sometimes there were concessions made for the *aporoï*: for example, the widow Georgia in

<sup>304</sup> On diet, see p. 99.

<sup>305</sup> See p. 242. One source suggests that the produce of 1 *modios* of vineyard was more than 10 *nomismata*: *Acts Docheiariou*, 263 (no. 49: 1384) (a vineyard of 14 *modioi* was producing a value of wine at 144 *hyperpyra*). Thus, someone with a vineyard of just 2 *modioi*, which is less than the average holding, will have the same value of produce as a relatively well-off *zeugaratos* cultivating his holding of 80 *modioi* (as calculated by Lefort), if the above wine output is representative.

<sup>306</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 104–5 (no. 91: c. 1300) and 172–3 (no. 105: 1317).

<sup>307</sup> MM IV, 13–14 (no. 1.2: 1235). Usually, we do not have so much quantitative data, since once inscribed in the tax records, there was no point in mentioning their previous status as it would not modify their obligations or current status. In Bare, the author chose to make this distinction because the establishment of the 'free *paroikoi*' was obviously recent.

<sup>308</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 103–4 and 160.

Gomatou, described as *aporos* with no property, paid no tax, an unprecedented case.<sup>309</sup>

Frequently peasants were in a position at least to ameliorate their financial situation. For example, six families of waged *proskathēmenoi* in Stomion of the monastery of Xenophon in 1300 had, by the next assessment in 1318, become seventeen and were called *paroikoi*. Some of the recognisable descendants of these waged peasants had acquired property. Panagiotes Lachanas had acquired a cow and two pigs, and his brother-in-law Georgios an ox, a cow with a calf and a small vineyard. However, Ioannes Kalenos with his two brothers (there was only one in the first assessment), sons of Georgios Kalenos, as well as the families of Theodoros and Xenos Kelliotes – evidently descendants of Ioannes Kelliotes – still had no property.<sup>310</sup> Although gains were still small, they reveal that even wage labourers could at times improve their situation. The increased numbers of *paroikoi* may be explained by the prospects offered by the monastery of Xenophon, attracting them to its land.

The great landlords continued to expand their properties at the expense of smaller proprietors, especially in times of distress. During the Catalan raids in Macedonia of 1308, many peasants took refuge on Mt Athos. The monastery of Vatopedi accepted some of these families (notably including women), however, they asked these peasants to sell off their properties to the monastery; in their sale documents the peasants deplored the poverty and hunger that befell them.<sup>311</sup>

In any case, the late Byzantine peasant had a dependent status, as it was explained. This status enabled a smoother transition into the Ottoman system. But serfdom, the status of a dependent peasant tied to the land that he cultivated, and was not owned by him but assigned to him by the landlord, is an imposition that occurred only during the Ottoman period. The late Byzantine *paroikos* did own some land, albeit usually not sufficient to cover the needs of his family, and was *de facto* free to enter a lease contract or abandon the domain. These general traits remained valid throughout the late Byzantine period, although Ottoman practices began influencing Byzantine fiscality in the fifteenth century.<sup>312</sup>

The existence of an independent peasantry, that is, peasants with private land property not inscribed in any landlord's *praktikon*, is attested but hard to trace. For example, in 1293 Andronikos II donated to his *oikeios* Leon Koteanitzes land near Strumica that was taken from 'certain Vlachs':

<sup>309</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 100, l. 55 (no. 91; c. 1300). Even people with no property were required to pay the poll tax.

<sup>310</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 122 (no. 12: 1318).

<sup>311</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 244–57 (no. 43: 1308–12).

<sup>312</sup> Oikonomides, 'Ottoman influence'. On serfdom in Latin Europe, see recently Freedman and Bourin (eds), *Forms of servitude*.

the fact that the previous owners remain unnamed signifies that they were doubtless of non-elite status.<sup>313</sup> Many of these independent peasants were living in the towns. The table drawn up by Laiou that includes references to lay proprietors in Macedonia during the Palaiologan period (drawing on documentary material published up to 1979) reveals that, although many of these lay proprietors were members of the elite, some, based on their surnames, cannot be classified as such (for example, Alexios Eurippiotes).<sup>314</sup>

The later Palaiologan period is generally considered as a period of rural decline. Several raids, wars and plague epidemics are recorded during the 1340s to the 1380s in Macedonia and Thrace, and again in the 1410s and 1420s, resulting in financial and demographic decline. The number of abandoned villages attested in our sources grew conspicuously. The assessment of 1348 for the monastery of Vatopedi, one of the few monasteries still relatively prosperous in the second half of the fourteenth century, records many more *exaleimmatikai staseis* than actual *paroikoi* of the monastery on Lemnos.<sup>315</sup> In Chalkidike, for the few villages where we have sufficient information, there is a loss of almost two-thirds of the population between 1321 and 1409: Drimosyrta was reduced from 56 to 35 households, Pinson from 43 to 21, the village Loroton of 60 households was abandoned and the households of the *paroikoi* of Lavra in the half-village of Gomatou declined from 104 to 21 and to 18 households by 1420;<sup>316</sup> Hagios Mamas declined by more than two-thirds between just 1358 and 1375, from 62 to about 18 households, although a wall had been built to protect the inhabitants.<sup>317</sup> This fall in population may have affected lands still in Byzantine hands more than

<sup>313</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 147 (no. 12: 1293).

<sup>314</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 300–4. Additional examples can be found in Chapter 6 (pp. 358–60).

<sup>315</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 221–2 (no. 98: 1348), 22 *exaleimmatikai staseis* against 7 *paroikoi* households.

<sup>316</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 156–60 (no. 161: 1409) and 174 (no. 165: 1420). The document states that Lavra possesses only the half village of Gomatou in 1409, therefore, the conjecture is that the other half, which belonged to the state, was as large, and the whole village may have had 42 households.

<sup>317</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 277–8 (no. 112: c. 1358) and 409 (no. 147: 1375). In 1375 the monastery held only the two-thirds of the land and *paroikoi* of Hagios Mamas. Since the *praktikon* registers 12 households for Vatopedi, we may infer that there was a total of 18 households. Most of these are recognisable descendants of the *paroikoi* of 1358. Originally, thanks to the construction of the tower, it had attracted inhabitants: in 1338 there were recorded only 16 households: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 154–5 (no. 81). The population probably rose over the next few decades, possibly on account of the establishment of Ottoman rule in the area, since in 1404, 28 households of *paroikoi* belonging to the monastery of Vatopedi are registered: *Acts Vatopedi* III, 186 (no. 188). The return of insecurity after 1411 is probably reflected in the drop of the population to 18 households again by 1418: *Acts Vatopedi* III, 274 (no. 211).

areas that had been lost, such as Serres. The data from Ottoman registers for the mid-fifteenth century show a comparable or even larger population of some villages in that area than the population recorded at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>318</sup> This increase is unlikely to have occurred only during the first half of the fifteenth century, considering also that plagues lingered on in the Balkan peninsula. The persistence of insecurity from raids or additional tax burdens may have triggered migration from Byzantine-held territories to the more secure Ottoman-held lands.

From the 1370s the state initiated widespread confiscations of monastic lands with the intention of transforming them into military *pronoiai* to enlarge the dwindling army. This affected our source documentation unfavourably, via the loss of data from those properties and villages that no longer appertained to monasteries. In the same period fiscal practices also changed. Instead of enumerating the possessions of the *paroikoi* and taxing them accordingly, the *praktika* of the fifteenth century reverted to the old peasant categories based on oxen possession, without mentioning any other belongings. The tax the peasants bore is notably higher than average taxes in the early fourteenth century, which implies the inclusion of all their main dues and the rent on the land they were assigned to cultivate within it.<sup>319</sup>

Despite these upheavals, there were efforts by the state and the landlords to protect the land by multiplying rural fortifications, such as the tower of Marmarion in Strymon or Hagios Mamas in Chalkidike, and the wall that protected the peninsula of Kassandreia. The population decrease had also left large parcels of land abandoned. The state intervened in this matter with the aim of increasing productivity and safeguarding its diminishing revenues by assigning these abandoned lands to peasants who promised to pay the pertaining taxation, and to grand landowners who promised to install peasants on these lands. Monasteries also profited from large parcels of land, in return for the promise to rehabilitate them. The despot Ioannes VII Palaiologos during his rule of Thessalonike (1403–8) donated the abandoned village of Mariskin in Kassandreia to the monastery of Dionysiou, which assumed the obligation to construct a tower and establish peasants in the village. Several years passed and the monastery was unable to construct the tower; eventually in 1420 the state assumed

<sup>318</sup> Moustakas, 'Transition', 333–9. Doxompo and Prebista for example had more than doubled their populations.

<sup>319</sup> Laiou, 'Agrarian economy', 364–9; Oikonomides, in *Acts Dionysiou*, 146; Smyrlis, 'State, land'.

this responsibility.<sup>320</sup> These efforts were applied widely and proved more successful in places that were safer than the Balkans, such as on Lemnos.<sup>321</sup>

There is one more important difference between the early and the late Palaiologan periods that concerns us here. The increased availability of arable land, connected to the state's desire for additional revenues and the widespread confiscations of large monastic estates, may have created a class of well-off peasants who were not dependent on any lord but were paying their taxes directly to the treasury. Three documents from the Athonite archives related to Lemnos in the early fifteenth century testify to this phenomenon (see Table 2). They reveal the properties of a few peasants, who in many cases owned several hundreds of *modioi*, horses, large houses, vineyards, herds of livestock and so on; one of them was Ioannes Laskaris, the son of the *mezas tzaousios*, a higher military officer. Much of the property occupied by these peasants had been allocated to them by the state, not as rented land, but as personal property.<sup>322</sup> This is evident from the two of these three documents that mention the pertaining tax, which is comparable to the fiscal practices of the early fourteenth century and not associated with the large taxes that the *paroikoi* of the Athonite monasteries were paying in Macedonia at the same time.<sup>323</sup>

These documents are later copies and not the originals, and consequently they have some inconsistencies. The document from the archive of Docheiariou, a fifteenth-century copy without any signature or context, is the only indication that the monastery of Docheiariou may have had property on Lemnos. In the middle of the document there is an interpolation stating that

<sup>320</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, nos 10 (1408), 13 (1414), 16 (1417), 17 (1418), 18 (1420) and 20 (1421).

<sup>321</sup> Estangüi Gómez, 'Quelques paysans', 429–44. However, these cases do not prove that there was no demographic decline, as the author suggests. Insecurity persisted; a document from the archives of Vatopedi (1442) mentions that several *paroikoi* had died or had been captured in Lemnos and that some land had remained uncultivated (*Acts Vatopedi* III, 325). The families of the *paroikoi* of Vatopedi in Lemnos were reduced from 42 to 34, between 1387 and c. 1415, only slightly rose to 38 by 1442 (*Acts Vatopedi* III, 99–100 and 322–3), but had sunk to 15 by 1463 (*Acts Vatopedi* III, 356–7).

<sup>322</sup> Estangüi Gómez, in 'Quelques paysans', 435–9, believes that these were *paroikoi* of the state who were allocated some of their land by the state as rented land. The term ἐδόθη does not mean it was given in terms of rent, such as in the *praktikon* of Mamitzon, where each peasant was assigned a piece of land in personal property, while there was still domanial land to be rented out. Regardless, the peasants might have been indeed *paroikoi* of the state, as the author suggests, but it is more likely, I believe, that they were independent peasants who owed only tax to the state.

<sup>323</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 122–5 (no. 21: shortly before 1425); *Acts Docheiariou*, 307–11 (no. 60: first third of fifteenth century); *Acts Pantokrator*, 194–6 (Appendix: end of fourteenth or early fifteenth century).

Table 2 Individual peasant properties on Lemnos.

Name	Houses	Oxen	Sheep	Other animals	Esothyri (in <i>modioi</i> )	Arable land (in <i>modioi</i> )	Vineyards (in <i>modioi</i> )	<i>Telos</i> (nom.)	<i>Bigliatikon</i> (nom.)
Kostas Langadiotes <sup>a</sup>	House with yard, house in castle				2.5	300	13.5		
Georgios of Chatzilalas <sup>a</sup>	House with yard, house in castle				8	300	2		
Nikolaos Myrmingas <sup>a</sup>	House with yard, house in castle				5	411	20.5		
Theodoros Boulgaris <sup>a</sup>	House				3	27			
<i>antisēkos</i> of Kamelaris <sup>a</sup>	House in port and house in village								
Ioannes Laskaris, son of <i>meegas tzaousios</i> <sup>a</sup>	House in castle, house with yard, house in village				3.5	400	16.5		
kyr Theodoulos (deceased) <sup>a</sup>	House (destroyed)				7	276			
Kostas Keporopoulos <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, house in castle	2	12	1 mule, 2 cows	8.5	370	13.5	11	2
Blachos, monk <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, house in castle		20	1 mule	2	100	5	3.5	0.5
Georgios of Demetras <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, house in castle	2		1 mule	8	295	5	7	2
Ioannes, son of Petros Kazanes <sup>b</sup>	House with yard, house in castle	2	20	1 mule	8.12	260	7	6.5	2
Theodoros Keporopoulos <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, yard of 1.5 <i>modioi</i>					223.66	14	6	2
Triantaphyllos (nephew of Keporopoulos) <sup>b</sup>	House						4	1	
Manuel Rizas <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, house in castle, yard of 1.5 <i>modioi</i>				3.12	117	8	5.5	



Name	Houses	Oxen	Sheep	Other animals	Esothyrin (in <i>modioi</i> )	Arable land (in <i>modioi</i> )	Vineyards (in <i>modioi</i> )	<i>Telos</i> (nom.)	<i>Bigliatikon</i> (nom.)
Georgios Moschatos <sup>b</sup>	House with yard and wine press, house in castle, yard of 1.5 <i>modioi</i>				3.66	138		3	1
Ioannes Thalassenos (deceased) <sup>c</sup>	House with yard and wine press				12	191	9.5		
Tompris <sup>d</sup>	House	2	150	1 donkey, 1 horse		300		6	2
Michael Triakontaphyllos <sup>d</sup>	House with yard and threshing floor	2	50	1 donkey, 1 horse		250	6	6	2
Ioannes Monachites <sup>d</sup>	House with yard and threshing floor	1		1 horse		222		4	1
Theodoros Albanites (brother-in-law of Monachites) <sup>d</sup>	House with yard and threshing floor	1		1 horse		102		2	1
Nikolaos Kartzamplas <sup>d</sup>	House with yard and threshing floor, two-storey house in castle	1	50	2 donkeys, 2 horses, 8 pigs		600	2	12	3
Georgios Kartzamplas (son-in-law of Nikolaos) <sup>d</sup>	Two houses in castle, bakery, house in village	2	4	1 donkey, 1 horse, 3 pigs		250		5	1.5

#### Notes

H: Household nom.: *nomismata*.

#### Sources

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 149–51.

<sup>b</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 60.

<sup>c</sup> *Acts Lavra III*, 169.

<sup>d</sup> *Acts Pantokrator*, 194–6.

these peasants were ‘*paroikoi* of the imperial monastery of Docheiariou.’ One of the peasants is a monk; if indeed he had currently been a *paroikos* (of course he was not, nor were any of these peasants), this would have been the first time in Byzantine history that a monk was enlisted as *paroikos*.<sup>324</sup> The second document is a rendering into demotic Greek of a Byzantine document from the archives of the Pantokrator monastery listing the properties of some peasants who were not *paroikoi* of that monastery, as the last Byzantine-style registration, in 1464, of this monastery’s properties in Lemnos reveals.<sup>325</sup> The third document reveals what all these documents in fact were: extracts from the Byzantine cadaster (the so-called *megalē thesis*) that describes the properties for each tax unit, whose precious information we had so far lacked.<sup>326</sup> This document should be correlated to the ‘*praktikon* of 1430’, which, although entitled *praktikon* by the editors, is also an extract from the *megalē thesis* referring to the properties of Dionysiou. While making records of them, it suddenly breaks off and starts describing the properties of the peasants like the previous document does, without mentioning them as *paroikoi*. Arguably, then, the monastery was only granted their taxes, and these people were not *paroikoi* of either the monasteries or the state.<sup>327</sup> This became more apparent when a few years later the monastery was again assigned only the taxes of three men (*anthrōpoi*) who are not described as *paroikoi*.<sup>328</sup> Ergo, the tax revenues of these independent peasants were allocated at some point to the monasteries – without changing the free status of the peasants – which explains the preservation of these acts in the Athonite archives. Before they were granted, all these properties bordered the monastic lands; some of the peasants appear in other documents as the monasteries’ neighbours. In such a manner the state was returning to the late eleventh-century practice of *oikonomia* as attribution of revenues only, and not of people. At the same time, the Athonite monasteries also

<sup>324</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, the interpolation at p. 310, l. 51.

<sup>325</sup> *Acts Pantokrator*, 174–5 (no. 26: 1464) and 194–6. Between 1458/9 and 1464 Lemnos was ruled by the despot Demetrios Palaiologos (under the supreme authority of the Ottomans), who issued ‘imperial ordinances’ and other documents according to the Byzantine tradition (see for example his ordinance in *Acts Vatopedi* III, no. 234 [1462]). Lemnos then fell briefly under Venice until 1479 when it was finally integrated into the Ottoman empire. The first Ottoman registration took place in 1490.

<sup>326</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 123–5.

<sup>327</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 148–51 (no. 25: 1430) (cf.: 135, manuscript A: + Τὸ ἴσον ἀπο τῆν θέσιν τῆς Λύμνου). These documents have been analysed also by Estangüi Gómez, ‘Quelques paysans’, who concludes that they are *paroikoi* of the state.

<sup>328</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 158–9 (no. 28: between 1430 and 1464).

possessed *paroikoi* on Lemnos, who were enlisted in the same mode as the Macedonian *paroikoi* were enlisted.

Therefore, the reduction of the population created a class of well-off peasants, which is conspicuous not only from the arable land they owned, most of which had been attributed to them (by either the state or a great landowner), but also from the houses and livestock they possessed, whenever such records survive in our documents. This category of peasants may have existed in Lemnos. Even before the upheavals of the late fourteenth century, the (then) monk Kyprianos Samios had donated his whole property in Lemnos to the monastery of Vatopedi, which consisted of a house with a yard in the village of Lagoodontou and about 344 *modioi* of land, an orchard and an abandoned vineyard.<sup>329</sup> The data from Lemnos may be correlated to those of the *paroikoi* in Macedonia, which are regrettably less detailed. They suggest that inequality, as reflected in the payable tax, had been manifestly reduced.<sup>330</sup>

## Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, social stratification by estate is not applicable to late Byzantium. Although throughout its existence there were vestiges of a system of estates in Byzantine thought, especially in the oft-encountered distinction between laity and ecclesiastics, these hardly represented reality. Although functional divisions of society and occupational categories existed throughout the centuries, they did not amount to closed estate systems that regulated life or that were hereditary.

The pivotal scheme that the Byzantine sources offer to us is the categorisation of rich/poor that can be equated to the division *archontes/dēmos*. This binary schema is also attested in a rural milieu in the fifteenth century as 'great and small' (*megaloi kai mikroi*).<sup>331</sup> Nevertheless, the same sources provide several additional subdivisions which are not always in agreement and which were based on several variables (function, profession, political power, nobility, or wealth). It remains for the scholar of Byzantium to reconstruct, based on the evidence, its social stratification by identifying and evaluating the main elements that brought social power. Our sources generally present a two-fold division between elite

<sup>329</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 220 (no. 98: 1348). The donation is dated some time before the draft of the document.

<sup>330</sup> See the case study on pp. 246–7 with Table 8.

<sup>331</sup> Subotić, *Охридската сликарска школа*, 52–4 and 95; Kalopisi-Verti, 'Collective patterns', 134–5.

and city people, which is based on the possession of political power, in terms of offices and/or influence of decisions in the society, and wealth, in respect to both income and the means of production. However, this scheme does not incorporate all the complex relations inherent within these two groups and does not fully represent the realities of the distribution of political, social and economic resources.

In reality, at the top of the 'social pyramid' was located a small number of people, the power elite or higher aristocracy – the *synklētikoi* or magnates of our sources – who had a large degree of solidity and continuity throughout the period, and monopolised the higher titles and the principal posts in the army and the provincial administration. Below them was the lesser elite, who also possessed considerable wealth and exercised power either in a local, provincial context or in the domains of justice, finance and church administration, albeit to a much lesser degree. Owing to the existence of family traditions of service, this lesser elite can be further divided into two groups based on their function. On the one side was the military elite, which comprised the army officials and exercised local power in the provinces as lay *archontes*. On the other side was the civil elite, which maintained posts and power either locally in the church administration, or in the centre in the domains of finance and justice. In this last group were also included, in the two largest cities of the empire, the scholars and the higher layers of church administration. Both groups of the lesser elite had similar prospects of social power and of social status, even if in different administrative domains. It should be stressed, nonetheless, that these traditions were not exclusive. Members of the same families would often pursue careers in both the military and the civil domains at the same time. Through a successful career in the lesser elite someone could exceptionally be accepted into the ranks of the empire's higher aristocracy. Lesser elite families too had a notable degree of persistence, although the nature of our sources permits less detailed insight into this group. While they too could assert aristocratic status, they could not arrogate the status of nobility like the higher aristocracy (see Figure 6).

At the bottom of the pyramid of stratification lay the lower classes: in the countryside, the peasants who held the dependent status of *paroikoi*, worked the land and had fiscal and social obligations to their lords, and in the cities the urban proletariat, the workers and the artisans who rented their houses and shops from the *archontes*, to whom they also sold their labour, and, as such, on whom they were *de facto* dependent. The possibilities for social ascent were at best minimal for them. Between the lesser elite and the masses, there were different social layers that cannot be classified in either of the two categories. These included ordinary soldiers, whether

as mercenaries, small *pronoia*-holders or even as a form of farmer-soldiers; independent farmers based either in the countryside or in towns, who did not have the obligations of the *paroikoi*, cultivated their land alone or with the help of wage workers, and paid their taxes directly to the state rather than to a landlord; artisans and traders, who, in an analogous way to the independent peasants, owned their houses and (work)shops; and finally the so-called 'bourgeoisie', the upper middle class: the bankers, merchants and heads of teams of craftsmen, who in favourable conditions could attain both wealth and entry to the lesser elite. These middle social layers officially had no political power, but the upper middle class and the soldiers were called upon occasionally to participate in decision making, albeit in an inferior position.

## 4

# Social Associations

Vertical social groups unite people of different backgrounds and classes and render them the same status, often in different roles, within the same community.<sup>1</sup> There are different types of vertical social groups or communities: those based on location (city, town, village), identity (ethnicity, nationality, religion), or organisation (political party, family, guild). Several social groups of this type, such as families, urban or village communities, military contingents (*hetaireiai*), confraternities and guilds, were present in Byzantium. Two citizens of a city, regardless of their role in the community or their relative position on the stratified system of social power (as analysed in the preceding chapter), had the same status as members of that urban community, which may have conferred upon them equal privileges that were lacked by non-citizens, despite their inequality in other respects. At the same time, these two citizens were members of their family's social group, regardless of their familial role as father, son, mother or otherwise. Examining the impact of each of these vertical groups – whether based on location, identity or organisation – on late Byzantine social structure aids a better understanding of the internal cohesion of Byzantine society and the degree of the socialisation of its members, and forms the first part of this chapter.

In the second section we consider the importance of associations formed around or among powerful people with a primarily political motivation based on common interest and friendship, and their effects on the social structure. Of the same type, structurally speaking, are associations and networks formed in other domains, such as among the educated elite,

<sup>1</sup> This vertical–horizontal distinction in sociology originates in Sorokin, *Social mobility*, 7–11 and chapter xvi. See also Cohen, *Symbolic construction of community*; Bell and Newby, *Community studies*.

not (primarily) with a political motivation but usually for social purposes – networking and recognition by peers, but also economic profit, in cases of scholars who sought profit from their work – built hierarchically upon the relationship between teacher and student and horizontally within a broader network, a stage of performance, a gathering of a group of culturally affiliated people, the so-called *theatron* of the cultural elite.

Nevertheless, these kinds of associations were not as stable and did not imply the same degree of loyalty as the associations and networks created around a powerful household – either horizontally, primarily through marriage and kinship but also friendship, or vertically through patronage. Patronage is considered as a central institution of Byzantine society, and as the main tool that regulated social ascent, contributed thus to social peace. However, in combination with the social assimilation that we discussed in Chapter 2, patronage permeated through social groups and weakened allegiances and bonds of common interest among members of the same social stratum. This chapter concludes with a discussion of this lack of social solidarity in different incidents of late Byzantine history, contributing to the image of a fragmented society.

## Communities and Vertical Social Groups

One of the most basic and cardinal social groups in most human societies is the family.<sup>2</sup> Byzantines had no word for it; they used instead the terms *oikos*, that is, household, or *syngeneia*, which means kinship. As in other medieval Christian societies in Europe, the Byzantine family was a social unit based on consanguinity and affinity mostly by marriage, ensuring the physical need of reproduction. Family also constitutes the basic environment for the socialisation of children and provides the framework for the transmission of its cultural and social capital. The nuclear family, the household formed by two parents and their children, has been identified as the most important social group in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup> It proves one of the most useful analytical categories for Byzantine society and can be used to describe the social relations that govern many aspects of Byzantine life and the structure of other social groups. The Byzantine monastery, for example, can be viewed as a single *oikos*, headed by a ‘father’ (the abbot) both spiritually and administratively, and was treated as such by the law.

<sup>2</sup> For the importance of family in social structures, see Barber, *Social stratification*, 73–6; Murdock, *Social structure*, 1–40.

<sup>3</sup> Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 26–36; Magdalino, ‘Aristocratic *oikos*’; Neville, *Authority*, 66–98.

The emperor was officially presented as the 'father' and his subjects as his 'children'.<sup>4</sup> All members of a nuclear family usually share the same social level in the stratification system, although individualism and other modern developments have to an extent changed these norms today.

After the collapse of ancient civic life, the end of the military barracks (where soldiers lived in community) and the end of the slave-based production of the large estates of the late Roman nobility, society proceeded to simpler and more individualistic structures. The household became the basic unit of production, in the domains of both agriculture and manufacture. Soldiers were expected to live in provincial towns and in the countryside along with their families, and would be summoned only when they were needed. This is, of course, not to say that family had not been an important group before, but that its role and significance increased during Late Antiquity and the early medieval period (the Byzantine 'Dark Age') by a substantial degree.<sup>5</sup>

The head of a Byzantine family was not a *pater familias*, as in the Roman period; the wife had vital rights over her dowry and was in general protected by the law in this respect. Several decisions of both lay and, more often, ecclesiastical courts provide examples of this. Occasionally, it was possible for a wife to transmit her own surname to her children and often, as a widow, she became the head of the *oikos* and the productive unit associated with it. This was true not only of elite families but also of the lower strata of society. Thus, the sons of the priest Nikolaos Chresimos were named Georgios Moschopoulos and Gabras, the mother of the latter being a Gabraina; neither of his two sons inherited the paternal surname.<sup>6</sup> Even though the principles of property transmission are not always fully understood, it is well known that it was not based on primogeniture; a principle of equal division among heirs was in operation.

The typical Byzantine family was a nuclear one, although a high proportion of extended families can be observed. In a peasant society, a vertically extended family is a marker of low financial status because it usually arises from the cohabitation of parents and, married adult children. Horizontally extended families, which include siblings or nephews, can be found relatively frequently in villages in Macedonia among the Slavic-speaking peasants, as Laiou has noted. Thus, neither type of extended family can be

<sup>4</sup> For the family as an essential micro-group that influenced the structure of Byzantine society, see Matschke, 'Mikro- und Makrostrukturen', 394–424. For the monastery as an *oikos*, see Talbot, 'Monastic world', 257–78.

<sup>5</sup> Haldon, *Byzantium in seventh century*, 376–87.

<sup>6</sup> MM II, 391–2 (no. 576: 1400).



considered the rule, but both were rather a deviation from the rule. Families from different social backgrounds did not have the same structure. Elite families differed considerably from families of a lower social background. Although the same legislation and traditions governed the basic principles of elite families (equal inheritance of heirs, protection of the dowry, the creation of a new nuclear family with each marriage and generation), at the same time the development, continuing from the middle Byzantine period, of large households with dependent servants and slaves prompted more complex forms of social ties, where kinship allegiance and solidarity with the larger extended family (both vertically and horizontally) mattered much more.<sup>7</sup>

The creation of a new household necessitated the creation of a bond between two families. Other than satisfying physical reproductive needs, the conclusion of a marriage had economic, social and political aspects. It signified the combination of part of the economic resources of two families, in fact the patrimonial share of the two spouses, usually in order to create a new socio-economic unit – a new nuclear family – or, in the case of horizontally or laterally extended families, to boost the production of an existing socio-economic unit. The conclusion of a marriage was thus instrumental to extending the social and political network of a family. It indicated either good relations or the conclusion of an effort to heal poor relations between two families. It was used by elite families mostly to further their political aspirations. Moreover, the prestige of an individual's ancestry was defined by an amalgamation of the social position of their two parents. For all these reasons, the conclusion of a marriage and the creation of a new family unit, or the extension of an existing family, was an important step in the future of an individual and was mostly the outcome of the decision of the head(s) of the respective families to seek suitable spouses for their children.

The Church intensified the importance of concluding a favourable marriage by rigorously restricting the prospects of a divorce and subsequent marriages. Be that as it may, in view of the high mortality rates it permitted individuals to remarry in order to allow for the birth of (further) children, safeguard their financial position (especially if the children from their previous marriage were still unmarried) or further their political aspirations. A divorce was an exceptional strategy, granted to individuals extremely rarely and usually only to members of the elite, to end a completely failed

<sup>7</sup> For the Byzantine family, see Cheynet, 'Aristocratie et héritage'; Laiou, *Peasant society*, 72–107; Laiou, 'Family structure'; Macrides, 'Dowry and inheritance'; Matses, *Οικογενειακό δίκαιον*; Patlagean, *Μογεν Άγε*, 83–162.

previous marriage or to sharply enhance the social and political position of an individual through the conclusion of a new marriage. In such cases, the former wife was habitually obliged to become a nun. Other strategies of permanent alliance, such as adoption or the selection of a godfather (*synteknia*), are less important in late Byzantium, while brotherhoods (*adelphopoiēsis*) are barely attested in this period.<sup>8</sup>

There were other larger kin-like social groups, such as clans or tribes; however, none of these appear to have constituted an important element of late Byzantine society. Clan-type allegiances of large extended families often occurred, usually in political contexts. However, they should be better understood as social-political networks, some of which were formed through kin relation (as will be discussed later) and not as equivalent to the republican Roman clans or the clans of nomadic cultures, such as in the contemporary Turkic and Albanian societies. Unfortunately, virtually no information survives from rural milieux, which makes it all but impossible to discern whether extended family solidarities existed. Examples of such abound in pre-revolutionary rural Greece, especially in pastoral societies, be that in the Vlach communities of Mt Olympos, the Arvanite clans of Souli in Epirus, or the Greek-speaking clans of Mani and Crete.<sup>9</sup> To my mind it would be reasonable to infer that such allegiances and networks permeated rural society in the Byzantine period as well, even if data for this come only from the early modern situation. For instance, it is obvious that the 'first' in a village was often not the wealthiest, nor the actual eldest. In the village of Kato Bolbos in Chalkidike, for example, the *prōtogerōs* Stamates of Theotokia owned an average-sized property compared to the other peasant families; in the village of Melintziane in the Strymon region the *prōtogerōs* Georgios, although above the average, was not the wealthiest, while a bishop's son-in-law in the village is also mentioned.<sup>10</sup> Could they have been the heads of large extended families and not simply the most respected or randomly chosen ones? One elder from each known extended family represented the village of Semaltos in its dispute with the

<sup>8</sup> See Macrides, 'Byzantine godfather' for the institution of *synteknia*; Rapp, *Brother-making* for the institution of *adelphopoiēsis*.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, *Honour, family and patronage*, 36–58.

<sup>10</sup> *Acts Iveron* IV, 60 (l. 13: deacon Georgios, son-in-law of the bishop; l. 47: *prōtogerōs* Georgios) and 72 (l. 317–8: *prōtogerōs* Stamates of Theotokia) (no. 86: 1341). In the village of Gomatou, although the *prōtogerōs* Georgios is mentioned among the proprietors in the village, he is not listed among the *paroikoi* of the monastery: *Acts Lavra* II, 109, l. 542 (no. 109: c. 1300). Can it be that he was not considered a *paroikos* at all?

monastery of Vatopedi.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that the main channel for the transmission of social and economic capital remained the nuclear family, throughout the middle and late Byzantine periods.

The importance of family as both a social and an economically self-sufficient unit can be contrasted with the low coherence of the village community. In the middle Byzantine period (seventh to eleventh centuries), the village was a chief element of society. It was a legal entity in court through its representatives (usually the village elders – the *prōtogerōi*). The state certainly contributed to this development by attributing to the village community an independent fiscal apparatus. It had fixed boundaries and the taxes were due collectively from the community, even though each tax unit paid its share. Whenever an *oikos* was unable to pay its share, fellow villagers had to pay the difference (a system known as *allēlengyon*). The community also seems to have owned common pastureland for the village herds.<sup>12</sup>

The emergence of large landholding estates during the ninth to twelfth centuries drastically affected the essence of the community. Most of the peasants now became dependent *paroikoi*. Common pastureland (and/or fishing, beehive, hunting and woodcutting rights) henceforth belonged to the landlord to whom the appropriate tax was paid. In many instances a village was divided among various landlords, to whom the *paroikoi* owed their taxes, rents and corvées. Even in cases where the whole village belonged to a single landlord there was little room for communal solidarity. Any abandoned lands (*exaleimmata*) usually reverted to the landlord despite legal regulations, and not to the neighbouring *oikoi* or the village community. The landlord may have reassigned them to local peasants, but this was not a collective process.<sup>13</sup>

As we saw in the previous chapter the few field lists that survive from villages where peasants owned private land, reveal a high degree of fragmented ownership. A peasant's holding of even 20 to 50 *modioi* of land was commonly divided into numerous smaller parcels.<sup>14</sup> Although we do not know any details about the exploitation of the demesne land by the *paroikoi* – whether through wage, rented or corvée labour – the landlord

<sup>11</sup> See p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> See Kaplan, *Hommes et terre*, 185–218; Kazhdan, 'Ville et village'; Kazhdan, *People and Power*, 31; Lefort, 'Économie et société rurales' [in Laiou and Morrisson, *Monde byzantine* 2], 235–9; Lemerle, *Agrarian history*, 37–48; Ostrogorsky, 'Commune rurale'; Sjuzumov, 'Village et la ville'.

<sup>13</sup> See also the discussion in the preceding chapter, pp. 177–80.

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 169–70 and a case study on p. 351.

must have assigned his *paroikoi* individual plots of land depending on their possession of oxen rather than relying on the common labour of all his *paroikoi*. There may have been some cooperation between peasants in cultivation, owing to the frequent divergence between land and oxen possession, but this did not result in oxen being held in common.

The village then still had a financial existence in the late period in the eyes of the fisc; it represented an entity marked by boundaries, which included peasants, lands and other economic rights (such as fishing). But this was all that was actually left of a collective notion of a village community. In the tax registers (*praktika*) there were usually additional taxes (for example, *aēr*) the total amount of which was assessed separately from the main taxes on peasant households.<sup>15</sup> However, it is unlikely that there was a collective tax responsibility payable by the village itself as an entity. Rather, fixed sums were collected from families individually until the total was reached. Sometimes these taxes were not even listed in the *praktika*, implying that they had been added to the total tax each individual household owed. This phenomenon can be observed in the village of Doxompo in the Lower Strymon area. Most peasants there owned some boats and had fishing rights on the lake of Achinos. In the enumeration of each fiscal unit and the appertaining tax, for a representative example is: 'Konstantinos Modenos has . . . a house, one ox, two pigs, one boat, eight fishing nets, and a vineyard of 5.5 *modioi*; tax: two *hyperpyra* without the fishing rights'. This final statement was not added for peasants who had no ships or fishing nets; at the end of the *praktikon* we learn that these fishing rights amounted to 300 *hyperpyra*, which were obviously allocated to the peasants according to their fishing materials (ships and fishing nets). Other tax dues in this village must have been allocated in the same way, such as the sales tax (*kommerkion*) and the storage tax (*katagōgion*).<sup>16</sup>

The stability and coherence of the village community was negatively affected by two additional factors. First, the right of the landlord to introduce into his estate new peasants not listed in other tax registers, the *eleutheroi*. The second important factor was the geographical mobility of the peasants. As has been remarked, in many Macedonian villages for which sufficient evidence exists, with each new tax survey a large proportion of the rural populace was registered for the first time.<sup>17</sup> This mobility among the villages was an important factor affecting both the coherence and the demography of a village community.

<sup>15</sup> Charanis, 'On social structure'; Laiou, *Peasant society*, 23–66; Lefort, 'Économie et société rurales'; Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes*, 41–74.

<sup>16</sup> *Acts Lavra II*, 163–71 (no. 104: 1317).

<sup>17</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 247–66 and see also this volume, p. 172.

In some respects the village did represent a community. The *prōtogerōi* – also known as *ekkritoi* or *prokritoi* (that is, ‘distinguished’) – are still encountered in our sources, and in some instances, especially when the village was held by one landlord, the village had a representation as a community either through the *prōtogerōi* or by the physical presence of all heads of households.<sup>18</sup> The village might also unite in taking action for a common cause such as the construction of a tower that would protect them from enemy incursions,<sup>19</sup> or of a church, as the epigraphic evidence from various parts of the Byzantine world has shown.<sup>20</sup>

Analogous to the village community was the urban community. The pioneering study of Pirenne created the basis for our perception of the Western medieval city. Pirenne connected the rise of the city to large-scale trade and identified it as a hostile element in the feudal economy and the relations of dependence, while identifying the urban upper class as a mercantile patriciate.<sup>21</sup> During the past decades, several studies have questioned this kind of simplistic schema. Certainly, there were areas, such as Flanders, where the extension of the boundaries of the city’s jurisdiction and the refuge it offered to the serfs who sought shelter in it almost led to the extinction of serfdom by as early as the thirteenth century. Yet it seems that urban society altogether was not so sharply differentiated. Feudal lords often resided in towns and owned a vital part of the urban space, while the mercantile urban class peacefully coexisted with this feudal nobility. In a few cases, as in Paris, feudal lords even benefited from the taxes owed by particular guilds. Smaller towns of one to two thousand inhabitants were well embedded in the feudal system; most of their space was owned by the lords. In most cases, these towns did not develop any municipal or guild associations.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, the larger towns and cities in most parts of Latin Europe developed an advanced system of guilds, confraternities and municipal institutions. In many cases the mercantile and patrician elites dominated city politics, often in cooperation with the feudal lords (in France, for example, governors were installed by the king in the late medieval period); yet often the guilds proved a subversive force and managed to

<sup>18</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 229 (no. 101: 1348?).

<sup>19</sup> See for example *Acts Vatopedi* II, 275 (no. 111: 1358).

<sup>20</sup> I refer to cases such as the church of St Ioannes Prodromos in Megali Kastania (see Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions*, 65–6) or of Archangel Michael in Polemitas (*ibid.*, 71–5), both in the Mani region of the Peloponnesos, where most of the inhabitants also dedicated small parcels of land to the church for its maintenance and other costs.

<sup>21</sup> Pirenne, *Villes et institutions*.

<sup>22</sup> Hilton, *English and French towns*.

acquire participation in the government of the cities. Several cities across Europe succeeded in obtaining judicial, political and fiscal privileges from the territorial lords that protected their economic activities and gave them a major degree of autonomy. In most cities the councils had the authority to legislate.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, as we will see, Byzantine cities with the sound exception of local elite-dominated councils, in major cities such as Thessalonike, for various reasons did not develop any of these institutions and lacked the foundations to develop a civic culture, a city-based identity.

Comparing factors that influenced the development of Western and Byzantine towns in this period, four further aspects come to mind. The first is physical space. Although in both East and West it was possible to find orchards and gardens within the city walls, the proportion must have been larger in those Byzantine cities that had retained their ancient walls and thus their urban extent, like Thessalonike or Constantinople. Even before the arrival of Black Death in 1347, only one-third of the total area of Constantinople was inhabited. The rest was planted with vineyards, orchards, gardens and fields.<sup>24</sup>

A second aspect is population size. There were two large cities in the empire, Thessalonike and Constantinople, which may have numbered as many as 100,000 inhabitants, before the effects of the second civil war and the Black Death made themselves felt in the 1340s. Both cities declined and fell below 50,000 in the fifteenth century. It is very unlikely that any other city of the empire exceeded a population of 10,000 people.<sup>25</sup> The smaller the town, the closer the relationship between town and countryside. In towns, many inhabitants had agriculture as their main occupation, their fields being situated just outside the urban area. There were even towns where most of the population were peasants; for example, the population of Bera in Thrace was, according to Kantakouzenos, made up of monks of the monastery of Kosmosoteira and of farmers.<sup>26</sup>

A third distinguishing factor of the Byzantine city, compared with its counterpart in Western Europe, was its administrative function and its correspondingly larger proportion of consumers as opposed to producers.

<sup>23</sup> Ennen, *Medieval town*, 95–126; Heers, *La ville*; Nicholas, *Later Medieval city*, especially 87–107.

<sup>24</sup> Bouras, 'Aspects of the Byzantine city', 520.

<sup>25</sup> Laiou, 'Constantinople sous Paléologues', 139; Matschke, 'Late Byzantine urban economy', 463–95 (population figures at 465); Schneider, 'Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels'. Recently, lower figures have been proposed by Moustakas, 'Μεθοδολογικά ζητήματα'.

<sup>26</sup> Kant., 2:196.

Almost every provincial Byzantine town, *kastron* ('fortress') or city functioned as a centre of civil and ecclesiastical administration. The elite members of society, who filled these posts, had their permanent residence in the cities, even when they owned private towers or manors in the countryside. In the city of Melenikon, according to Akropolites, all the notables – the lay and church, the army garrison and all other prominent citizens – numbered more than 500. Even if we allow for a degree of exaggeration this number is not out of the expected range, since it must have comprised the officials of both the civil and church administration, all the holders of *pronoiai* of the surrounding *thema* and perhaps representatives of the common people.<sup>27</sup> As a result, the elite had a deep interest in the urban economy and, along with the monastic institutions, owned most of the urban space and buildings, which were subsequently rented out. Stephanos Chreles possessed the market (*phoros*) itself in the marketplace (*emporio*) of the town of Štip.<sup>28</sup>

The fourth factor that affected the development of the late Byzantine urban community was trade. In the late Byzantine period long-distance trade was dominated by Italian merchants. Food commodities and raw materials were exported from the ports of the Black Sea and the Aegean to Western Europe, and manufactured goods, such as clothes, were imported from Italy. In the last decades of the fourteenth century, when the empire had virtually diminished to the vicinity of Constantinople, the bulk trade of grain from northern Black Sea ports to Constantinople was the most important sector of the economy. However, the inland towns and provinces were only to a very limited extent included in these trade routes. It is true that Venetian products reached as far as Melenikon along the upper reaches of the river Strymon and that merchants from Constantinople used to buy their products from inner Thrace, but these activities were on a small scale and as such they had little effect on the development of local urban communities outside the two large cities of the empire. Even the trade of Thessalonike was of a limited geographical range. The Italians

<sup>27</sup> Akrop., 44. Multiplying this number by four for their families, they represent 2,000 people. So if the city numbered as many as 10,000 inhabitants, the notables and the soldiers represented more than 20 per cent of the total population. That the figure of 500 notables is not entirely an exaggeration is suggested by Kantakouzenos' claim, a century later, that the army of the neighbouring *thema* of Stenimachos and Tzepaina numbered 1,000 men (2:405). As such it is not an exaggeration to suppose that 200 to 300 soldiers may have been stationed in the *thema* of Melenikon and resided, as was the habit, in the city.

<sup>28</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 276 (no. 131: c. 1333–41).

never dominated its markets and neither Byzantine merchants nor products from Thessalonike traded beyond the Aegean Sea.<sup>29</sup>

The growing interest in and study of ancient Greek literature from the eleventh century onward offered Byzantine scholars viable models to turn to for creating civic identity, possibly in connection with similar developments in Latin Europe. This trend had begun in the twelfth century, but remained centred only on Constantinople, where it acquired the characteristics of a political/ethnic identity and snobbery towards outsiders.<sup>30</sup> In the Palaiologan period, encomia of cities (such as the encomia on Nikaia and Constantinople by Theodoros Metochites or the encomia on Trebizond by Ioannes Eugenikos and Bessarion) testify to this ‘civic humanism,’ at least on the part of some scholars. Thomas Magistros, who composed two corresponding essays, *On kingship* and *On the polity* (with ‘polity’ indicating a city, not the state or the constitution), among other works, represents the early culmination of this fashion, which can be related to the sentiment for autonomy that had been growing in his native city of Thessalonike since the thirteenth century.<sup>31</sup> It should be stressed, however, that most of the surviving evidence is associated with Thessalonike during the so-called early Palaiologan revival.<sup>32</sup> The economies of the other cities and towns of the empire were characterised mainly by agricultural activity and were not large enough to accommodate enough intellectuals to facilitate such a sense of civic identity.

The question remains, however, whether this civic identity meant anything more than civic humanism. There is no evidence that there was any sort of defining membership to a city community other than actual residency in it. City councils had allegedly been abolished by Leon VI (r. 886–912), although we have virtually no evidence about them after the sixth century. However, on some occasions from the late eleventh century, city councils make an irregular (re)appearance. They were composed of the

<sup>29</sup> Literature on the Byzantine city is vast, although much effort has centred on the question of continuity/discontinuity with the Late Antique city. See Angold, ‘Shaping’; Bouras, ‘Aspects of the Byzantine city’, 523; Bryer, ‘Structure of late Byzantine town’; Françes, ‘Féodalité et les villes’; Hrochova, ‘Villes byzantines’; Kazhdan, ‘Ville et village’; Kazhdan, ‘Italian and late Byzantine city’; Kirsten, ‘Byzantinische Stadt’; Matschke, ‘Late Byzantine urban economy’; Saradi, ‘Byzantine cities’.

<sup>30</sup> Magdalino, ‘Constantinople and outside world’.

<sup>31</sup> Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 121–210.

<sup>32</sup> Most of the evidence has been collected and analysed by Konstantakopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη*, 149–245. See also for this civic humanism: Kiousopoulou, “‘Αστοί” και “αγροίκοι””; Saradi, “The monuments”.



local *archontes*, and mostly aided the governor with his duties.<sup>33</sup> Officials who happened to be resident often participated in important trials that were judged by local authorities. In Zichna, for example, alongside local ecclesiastical and political *archontes*, the *prōtasēkrētis* Leon Bardales participated in a trial regarding the usurpation by neighbours of some urban land belonging to the most important local monastery, St Ioannes Prodromos.<sup>34</sup> In all these cases, the *archontes* were invited (*prosklēthentōn*) and selected ad hoc (*tōn entychontōn*), they did not participate *ex officio*. The only *ex officio* participants were the governor, the state-appointed judges and, less often in the case of land disputes, fiscal officials. It is unlikely that we are dealing here with organs with formally defined membership and regular meetings, and there is very little evidence to suggest that their members were elected rather than selected.<sup>35</sup> Thessalonike may have been again an exception, owing to the presence of a senate, possibly of defined membership and regular meetings, as sources during the Venetian occupation suggest.<sup>36</sup> The senate of Constantinople, which must have had a defined membership, was a body that dealt with matters not pertaining to the city but to the state (even though the two may have increasingly coincided). For important matters, such as during times of war, more irregular assemblies were called that involved the common people. They were convened in order to build consensus rather than to allow for actual deliberation.

Our sources do not generally describe the processes of decision making and it remains uncertain whether decisions were achieved through voting, consensus, compliance or, in the case of large assemblies, acclamation. Regardless of their procedures, our sources mostly describe these councils as ending in consensus. Only in extreme circumstances are disagreements recorded; on rare occasions these led to a riot or a plot. This was the case in Adrianople in 1341, where the decision of the assembly, allegedly instructed

<sup>33</sup> On city councils, the long article by Tsirpanlis, 'Byzantine parliaments', is rather disappointing, correlating evidence from different places, periods without considering the context. See the recent monograph by Kontogiannopoulou, *Τοπικά συμβούλια. Acts Prodromou* (B), 209–11 (no. 126).

<sup>34</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 209–11 (no. 126).

<sup>35</sup> In the privileges granted to Ioannina in 1319, Andronikos II allowed the creation of a council that would judge local cases elected by the inhabitants; the procedure of this 'election' is not described: MM V, 81 (no. 3.1: 1319).

<sup>36</sup> Mertzios, *Μνημεία*, 54 and 73. The city had a council of twelve that was convened three times per week, which seems to have ceased operating during the first year of the Venetian period. In 1429 the Thessalonians asked for permission to reconvene the council. A council that was named sometimes *synklētos* figured earlier in Thessalonike (such as in *Acts Iveron* IV, 158 [no. 97: 1421]). This *synklētos* is undoubtedly the same as the short-lived council of twelve under Venetian rule.

by the *archontes*, to take the side of Kantakouzenos during the second civil war was followed by a riot led by ‘some of the *dēmos*’, and in Thessalonike in 1346 where Andreas Palaiologos, the leader of the so-called Zealots who disagreed with the decision of the governor and the council to surrender the city to Kantakouzenos, also organised a riot.<sup>37</sup>

The late Byzantine city, therefore, possessed some municipal institutions, even if in most cases these were less advanced than similar institutions in contemporary Western European cities. There is little evidence, on the other hand, for common municipal land or municipal taxes. This becomes obvious through the negotiations of the Thessalonians with their new lords, the Venetians, in 1425. The city possessed no revenue sources of its own. The wages of the local soldiers (in addition to the guard of the Venetian governor), and several dozen *archontes* involved in the defence of the city, were provided by Venice, as well as the funds for the repair of the city walls. This does not mean that no taxes were collected; we learn about commercial taxes (*pendameria* and *decato*) and that the Jews of the city jointly had to pay 1,000 *hyperpyra* as a tax annually, but these were implemented by the governor of the city and revenues belonged to him.<sup>38</sup> There is no reason to suppose that matters would have been any different under Byzantine rule.

All these incidents, however, suggest that late Byzantine cities were able to represent themselves as a body to the central authorities and, as the privileges that different cities succeeded in obtaining indicate, they could act in pursuit of their common interest. Many of these privileges were acquired during wars; most originated from the period of the expansion of the Nicene empire in the Balkans in the 1240s, and as such they do not represent an abstract intention on the part of the government or the cities themselves to bolster the urban economy or to create a less centralised system of government, but rather the terms negotiated with these cities to secure their peaceful incorporation into the empire.

These privileges were mostly fiscal:<sup>39</sup> the Laskarid chrysobull for Thessalonike (of uncertain date) granted tax immunity to the properties

<sup>37</sup> Kant., 2:175–7 and 568–82. On the new date of the riot, 1346 instead of 1345, see Mureşan, ‘Pour une nouvelle datation.’

<sup>38</sup> Mertzios, *Μνημεία*, 59–60. The only piece of evidence about municipal property comes from Rentina, not far from Thessalonike, barely a town but with privileges, whose inhabitants asked to be included in a chrysobull privileging them land of 2,000 *modioi* that was now supposed to be free (to be held in common?), although eventually it was revealed that it belonged to the monastery of Esphigmenou: *Acts Esphigmenou*, 125 (no. 17: 1328), 129–30 (no. 19: 1330) and 133–4 (no. 20: 1334).

<sup>39</sup> All the chrysobulls granting these privileges have been edited. For Kroïa: Soloviev and Mošin, *Diplomata graeca*, 316–17 (no. 41.II: 1288/1303/1318); Ioannina: MM V, 77–84 (no. 3.1: 1319); Monembasia: MM V, 154–5 (no. 7.1: 1284) and see also a *prostagma* of

of the citizens. In fact, it seems that the privilege was at first attached to the land in and around Thessalonike and not to the citizens. The vineyard and an estate that the Athonite monastery of Xenophon bought in the vicinity of Thessalonike are specifically described in the imperial chrysobulls, confirming the monastery's properties as tax-free 'because of the common chrysobull to the Thessalonians.'<sup>40</sup> In the only two individual cases of citizens of Thessalonike that we have, where this privilege is mentioned, the properties that Ioannes Margarites and Xene Soultanina possessed in the cities of Serres (1342) and Berroia (1344) respectively are described as 'free, just like the other Thessalonians own their patrimonial properties.'<sup>41</sup> It is possible then that an extension of the privileges took place later, applying now to the properties of the *citizens* of Thessalonike, regardless of whether these properties were situated in other regions, and not to properties situated in the *land* of Thessalonike. A second solution to this perplexity is that the raging second civil war, during which these two acts were drafted, may have resulted in the special treatment of these two aristocrats; Margarites, particularly, received the confiscated properties of Kantakouzenos and Tzemplakon, the usurper emperor and his trusted ally. Privileges like those granted to Thessalonike were granted to Kroïa, Monembasia and Ioannina. While these were fiscal privileges, the emperor never granted any meaningful judicial privilege. The so-called judicial privilege of Ioannina to 'elect' a council of local *archontes* to judge cases with the aid of the governor does not even amount to a privilege. In all late Byzantine towns throughout this period local *archontes* participated in trials of local interest

Andronikos III specifically for their privileges in other towns of the empire: Schreiner, 'Prostagma Andronikos III'. The inhabitants of the city of Melenikon were granted the right to sell their *oikonomiai*: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 187 (no. 88: 1344). The chrysobull of Thessalonike has not survived but there are references to it, such as in *Acts Karakallou*, 101 (no. 4: 1342) (= Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 285). A chrysobull for the small town of Rentina in northern Chalkidike is also mentioned (see the above note) and perhaps for Berroia: *Acts Vatopedi* I, 336 (no. 62: 1324). A promissory letter of the local ruler of Phanarion (in Thessaly), Michael Gabrielopoulos, in 1342 has been preserved in which he guarantees to preserve the rights of the town's inhabitants: Sophianos, 'Ὁρκωμοτικὸν γράμμα'. Soloviev, 'Θεσσαλιϊσκή ἀρχὸντῆ', believed that the latter chrysobull is an indication of the existence of feudal social relations of dependence and that the recipients of this chrysobull are simply the aristocrats of the town, and not any other social groups.

<sup>40</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 149 (no. 17: 1322) and 191 (no. 25: 1338). Elsewhere in *Acts Chilandar* I, 231 (no. 33: 1316) and *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 146 (no. 62: 1321).

<sup>41</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 190 (no. 89: 1344); *Acts Karakallou*, 101 (no. 4: 1342). And these are almost all the references. For the privileges of Thessalonike, see also Patlagean, 'L'immunité'.

(as discussed above). The insignificance of these privileges is suggested by their near absence from the narrative sources and their sparse attestation in the documentary sources. For example, although the privileges of Thessalonike spanned throughout the late Byzantine period and our documentary evidence originates primarily from this area, a mere five or six random references survive.

These privileges may have proved more beneficial to the middle classes of each town than to the elite who were governing the city; the latter gained immunity for their properties and acquired untaxed *oikonomiai* through individual, not shared, privileges.<sup>42</sup> The provincial elite, who were running the affairs of the cities and provided membership of the local councils, expected benefits from the government and generally identified with the state, rather than pursuing autonomy. This elite only changed their attitude when the government was no longer able to offer their members privileges. Even then, Byzantine cities for the most part did not claim autonomy, beyond a few cases such as Thessalonike, which was itself exceptional in its tendency towards separatism.<sup>43</sup>

As with the villages, the population of cities also experienced a high degree of horizontal mobility, since not all members of the local families resided permanently in the city, thus further contributing to the weakness of civic identity. Even in Thessalonike, many of the local elite, from families such as the Kabasilai, Argyropouloi or Chrysolorades, migrated to Constantinople to pursue a career there. Demetrios Iatropoulos, whose ancestor was one of the 'notables' who conspired to hand over Thessalonike to Ioannes III Batatzes,<sup>44</sup> was by the 1270s a senator in Constantinople and held the office of *logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn*.<sup>45</sup> The elite of Thessalonike was

<sup>42</sup> Kyritses, 'Common chrysobulls', 229–45.

<sup>43</sup> See Barker, in 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike', who has studied the steady progress of the 'separatism' of Thessalonike, bolstered also by long periods of geographical isolation. Monembasia in the Peloponnesos presents another case, but it is out of the geographical scope of this book. For separatism in the late Palaiologan period, see towards the end of the next chapter and Chapter 6, with the example of Serres.

<sup>44</sup> Akrop., 79.

<sup>45</sup> Pach. 2:483. The descendants of another of these notables, the merchant Demetrios Spartenos, remained in Thessalonike, where they became members of the elite. Spartenos had been sent allegedly with merchandise to Serres to meet Ioannes III Batatzes, but purposely to negotiate the surrender of the city. If he had not been a merchant, this would have resulted in suspicion by the despot Demetrios, who was ruling then the city (see Kyritses, 'Common chrysobulls', 242 for this explanation). Spartenos represents probably one more case of social ascent from the upper-middle-class layers.

in turn receiving members from other areas, particularly Constantinople, including individuals from the Metochites, Palaiologos (two of the leaders of the Zealots) and Philanthropenos families.<sup>46</sup>

Guilds constituted an important factor in the politics and economies of medieval Western European cities. These organisations, formed around the professions of the artisans, promoted the collective interests of the group. They determined price and production, restricted the practice of a craft in a town to members of the guild, protected their members, and steadily assumed political power and demanded their share in civic government.<sup>47</sup> For Byzantium, if we accept that the *Book of the Eparch* of the tenth century reflects the reality and not an ideal system of organisation that was never actually achieved, then the guilds that had helped to control and regulate urban economic activities and production in middle Byzantine Constantinople, had reasonably decreased by the late Byzantine period.<sup>48</sup>

The few references we have to a possible guild system in the Palaiologan period are all contestable. In Thessalonike, Theodoros Brachnos is attested as *exarchos* of the perfume-makers (*myrepsoi*) in 1320, but this cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of an organised system or even of a guild; he may have been the spokesman of an association of some perfume-makers.<sup>49</sup> There are some further mentions of head artisans. But the *prōtomaïstores* (the heads of teams of builders) or *prōtalikarioi* (the heads of salt workers) that we meet in our sources are plausibly not heads of supposed guilds but rather the heads of a team of workers.<sup>50</sup> This is all the information we have. In late Byzantium there was little or no price control either individually, by artisans and merchants, or by the state. Therefore, a guild system was inexistent and irrelevant to the development of late Byzantine urban society.

Charitable institutions are attested in early and middle Byzantium. In the letters of Theodoros Stoudites, for example, we learn about a pious

<sup>46</sup> Necipoğlu, 'Aristocracy in Thessalonike', 133–51.

<sup>47</sup> Ogilvie, *European guilds*; Rosser, *Art of solidarity*.

<sup>48</sup> Most researchers agree that guilds disappeared in the late period: Charanis, 'Economic organization', 150–2; Françes, 'Disparition', 97; Françes, 'Народные движения осенью'; Maniatis, 'Domain of private guilds'; Maniatis, 'Guild system'; Matschke, 'Late Byzantine urban economy', 493–4. Yet there is still the view that the guilds continued to exist, but without any central control, like Western-type guilds: Angold, 'Shaping', 31–4; Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 108–14.

<sup>49</sup> See Maniatis, as above, for this explanation. See also this volume, p. 271, on the supposed 'guild of sailors' in Thessalonike.

<sup>50</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 180 (no. 84: 1322). This hypothesis may be confirmed by the fact that we meet two *prōtalikarioi* in the same document, one of them 'with his whole company (*syntrophia*): *Acts Dionysiou*, 96 (no. 14: 1415) and see also on the case Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara*, 144–58.

organisation that had as its primary objective the burial of dead people.<sup>51</sup> Many lead tokens testifying to the charitable activities of several Byzantine *diakoniai* has survived to our day. The charter of one provincial brotherhood in Thebes active in the twelfth century has also been preserved.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, there is relatively little evidence of the existence of such confraternities in the Palaiologan period. Two instances have been proposed to refer to the existence of confraternities in late Byzantium. The first is a reference by Nikephoros Choumnos to some pious men who practised charity in the city. In his *Advisory speech to the Thessalonians*, Choumnos first proceeds to an encomium of the city, its products and wealth and its churches, then praises the monks and the clergy of the city, and lastly he speaks of 'the remaining jewel of the city, this demure senate (*gerousian*), the Abrahamic men (that is, of Abraham, either in the sense of 'patriarchal' or imposing men or, rather, hospitable)', who are prudent, benevolent, hospitable and should be a model of praiseworthy behaviour to the rest of the citizens.<sup>53</sup> However, I think these *Abramiaioi* are not a confraternity, as has been suggested, but rather the city archons or members of the local council.

The second indication comes from Constantinople and concerns the icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria. According to the sources, the icon was displayed every Tuesday outside the monastery after a litany where a large crowd of people and clergy gathered to pay tribute to the miraculous icon. But the existence of a confraternity, with the icon of Hodegetria as a point of reference, has been based on meagre evidence.<sup>54</sup> Miraculous icons had

<sup>51</sup> Theodoros Stoudites, *Letters*, no. 13, ed. Fatouros, 1:41–3, cf. Dagron, 'Ainsi rien n'échappera', 162–5.

<sup>52</sup> Caseau, 'L'exercice de la charité'; Nesbitt and Wiitta, 'Confraternity'.

<sup>53</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos, *Advisory speech to Thessalonians*, ed. Boissonade, vol. 2, 146–8: Ἀλλὰ ἄς μεταβῶμεν πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον τῆς πόλεως, τὴν σεμνὴν τήνδε γερουσίαν, τοὺς Ἀβραμιαίους ἄνδρας, μὴ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου πολὺ τὸ αἰδέσιμον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου πλέον καὶ ἄμεινον ἔχοντας. Cf. Baun, *Tales from another Byzantium*, 373, who says that this is a reference to a confraternity; Horden, 'Confraternities in Byzantium', 37–9.

<sup>54</sup> The evidence has been collected and translated in Ševčenko, 'Servants of holy icon', 547–56. The evidence includes: the account of Stephen of Novgorod (1348/9) who describes a procession of the holy icon every Tuesday; the account of the Spanish pilgrim Clavijo (c. 1403–6), who adds that the icon could be lifted in the procession by members of a certain family; and the account of Pedro Tafur, who adds that around 'twenty people in long red linen draperies' gathered every Tuesday in the church and took the icon for the litany; the last piece of evidence, an icon from Arta (Ševčenko, Figure 1), depicts a group of people in white clothes participating in the procession (but they are depicted far from the icon, so it is less probable that they have an immediate relation to it; the common people are depicted closer to it).

become objects not only of worship but of exploitation as well, and people were eager to have them under their protection. One such case can be found in the patriarchal documents. At least three successive generations of the same family had held the icon of the Theotokos *Koubouklarea*, the possession of which was passed on by inheritance.<sup>55</sup> It is possible that the case of the Hodegetria was similar, that it may have belonged to a certain family (as the account of Spanish pilgrim Clavijo suggests), rather than to a confraternity of people who were organising activities regarding its veneration. Inasmuch as confraternities are attested in earlier centuries, it is possible that these were present in late Byzantium as well, although there is no conclusive evidence. One reason might be the omnipotence of monastic communities as centres of charitable activities, as places of pilgrimage that included relics of saints or holy icons and as part of the patronage programme of the elite. Whatever the case, the scanty evidence of the existence and activities of confraternities points to their low significance to the organisation of late Byzantine society.

Evidence for the existence of military companies in the late empire is also slight, if foreign military companies (notably the Catalans and Alans) are excluded from the discussion. In Serres there were the Klazomenitai soldiers who each owned an *oikonomia* of 10 or 12 *nomismata*,<sup>56</sup> in Thessalonike there were the Barbarenoi soldiers;<sup>57</sup> Ioannes Batatzes was in command of the regiment of Achyraïtai.<sup>58</sup> The Achyraïtai and the Klazomenitai were certainly soldiers who had fled Asia Minor after its fall to the Turks and were presumably organised as regiments rather than independent companies. All other evidence concerns jointly held *pronoiai* of a few individuals, who may have been fighting together but not in the form of a company: in Zichna, a few months after the establishment of Serbian rule, some *archontopouloi* are documented as jointly owning an estate;<sup>59</sup> Euthymios Kardames and Demetrios Isauros from Thessalonike also owned collectively an *oikonomia* of 900 *modioi*.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps the main reason for the low frequency of companies of men-at-arms in our sources is the fact that officials of the army and holders of larger military *pronoiai* were expected to serve along with their followers. The mercenaries, the officers and the holders of larger *pronoiai* (with their servants) made up the bulk

<sup>55</sup> MM II, 513–4 (no. 658: 1401). Oikonomides, 'Holy icon as asset', 35–44.

<sup>56</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 90–1 (no. 20: 1342).

<sup>57</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 142 (no. 18: 1337).

<sup>58</sup> Kant., 2:180. But it is not clarified in the passage whether this is a company of men or just an army division.

<sup>59</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 301–2 (no. 3: 1344).

<sup>60</sup> *Acts Xenophon*, 158.

of late Byzantine army and therefore the companies of men-at-arms were of minor significance. Soldiers at times could act as a group of common interests and pursue a political choice (perhaps in late thirteenth-century Asia Minor and during the first civil war), but this was not accomplished through or in favour of the interests of a military company as an entity, but for other social and political objectives.<sup>61</sup>

## A Society of Circles and Social Networks

Up to this point we have encountered little evidence that most of the above-mentioned community associations had any impact on the structure of late Byzantine society. This observation seems to strengthen Kazhdan's theory of the individuality of Byzantine society. But the horizontal social ties that form these and other communities were not underdeveloped. The difference arises primarily in the role of the family in relation to society. Whereas in the West many of the associations were created voluntarily with the purpose of complementing or substituting kinship relations,<sup>62</sup> in Byzantium most associations were predominantly based on family, as will be explained. Every society consists of individual social networks and an analysis of the relations and principles that govern these networks illuminates the way a society functions.

The networks and associations of Byzantine society functioned primarily under three principles: friendship, kinship and service. Friendship, whether constituted as an interpersonal bond of affection or the literary *topos* of *philia*, could also serve political or social goals. It was still an important social institution for the establishment and function of literary circles, as it had been since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and for the establishment and maintenance of political factions.<sup>63</sup> Friendship, in the late Byzantine period, was little, if at all, related to social patronage. By the late period, patronage had been mostly consolidated into the network around an elite family, as we shall see in this chapter. The political and social network factions maintained by friendship were generally short-lived and less stable. They were usually designated as *phatria*, *systema*, *homilos*, *symmorion* or *hetaireia* (all of which mean essentially 'faction'). Beck studied their importance to the political history of the middle Byzantine period, and the creation of alliances and crystallisation of political action around

<sup>61</sup> Oikonomides, 'À propos des armées', 353–71.

<sup>62</sup> Lynch, *Individuals, families and communities*.

<sup>63</sup> Bourbouhakis, 'Epistolary culture and friendship'; Mullett, 'A friendly society'; Tinnefeld, 'Freundschaft'.



them.<sup>64</sup> These associations were also telling for the structure of late Byzantine society. Philotheos Kokkinos assesses a relationship with a *hetaireia* as one resembling a family association when he thanks the citizens of Constantinople for their hospitality, saying that they treated him as one of 'their faction or of their family'.<sup>65</sup>

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller has recently worked on the social networks in the patriarchal synod as they are presented through the sessions recorded in the *Patriarchal Register*. He uses statistical analysis and complex network models borrowed from sociology. The results of this research (he analyses especially the years 1379–87) have shown that there is a strong correlation between the outcome of the synod's decisions and the participants. Ioseph of Herakleia, although he participated in far fewer sessions (12 out of 26) than others, even though his see was less than two days' journey from Constantinople and had more influence on the outcome than Chariton of Houngrblachia (the region of Wallachia in Romania), who attended more sessions than any other (20 out of 26), after the patriarch himself. Ioseph participated in sessions with a larger number of metropolitans in order to attain outstanding impact.<sup>66</sup>

The primary aim of a *phatria* was usually to assist a certain powerful man to attain political power. We know for example that in 1305 Ioannes Drimys, who was pretending to be the son of the blinded Ioannes IV Laskaris, had created a 'gang' (*symmoría*) and tried to usurp the throne, perhaps with the aid of the Catalans, who were raiding Thrace at the time. In this 'gang' was also enlisted a metropolitan from Asia Minor. However, the plans of Drimys were revealed, and he was excommunicated.<sup>67</sup> The patriarch Ioannes Kalekas, after the death of Andronikos III, is said to have started gathering around him a *hetaireia* of senators, plainly in order to overcome the influence and network of Kantakouzenos, as the second civil war was drawing near.<sup>68</sup>

One of the best known *phatriai* was the one that developed around the young Andronikos III just before the beginning of the first civil war. The main figures around Andronikos III were his closest friend, Ioannes Kantakouzenos, Syrgiannes Palaiologos, Theodoros Synadenos, Alexios Apokaukos and three noble Genoese from Galata: Federico Spinola, Raffo

<sup>64</sup> Beck, 'Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen'. See also Prinzing, 'Patronage and retinues'.

<sup>65</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos, *Homilies*, 9.1, ed. Pseftonkas, 201: καθ' ἑταιρείαν ἢ κοινωνίαν τοῦ γένους.

<sup>66</sup> Preiser-Kapeller, 'Calculating the Synod'.

<sup>67</sup> Pach., 4:653; Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 81, ed. Talbot, 202–10. See also Failler, 'Le complot'; Stavridou-Zafraka, 'Συνωμοσία'.

<sup>68</sup> Kant., 2:19.

de Mari and Rapho Doria. All of them were young and already connected through friendship. It is unclear whether the 'friendship' of Andronikos III with the three Genoese meant also financial transactions (i.e. banking and trade activities), although Gregoras says that it resulted in loans and mortgages. The organisation of all these men in a faction to support Andronikos III against the old emperor Andronikos II would ultimately mean higher titles and greater wealth for them. The association was bound by oaths that were meant to ensure loyalty.<sup>69</sup>

Syrgiannes Palaiologos, mentioned just above, formed another *phatria* around himself during the subsequent reign of Andronikos III. The professed reason was the creation of a strong retinue that would counter the power of Kantakouzenos and prevent Syrgiannes from falling into disfavour, since Kantakouzenos, who enjoyed strong influence over the emperor, had recently shown hostility to Syrgiannes. People who did not belong to this *phatria*, among them Arsenios TzAMPLAKON, found nothing objectionable about its formation at the beginning. They simply thought that Syrgiannes was keen to establish a following 'out of vanity'. TzAMPLAKON reported these actions to the emperor Andronikos III as soon as he learned that Syrgiannes had the members of the faction vow that they would help each other and should the emperor die, they would only obey the commands of Syrgiannes himself, thereby insinuating he might launch a coup that would overthrow the emperor and place Syrgiannes in his stead.<sup>70</sup> In this instance we encounter again a *phatria* whose members vowed allegiance to a leader, but its creation did not spring in the first place from the desire to serve a particular short-term object, like the faction of Andronikos III in the first civil war. It was rather a durable political association, doubtless created with the aim of exercising political pressure, counterbalancing and undermining the authority of Kantakouzenos, and ultimately that of the emperor himself. Syrgiannes seemingly had 'friends' close to the emperor earlier than this incident. We learn that 'some people', who were present at a meeting between Andronikos III and Kantakouzenos, informed Syrgiannes that Andronikos III intended to annul his appointment as governor of the western part of the empire, a suggestion made by Kantakouzenos.<sup>71</sup>

As the analysis of Hans-Veit Beyer has shown, the anonymous pamphlet edited in 1969 by Herbert Hunger and dated by him at c. 1332, refers to a

<sup>69</sup> Greg., 1:284 and 299–301; Kant., 1:38–9. See also Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 16–19.

<sup>70</sup> Kant., 1:436–8.

<sup>71</sup> Kant., 1:412. From time to time in the first half of fourteenth century, *katholikai kephalai* (that is 'general commanders') were appointed over several provinces for the better functioning of local administration: see Maksimović, *Byzantine provincial administration*, 131–54.

sort of *phatria*, or 'mafia' as both these scholars named it, formed in Adrianople between 1350 and 1352 by members of the elite who had mostly supported Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) during the second civil war. Its author was perhaps Demetrios Kydones, the political advisor of Kantakouzenos at that time. According to the pamphlet, the members of this 'mafia' used terrorist methods in order to achieve their goals. Their main target was a *pinkernēs* (probably Demetrios Tornikes, who is attested with this title slightly later, and who was a son-in-law and supporter of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos), who would meet with death, according to the pamphlet, unless he accepted the decisions of the 'mafia council'. Although no one is named as the leader of this *phatria*, it must have been the son of Kantakouzenos, Matthaïos, who was then based in Adrianople and had been previously awarded the appanage-type administration of Thrace. His rival Ioannes V Palaiologos had just received part of Matthaïos' appanage from Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, who tried with this action to appease the rebellious Ioannes V without sending him to Thessalonike where he had first started his opposition to the main emperor, Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos. As Kantakouzenos conveys to us, many of those who had supported him during the second civil war were now inciting Matthaïos to begin a war against Ioannes V. Ostensibly, then, the pamphlet was directed against them (and not openly against Matthaïos) by a close associate of the reigning emperor Kantakouzenos, such as Demetrios Kydones was at that time, who was trying to calm down the rivalry.<sup>72</sup>

Hence, the first step towards the acquisition of political power was the establishment of a social network. It is possible to see the history of the empire as formed around the struggle between opposing factions. The analysis of Vincent Puech has shown how a network of elite families, often despite their blood relationship with Michael VIII, created solid opposition to the Union of Churches after the Council of Lyons (1274), which eventually eradicated any resistance in favour of the union after the death of Michael VIII. In this network were listed the Angelos, Batatzes, Kantakouzenos, Tornikes and Raoul families, and other families that supported the Arsenites, such as Laskaris and Tarchaneïotes.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Kant., 3:238–42; Beyer, 'Personale Ermittlungen'. Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet': he associated this 'mafia' with the above-mentioned conspiracy of the *pinkernēs* Syrgiannes, whom it targeted. Unfortunately, the text does not target anybody by name; the author refers to the participants by nicknames. For both dates (1332 and 1352) there are problems in identifying and ascertaining the names of the persons involved; the date 1352 seems more plausible.

<sup>73</sup> Puech, 'Byzantine aristocracy' and Evert-Kappesowa, 'Société byzantine'. For the opposition between the Laskaris and the Palaiologos clans, see Puech, 'Aristocracy and Nicaea'.

Another example of a growing faction is the circle that formed around Gregorios Palamas. Kantakouzenos supported Palamas whole-heartedly and, as Gregoras unfolds, it was Kantakouzenos' interference in the synod of 1351 – his personal presence, the summoning of selected prelates, hindrances and pressure on others, threats against the *dēmos* in case it interfered in favour of the anti-Palamites – that eventually determined the outcome and the condemnation of the anti-Palamites.<sup>74</sup> On the other side, the patriarch Ioannes Kalekas, even though he had signed the first synodal act in July 1341, condemning the teachings of Barlaam and his objections to Palamas, turned to the anti-Palamite circles after the outbreak of the civil war and supported their exponent Gregorios Akindynos. Consequentially, it has been claimed that Kantakouzenos adopted Palamism as his ideological weapon against the regency, since allegedly Palamism favoured the maintenance of the social order and the preservation of monastic property (which were supposedly affected by the regency's confiscations), and was a conservative and 'patriotic' element (against the ideas of Barlaam 'imported from abroad') that Kantakouzenos used for his propaganda.<sup>75</sup>

As I have argued elsewhere, the civil war did not display any consistent aspects of social conflict and even less can be said about the ideology of the anti-Palamites, except that it had a closer relation to humanism.<sup>76</sup> Second, the camps rarely coincide with the lines of the two parties in the civil war. Certainly, some prominent Palamites were Kantakouzenists (like the later patriarch Isidoros Boucheir, St Sabbas or Lazaros, the patriarch of Jerusalem), and even the majority of known Palamites as well. Be that as it may, the camp of the anti-Palamites also numbered in its ranks supporters of Kantakouzenos: Demetrios Kydones, Nikephoros Gregoras and Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites. Even Apokaukos may have adopted a neutral rather than

<sup>74</sup> Greg., 2:819–35 and 869–76. Gregoras was confined under house arrest until his death. Another anti-Palamite (and still unpublished) source that describes the Synod speaks about the significance of Kantakouzenos' intervention and the threats against the *dēmos*: ms Cod. Vat. 2335 fol. 2 (see the transcription by Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 134–5).

<sup>75</sup> Angelov, 'Антифеодални движения'; Gorjanov, *Поздневизантийский*; Matschke, 'Orthodoxie, Häresie', 43–6; Werner, 'Volkstümliche Häretiker'.

<sup>76</sup> Malatras, 'Social aspects'. Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 324–5, maintains that the anti-Palamites in the beginning were no closer to the West than their Palamite adversaries, but their proximity to the West and to the theology of Barlaam developed in the second half of the fourteenth century, after the Synod of 1351. It should be remembered that Gregoras never had Latin sympathies and was a critic of Barlaam. See also Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 131 and note 869.

a Palamite stance.<sup>77</sup> The metropolitan of Thessalonike Makarios (1342–4?) was a Palamite and a supporter of the regency. Examples of such apparently contradictory loyalties abound, even without counting those who changed their minds during the war or those whose sympathies we know only from later testimonies and not during the civil war.<sup>78</sup> Besides, a synod of Palamite (but pro-regency) metropolitans deposed Kalekas.<sup>79</sup> Third, attempts to connect the two parties with different social backgrounds equally failed. The Palamites were supported by monks, aristocrats, church or state officials as much as the anti-Palamites were.<sup>80</sup> It may simply have been that Kantakouzenos wanted to portray himself as continuing the policy of the last unequivocally legitimate emperor, Andronikos III, and that empress Anna was uncomfortable with Kalekas' support for the anti-Palamites and his apparent abandonment of her husband's resolution.<sup>81</sup>

Even during the last decades of Byzantium, with a considerably reduced state mechanism, politics was still guided by personal intrigues and factionalism, as Michael Angold's recent analysis of the episodes narrated in the satires of Mazaris and Katablattas and the *Memoirs* of Syropoulos

<sup>77</sup> Akindynos expressed his expectation for Apokaukos' support (Gregorios Akindynos, *Letters*, no. 13, ed. Constantinides Hero, 80), but the latter had opposed the ordination of Akindynos (Akindynos had already been condemned at the second Synod of 1341): Ioseph Kalothetos, *Letter 1*, ed. Tsames, 365–6; PR II, 360 (no. 147). See also Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 113. The empress Anna had also expressed her reservations about the ordination of Akindynos. Her stance regarding Palamism is uncertain. She may have approached the Palamites towards the end of the war in a desperate attempt to find support (compare Greg., 2:785 who says that the Palamites had approached both the empress and Kantakouzenos and worked towards treason in favour of the latter), but at the same time both Kantakouzenos and the *Synodal Tomos* of 1347 say that she believed that the prosecution of Palamites in the capital by the Patriarch was related to their political allegiance to Kantakouzenos (Kant., 2:604; PR II, 358 and 362, no. 147).

<sup>78</sup> For example, the *mezas droungarios* Georgios Isaris in Thessalonike shifted his allegiance during the second civil war: Gregorios Akindynos, *Letters*, no. 59, ed. Constantinides Hero, 238–42 (and the editor's comments at 411–12).

<sup>79</sup> Kant., 2:603–4; PR II, 364–6 (no. 147). Both sources clearly distinguish between the report to the empress of the Kantakouzenist Palamites – who were actually under house arrest (ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις σχολάζοντες ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται) – regarding the 'crimes' of Kalekas (*Memorandum of the archbishops to Empress Anna*, in PG 151, 767–70), and the synod of metropolitans and the Senate convened by the empress Anna, which deposed Kalekas.

<sup>80</sup> See Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 103–37, which is perhaps the most exhaustive analysis of the social and cultural backgrounds and an analysis of the members of each party. See also the list of prominent anti-Palamites found in a manuscript and reproduced in Mercati, *Notizie*, 222–3.

<sup>81</sup> This point has been suggested to me by Dr Brian McLaughlin.

shows. The Byzantine civil elite was still fighting the same political game that it had been fighting over previous centuries in order to secure the few remaining state positions.<sup>82</sup> As long as the emperor could control and manipulate the ecclesiastics during the Council of Ferrara/Florence, far from their social and factional bases, they could be forced to compromise and sign the decree of union. As soon as they returned home to Constantinople they experienced intense pressure from below to renounce their agreement and, as the prospects of Western aid after the battle of Varna in 1444 faded, one by one they succumbed to the anti-unionist camp.

Crucial to better understanding these networks is to view them through the concept of hierarchy. Every *phatria* was usually dominated by a powerful person whose political aims it served. Although, for example, we do not know the origins of the above-mentioned Ioseph of Herakleia, he was the first after the patriarch in the hierarchy of sees and this gave him compelling power; he expressed his view first. Consequently, these *phatriai* were closer to the ancient Roman patronage system. The patron expected support in order to attain his aims, while his 'friends' expected rewards in return, which in the case of Byzantium meant additional revenues in the form of *oikonomia* or tax immunity and higher offices and titles. The stability and the loyalty of the members of these *phatriai* were not always high. Syrgiannes, during the first civil war, very soon changed sides from Andronikos III to Andronikos II. Kantakouzenos was unable to keep his friend and old accomplice Theodoros Synadenos, who in the face of Kantakouzenos' setbacks in the second civil war in 1342 made an agreement with Apokaukos. Apokaukos himself had an even less stable *phatria*, but perhaps the reason was that there was no clarity over who the actual leader of the regency faction was at the time of its formation (the patriarch, Alexios Apokaukos, Andronikos Asanes or the empress Anna of Savoy).

Literary circles show structural traits that resembled a *phatria*. Every individual had his correspondents whom he could use as not only 'literary friends' but also political ones.<sup>83</sup> We have already discussed how literati like Michael Gabras or Theodoros Hyrtakenos used their contacts to achieve material help. Hyrtakenos used the fact that he was a teacher of the son of Theodoros Metochites in order to ask for help. Gabras, too, was keen to enter a correspondence with Theodoros Metochites. Gabras' letters to the latter hint at his ultimate purpose: while praising the literary virtues

<sup>82</sup> Angold, 'Political arts'.

<sup>83</sup> Bourbouhakis, 'Epistolary culture and friendship'; Mullett, 'A friendly society'.

of Metochites, he asks for his help.<sup>84</sup> Gregorios Akindynos tried hard to maintain his circle of supporters and to convince others to join his cause by sending letters here and there during the years of the Palamite controversy. The defeat of Barlaam at the first round of the hesychast controversy may have been effectuated by his lack of a steady, long-term network, having come only recently from Italy to Byzantium. At the first council of 1341 he was confronted even by people such as Akindynos, who later the same year, after the defeat and the flight of Barlaam, became the main adversary to the theology of Palamas.

Recently, Niels Gaul has analysed how Thomas Magistros, whose circle of support was at Thessalonike, despite the evident rewards (viewed by the contemporary examples of Theodoros Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos), rejected emperor Andronikos II's proposal to join the imperial literary court ('*theatron*'). Magistros represented the interests of his circle in Thessalonike and the civic interests of the local *archontes*, which were often in contrast to the interests of the central authority and its representatives. In this context should be placed his quest for support and intimacy with the *megas stratopedarchēs* Angelos Senachereim, Theodoros Metochites and the patriarch Niphon I (1310–14), a native of Thessalonike, all of whom had disagreements with Nikephoros Choumnos, who in turn, shortly before, had experienced difficulties in enforcing central authority in Thessalonike as a governor and turned against Chandrenos, Magistros' relative.<sup>85</sup>

Teachers expected advocacy from their students. Gregoras claims that the Palamites in the synod of 1351 were jealous of the manifold number of the students consorting with and supporting him. Right after the synod they were threatened with imprisonment and property confiscation and, as a result, most of them were compelled to desert him.<sup>86</sup> The students of Demetrios Kydones (Maximos Chrysoberges, Manuel Chrysoloras) followed him when he turned to the Catholic Church. Notably, Kydones served as *mesazōn* to the emperor Manuel II, who had been one of his students, while another of his students, Radenos, served the same emperor.<sup>87</sup> Although the bonds between teacher and student were usually strong,<sup>88</sup> one can easily

<sup>84</sup> Theodoros Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, nos 8–9, 11, 16–22, 35–6, 38–9, 57, 62, 65–66, 74, 81, 90; Gabras, *Letters*, no. 84, ed. Fatouros, 135–6.

<sup>85</sup> Gaul, *Thomas Magistros*, 62–114.

<sup>86</sup> Greg., 2:994–5 and 1012.

<sup>87</sup> PLP, no. 23986.

<sup>88</sup> See also Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 291–300, with a detailed list of all known teachers and their students. This strong, often political relationship, between teacher and pupil was something that seems to have emerged in the eleventh century: Agapitos, 'Teachers, pupils and imperial power.'

find exceptions. Kydones himself was a student of the future patriarch Isidoros I (1347–50) and of Neilos Kabasilas; but they were both exponents of Palamism of which Kydones was a sworn opponent. The metropolitan of Philadelpheia, Theoleptos, was teacher of both the anti-Palamite Eirene Choumnaina and of Gregorios Palamas himself.

### The Aristocratic *Oikos* and Its Following

Although some of these *phatriai* were rather short-lived, most of them were in fact founded upon another already existing and structurally similar but more stable system, with an altogether different synthesis: the individual *oikos* (household). This means that the most stable political associations were formed and maintained, often diachronically, through the alliances and the relations around and among aristocratic *oikoi*. In the German literature this type of relation has been called *Gefolgschaftswesen*. The term assimilates to the English ‘following’, it includes the feudal type of military following, the retinue of attendants, the supporters of a powerful person and the aggregation of equal persons allied politically or socially. Often it is difficult to differentiate among these types.<sup>89</sup>

The most complete analysis of an example of the late Byzantine following was made by Günther Weiss in his study on Kantakouzenos. Weiss distinguished two types: the political clientele on the one hand, which he considered as less stable, and the personal retinue, which consisted of men who in one way or another – mainly economically – were dependent on a certain powerful man. Although it is true that a political following was less stable than a dependent retinue, neither of the two categories includes kinsmen and close friends who generally proved to be much more loyal than economically dependent followers or political friends.

Through his high position in the government of the empire during the reign of Andronikos III, Kantakouzenos took the opportunity to build up his retinue by helping people to ascend the hierarchy and occupy important posts. Among them was the later patriarch, Ioannes Kalekas (1334–47). According to Kantakouzenos, Kalekas, who was until then a priest in the palace, became his *oikeios*, and Kantakouzenos proved the decisive factor that enabled the elevation of Kalekas to the patriarchal throne, although he had not been proposed by the synod itself.<sup>90</sup> Kalekas may have not proved

<sup>89</sup> See Magdalino, ‘Aristocratic *oikos*’, 92–4 and 96–8, also for earlier examples of the importance of such factions formed around an aristocratic household.

<sup>90</sup> Kant., 1:431–2. The term ‘following’ will be used with this meaning in the place of ‘Gefolgschaft’.



loyal in the long run but we can imagine that others would be ready to help Kantakouzenos when they were needed. The number of followers and supporters that a high aristocrat could summon is impressive. Just before the first civil war, so before Kantakouzenos became directly involved in government, he summoned within a few hours one hundred men in Constantinople, ready to fight for the protection of Andronikos III; their number, he claimed, could even amount to three hundred after a while.<sup>91</sup> This number can be compared to the *oikeioi* and the followers of Phakeolatos, who facilitated Kantakouzenos' entry to Constantinople in 1347 with more than a hundred of his *oikeioi*.<sup>92</sup>

Kantakouzenos was surrounded by a large number of *oiketai* (servants), most of whom demonstrated zealous support for their patron's goals. Many of them were not from as low a social background as we might expect. Some were certainly educated and may have originated from well-off families. Among his *oiketai* were Iakobos Broulas, Demetrios Sgouropoulos, Demetrios Kasandrenos and a certain Potamiates. Iakobos Broulas was entrusted with the negotiations for the proposed defection to the Byzantine emperor of many Latin lords in the principality of Achaëa, just before the civil war (the switch in allegiance of the lords would follow an invasion by the Byzantines, but due to the civil war the plan was abandoned). He was later, during the war, sent to the empress Anna of Savoy as an ambassador to sue for peace, but was mistreated by Alexios Apokaukos and humiliatingly paraded around the market of Constantinople. He was then imprisoned and died with the other prisoners in June 1345 after the murder of Apokaukos.<sup>93</sup> All of them were considered trusted men and Kantakouzenos assigned important tasks to them. Another category of his *oiketai* was constituted by military men, who served as warriors in the retinue of every high-ranking military official. Among them was Theodoros Pepagomenos, the governor of the fortress of Platamon near Berroia, whose affection for Kantakouzenos was so absolute that he preferred to die rather than to insult Kantakouzenos in public when Apokaukos tried to compel him to do so after having seized him during the capture of Platamon.<sup>94</sup> Another *oiketēs* named Lantzaretos gave his horse to Kantakouzenos to allow his escape when a battle was lost, while he himself remained in danger on the battlefield.<sup>95</sup> The only known

<sup>91</sup> Kant., 2:61 and 64. Yet the number also possibly comprised the *oikeioi* of Andronikos III and Theodoros Synadenos.

<sup>92</sup> Greg., 2:774.

<sup>93</sup> Kant., 2:76–7, 395, 398.

<sup>94</sup> Kant., 2:382.

<sup>95</sup> Kant., 2:430–1.

*oiketēs* who abandoned Kantakouzenos was a certain Apelmene. Kantakouzenos expressed bitterness for this defection, charging Apelmene with *acharistia* (more negative than 'ingratitude') and vanity. He recounted that he had undertaken to raise Apelmene since he was a child; he provided him with a literary and military education, with wealth and with honours, making him the dearest of his *oiketai*. But Kantakouzenos never assigned major offices and titles to his *oiketai* because he regarded them as socially inferior. Important titles and offices should be assigned to his relatives and other *archontes*, as he himself states in his memoirs, rather than to his followers.<sup>96</sup>

But the bond between *oiketēs* and lord was not always so strong. Tzyrakes, an *oiketēs* of the empress Anna of Savoy, observing the upcoming dominance of Kantakouzenos in the civil war, decided to cooperate with Phakeolatos and betray the regency by opening the gates of Constantinople to Kantakouzenos.<sup>97</sup> Apokaukos usually had around him a retinue of many *oiketai*, but when in the summer of 1341 Kantakouzenos dismissed him from office, we learn that only one *oiketēs* named Spalokotos remained in his following.<sup>98</sup> Apokaukos, however, was generally unable to inspire loyalty even in his own family: in the course of the war two of his sons joined the side of Kantakouzenos. A truly loyal *oiketēs* of Apokaukos was a man named Geoffrey (*Tzefrai*) who, after the his murder in 1345 at the hands of political prisoners, roused and armed the sailors of Constantinople to avenge the murder by massacring all the prisoners.<sup>99</sup>

Followers were also used to make an impression; Eirene Palaiologina Raoulaina would appear in public with a large retinue around her.<sup>100</sup> It is not always easy to distinguish between a dependent servant and a man who was simply in the temporary service of an aristocrat. Yet for the Byzantines this distinction may have been unimportant. To them, employees were inherently in a position of dependence; they were in the service of their employer. This relationship of the dependence of the employers may have been officially recognised by the state. There is at least one known case where the relationship was constituted by an imperial order. It was stated by imperial order that Michael Kabasilas was subordinated to the service of the metropolitan of Apros and *katholikos kritēs*. Even if Kabasilas was supposed to be simply in the employment of the metropolitan, a high judge, the state accorded him the status of a servant to the metropolitan. He happened to

<sup>96</sup> Kant., 2:247.

<sup>97</sup> Kant., 2:598–9.

<sup>98</sup> Kant., 2:101–2.

<sup>99</sup> Kant., 2:544.

<sup>100</sup> Pach., 3:171.

have been raised and educated by the metropolitan, and later he became a relative by marriage. This relationship eventually offered him a place in the clergy of the patriarchate where he served until at least 1355 as a *sakelliou* and archdeacon.<sup>101</sup> Another possible case of an officially recognised bond is that of a priest named Gabras, who was accused of allowing an illegal marriage in the family of the senator Phakrases Kantakouzenos. According to the document surviving from the patriarchal court, Phakrases Kantakouzenos was the ‘owner, lord and custodian’ of Gabras. Eventually this bond served in court as a mitigation, which facilitated the priest’s forgiveness.<sup>102</sup>

The establishment of the bond of *oiketēs* at an early age was common. Georgios Sphrantzes was made an *oiketēs* (*kelliōtēs*, that is ‘of the *kellion*, the chamber’) to the emperor Manuel II at the age of sixteen, after he had already served the little prince, Thomas Palaiologos.<sup>103</sup> This had also been the case of Apelmene with Kantakouzenos. The *oiketēs* would receive the benevolence of his lord and, in return, was supposed to be loyal. Demetrios Kydones informs us that he had a servant of the same age as himself, the company of whom he enjoyed, and for whom, after several years of service, he decided to assure a marriage and a modest property (‘πλοῦτου δὲ καὶ ἐνδείας ἴσον ἀφεστηκώς’) comprising at least one shop.<sup>104</sup> In the case of Kabasilas, the metropolitan of Apros gave him in marriage to his own niece, hence making the bond and the loyalty more durable. Kabasilas was a member of an elite family and had pursued an ecclesiastical career, which made his social position closer to the metropolitan’s, something that enabled such a marriage. Higher aristocrats would not normally permit a marriage with someone so far beneath them socially.

The emperor was also connected by lord–*oiketēs* relations. Unlike the common aristocrats, it is harder to distinguish and understand the difference between the three designations that we meet in the sources: *oikeios* (intimate/servant) *doulos* (slave/servant) and *oiketēs* (household servant). We learn for example that three of the *oiketai* of the deceased Andronikos III, Ierax, Paraspondylos and Mankaphas, had been placed in important provincial governor posts during the second civil war. Goudeles, an *oinochoös* (‘cup-bearer’) of the empress Anna, was governor in Polystylon in Thrace.<sup>105</sup> This must have been an evolution of the twelfth–thirteenth

<sup>101</sup> PR II, 286–8 (no. 136: 1342); III, 176 (no. 205: 1353/4).

<sup>102</sup> MM II, 489: καὶ ὅτι καὶ παρὰ κτήτορος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰονεὶ δεσπότητος καὶ κηδεμόνος.

<sup>103</sup> Sphrantzes, 12–14. When Sphrantzes was appointed servant to the emperor (1418), Thomas Palaiologos was only nine years old.

<sup>104</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, no. 268, ed. Loenertz, 2:183–4.

<sup>105</sup> Kant., 2:277, 394.

century *bestiaritai*.<sup>106</sup> In documentary sources of the late Byzantine period, we meet the designation *oikeios*, rather than *oiketēs*. It seems to be ascribed to anyone holding a military or administrative office of the state hierarchy who was not simultaneously a relative of the emperor.<sup>107</sup> Although the distinction between *oiketēs* and *oikeios* is not explicit, the distinction between an *oikeios* of the emperor and a *doulos* of the emperor is straightforward. A careful analysis of the signatures in documents will reveal that the designation ‘*doulos* of the emperor’, humbler than *oikeios*, was adopted by the individuals themselves in their signatures, whereas the *oikeios* would be attributed to them by others, including the emperor himself.<sup>108</sup> Neither the emperor nor anyone else would ever call an official *doulos*.

The *oiketai* of the emperor, whom we meet only in the narrative sources, were somehow connected with the emperor’s *paidopoula* (pages). The term *paidopoula* ostensibly denoted younger servants in the palace.<sup>109</sup> Despite that, among the *paidopoula* were also important figures who were not necessarily youths: the *paidopoulon* of Michael IX, Symeon Madarites, was a major landowner around Serres with adult children;<sup>110</sup> the *paidopoulon* of Andronikos II, Petros Doukopoulos, was a significant landowner in Thessalonike;<sup>111</sup> and Ioannes Laskaris Kalopheros, a *paidopoulon* of Ioannes V, carried out fiscal duties in Thessalonike, was later a senator and attempted to marry the emperor’s niece Maria Kantakouzene but failed and fell into disgrace.<sup>112</sup> The evidence is too meagre, though, to allow any safe conclusion on the matter, but it seems that at some point these *paidopoula*

<sup>106</sup> The *bestiaritai* appeared in the second half of the eleventh century. According to the testimony of Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, 4.3, eds Reinsch and Kamyblis, 127, they formed a corps of the men most intimate with the emperor: τῶν γε δε οικειοτέρων αὐτῷ (βεστιαρίτας αὐτοῦς ἢ συνήθεια καλεῖ).

<sup>107</sup> A relative of the emperor would sign as ‘the uncle of our holy and mighty emperor’, for example. This is implied by the formula of a title attribution where the designation *oikeios* is considered a given: Sathas, *MB*, vol. 6, 651. For the older view seeing the *oikeioi* as strictly a circle of trusted men of the emperor, see Verpeaux, ‘Oikeioi’, 89–92.

<sup>108</sup> See for example PR II, 112 (no. 111: 1337/8), where the scribe of the document calls Georgios Angelos an *oikeios* of the emperor and a few lines below Angelos signs as a *doulos* of the emperor. There are plentiful examples of this phenomenon.

<sup>109</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 172 and 191 (*paidopoulon tou bestiariou*), 176 (‘*paidopoula* of the imperial chamber, headed by the *parakoimōmenos tēs sphendonēs*’) and elsewhere in *passim*.

<sup>110</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 387 (no. 194). He already had a son-in-law.

<sup>111</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 128–9 (no. 66: 1292); *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 209 (no. 100: 1324) and 237 (no. 114: 1327).

<sup>112</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 49 (no. 132: 1351).

departed from the palace, perhaps after reaching a certain age, to pursue a private life, but their designation remained.

The case of Georgios Sphrantzes in the last decades of the empire shows how the lord–servant and emperor–official relationships unfolded over time, and possibly how this bond was generally regarded by members of the service elite and their lords. Sphrantzes entered the service of emperor Manuel II quite young; he became one of his *kelliōtai*, that is, domestic servants. Sphrantzes, according to the testament of Manuel II, due to his loyalty and his care for the old emperor, was bequeathed to the new emperor Ioannes VIII. Sphrantzes, for his part, rather sought (and succeeded) to enter the service of despot Konstantinos Palaiologos, with whom he and his cousins had grown up, having become his ‘friends and servants’ since Sphrantzes’ uncle had been Konstantinos’ tutor.<sup>113</sup> Sphrantzes felt honoured by his subservience to the despot Konstantinos and perceived his official responsibilities as service to his master rather than state business. The state is likened to an *ospētion* (i.e. a house): Alexios Laskaris Philanthropenos is designated as the first *archōn* of Konstantinos’ *ospētion*, both terms being different from *oiketēs* and *kellion* respectively.<sup>114</sup>

There is no space here to analyse the implications of this phenomenon on the political culture of late Byzantium; we will rather concentrate on the social effects. In the last days of the empire, then, one of the chief concepts of the Roman *res publica* in respect to the state ideology – that the state is administered, but not owned, by the emperor, who simply holds the supreme office in it – had been eroded. What the historian Ioannes Zonaras had complained about in the twelfth century regarding the government of the Komnenoi, that they regarded the state as their own household, had now taken full form.<sup>115</sup> The state was now reckoned – at least from below, as the case of Sphrantzes reveals, but undoubtedly from above as well – as the imperial household, and the state officials were its servants. In practical terms this approximates the feudal model of the vassal–lord relationship, although in Byzantium the final step, the institutionalisation of this relationship, was never undertaken.

## A Fragmented Society

In conclusion, Byzantine society was underdeveloped compared to many contemporary regions in Europe (such as Italy, Flanders, Germany or France)

<sup>113</sup> Sphrantzes, 32–6.

<sup>114</sup> Sphrantzes, 42 Philanthropenos happened to be a higher official (among others a *kephale*) in Mystras. Other cases of *ὀσπίτιον* with the meaning of state at pp. 82, 106, 108, 112, 140, 168.

<sup>115</sup> Ioannes Zonaras, *History*, 3: 766.

in regard to the typical set of communal associations outside the family. Urban and village communities, professional groups, institutions of social welfare (confraternities) based on common interests, were of little importance to the Byzantines.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, at the same time the Byzantines maintained a complex set of relations through the formation of social networks in the form of factions, patronage systems and lord–servant relations. However, none of these social networks privileged a notion of equality or the pursuit of a common interest. They were channels through which families or individuals asserted, or strove to protect, their position. Political factions especially very rarely had a specific policy or an abstract social-political orientation as their motivating force.

Late Byzantium was therefore a typical society in which patron–client relations proliferated. The first step towards recognising the importance of these relations was made by Weiss, who likened them to those found in the ancient Roman patronage system rather than assuming that they were connected to developments in contemporary Western Europe.<sup>117</sup> An important structural difference between Byzantine and ancient Roman systems was that in Byzantium patron–client relationships were not codified. Their creation and function did not follow certain legal rules and obligations and in great part they were not created following an official contract or an agreement between the two parties. They were unofficially and voluntarily formed, moved by self or mutual interest. They were also different from the *patronium*, which had evolved (voluntarily and involuntarily) in the early Byzantine period and involved the protection from taxes and other state obligations of socially weaker individuals. This kind of *patronium* had facilitated the emergence of armed retinues, especially in the countryside.<sup>118</sup> Armed retinues were still relevant in late Byzantium and were used to create an impression or as a pressure group, but they were structurally different, since they were reciprocal associations focusing on the various services provided by their inferiors, as explained above, on the one hand, and the support or even maintenance provided by somebody powerful on the other. In the Byzantine case, the bond between the superior and inferior parties was unofficial, voluntary and not necessarily permanent (though still personal), and as such should not be likened to the Western vassalage system. Furthermore, although these retinues were used in war

<sup>116</sup> A similar approach focusing on the importance of the relations developed between the large families in the social and political life of late medieval northern Italy has been adopted by Heers, *Family clans*.

<sup>117</sup> Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, 138–55.

<sup>118</sup> Tinnefeld, *Frühbyzantinische Gesellschaft*, 36–44.

time, they never replaced or evolved into a standing army or constituted a major proportion in numbers in relation to the latter.

Societies characterised by patron–client relations existed in different forms throughout the history of the Mediterranean. Patron–client relations are solid and involve a large degree of personal honour and obligation, and a spiritual attachment between the two parties; these bonds are structured vertically, they are voluntary and not legally defined. More importantly, patronage links undermine the horizontal solidarity of lower groups in society, including social organisation based on class, stratum, community or country, although it is also possible to identify an analogous trend in the upper strata (i.e. the patrons). In these societies there are no crucial differences between centre and periphery and only few links exist between these two. These links – taxation, administration of law, maintenance of peace, cultural and religious links – are maintained through existing local kinships and through semi-hereditary bureaucracies. Moreover, many of these societies, as was the case with Byzantine society, are characterised by the existence of highly elaborated hierarchies of rank and position.<sup>119</sup>

Several incidents in late Byzantine history demonstrate this lack of social group solidarity. During the 1320s, many of the elite – especially the younger ones – and soldiers, perhaps dissatisfied with the strict fiscal policy of Andronikos II and his political failures but, perhaps even more, feeling entitled to posts and offices that were not easily accessible to them, supported Andronikos III. Whereas I believe that political opportunism was the main criterion for the support of Andronikos III, we should not reject the possibility that simple soldiers and their officers were dissatisfied with the harsh taxation policy of Andronikos II.<sup>120</sup> There were a few incidents, such as the attempt by soldiers to mistreat Andronikos II's envoys who had come to ask for peace (albeit the decisive intervention of Andronikos III prevented them), which suggest that the soldiers were those who did not want any compromise settlement to the war.<sup>121</sup> But such incidents were most likely exaggerated by Kantakouzenos; the motif of the 'just man', who is forced to act by his more 'zealous' associates, is recurrent in his *Histories*.

<sup>119</sup> Eisenstadt and Roniger, 'Patron–client relations', who include an exhaustive world-wide comparative scholarly literature on the topic of patron–client relations.

<sup>120</sup> Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 9–52. Kyritses, 'Byzantine aristocracy', 334–50 views the war as simply a fight between two opposing aristocratic factions that strove for power and offices. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 46–9, thinks that this was a continuation of a similar opposition in the late thirteenth century Asia Minor, culminating in the support of the rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos. See also Kyrris, *To Βυζάντιον τον ΙΔ' αιώνα*, 21 and 29–33.

<sup>121</sup> Kant., 1:94–5 and 102.

The faction of Andronikos III eventually won in 1328 and his immediate associates came to power but, apart from dismissing the *mesazōn* Theodoros Metochites and confiscating his property, there were no other reported confiscations or concerted measures against his opponents; even the sons of Metochites soon received powerful posts once more.<sup>122</sup> Documentary evidence actually suggests that some soldiers, despite Andronikos II's favourable treatment of the higher elite and the monasteries, preferred to continue supporting that emperor. In Zichna, the monastery of Prodromos received, via the intervention of Simonis, the sister of Andronikos II, the village of Monospeton, which had belonged to the *oikonomia* of a soldier called Nikephoros Martinos before the first civil war. Martinos resisted the claim, but in 1325 this decision was confirmed and Martinos received part of a confiscated *oikonomia* as compensation. Still Martinos, in the ensuing second phase of the civil war (1327–8), supported the side of Andronikos II, and thanks to the intervention of the despot Konstantinos Palaiologos (a supporter of his father, Andronikos II) received Monospeton back. At the same time, Ioakeim, the bishop of Zichna and abbot of the monastery of Prodromos – thus one of those supposedly treated well by Andronikos II – proved a staunch supporter of Andronikos III. Once Andronikos III marched to Macedonia, occupying Zichna and subsequently Thessalonike, and forced the despot to become a monk, he had Monospeton once more confiscated in favour of the monastery in August 1327. Ioakeim, in addition to the other privileges that his monastery received, had his see elevated from a bishopric into a metropolis.<sup>123</sup> The soldiers in general may have been resentful of the treatment of the higher elite by the imperial government, and the ecclesiastical elite may have been satisfied by their benefits, but this was not, at the level of individuals, always translated into common action.

The most important 'social conflict', as viewed in older historiography, was the second civil war between the regency and Ioannes Kantakouzenos (1341–54). The regency was thought to be supported by the bureaucracy, the middle classes and the people, while Kantakouzenos represented the interests of the landed aristocracy. However, this schema, which a priori identified a struggle between the landed aristocracy on the one hand and the bureaucracy and the urban elite on the other hand, has been thoroughly deconstructed based on evidence. It now seems that the conflict

<sup>122</sup> Right after the end of the civil war, Demetrios Metochites was attested as governor in Serres (*Acts Prodromou* (B), 222 [no. 131]), his brother Alexios had considerable property in Macedonia and was governor of Thessalonike during the second civil war, and the third brother Nikephoros held the office of *mezas logothetēs* by 1355.

<sup>123</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 372–3 (no. 189) and 401–8 (nos 207–9).



represented rather a struggle between the faction of Kantakouzenos, who claimed the throne, and the faction of the regency, led by the empress-mother Anna and Alexios Apokaukos, who were protecting the rights of the minor Ioannes V. In some cases, though, the desire of the local elites (in Thessaly and Thessalonike, for instance) for more autonomy played a cardinal role in their choice of camp and the successful incitement of the people against *only* the 'elite supporters' of Kantakouzenos, on the grounds of Kantakouzenos' illegitimacy and his subsequent excommunication, also proved an important factor for the regency in controlling various cities.<sup>124</sup>

The bureaucracy and the military elite were not in a competitive struggle. As observed above, their wealth originated from the same sources: land, imperial privileges and urban property. Besides, the families of the civil elite who experienced social ascent – such as the Metochites, Choumnos and Apokaukos families – and controlled the upper governmental posts started behaving like the rest of the higher aristocracy, by also assuming military offices and intermarrying with their new peers. More importantly, as we shall see in the next chapter, both the military and the civil elite were inextricably bound to the state through the distribution of offices and titles, which were sources of wealth, political power and social prestige, and through the most important source of wealth for the elite, the *oikonomiai*. There was similarly no struggle between the landed and the rising urban elites. This urban elite emerged only when there was a general recession in the second half of the fourteenth century, especially affecting families whose wealth was primarily landed. They did not come to form a distinct group within the elite, since first, many families of the old elite whose wealth was primarily landed turned to a greater degree towards urban activities, and, second, those families that experienced social ascent through trade, either from the ranks of the middle classes to the lesser elite or from the lesser elite to the higher aristocracy (such as Goudeles and Notaras), now sought lucrative offices in the state hierarchy and to intermarry with the members of the traditional higher aristocracy, in the same way that the civil elite acted previously. As such, quite quickly all these groups in Constantinople were assimilated into a single patriciate with similar interests and sources of wealth. They do not seem to have tried collectively to pursue a different policy. Certainly, though, the connections they may have possessed, for example with the Genoese, might have dictated their allegiance to Andronikos IV and Ioannes VII in the 1370s to 1390s. They did not lead them to pursue a different social or economic orientation of the state; these connections just served their factional needs.

<sup>124</sup> Malatras, 'Social aspects.'

This trend should not be understood as an absence of any other larger grouping or collective action outside factions, especially in cases where certain policies targeted specific groups. During the Arsenite schism, the frontier soldiers of Asia Minor and the local elite were dissatisfied with the government because of their poor treatment, resulting from the state's attention turning to the European provinces and the transfer of the centre of power from Asia Minor to Constantinople. On account of these groups' association with the Arsenite and the pro-Laskarid faction, Michael VIII distrusted them and overtaxed them. As a result, the *akritai*, the frontier troops, started joining the Turks who raided the borderland or simply abandoned their land altogether.<sup>125</sup> This dissatisfaction was expressed again, several years later, in the rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos (1295/6). This time unrest was aggravated by the inability of the emperor to provide the local soldiers with their wages promptly or meet their demands for a greater share of the booty that had been acquired during the victorious campaigns of Philanthropenos.<sup>126</sup> In a rural milieu, peasants of specific villages could oppose or try to renegotiate their lords' demands, as we saw earlier.<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, these few rare instances cannot alter the overall picture.

In the end Kazhdan was mistaken. His reading about feudal Western Europe in the 1950s–70s accustomed him to social categories such as urban and village communities, guilds and so on, and he did not acknowledge the manifold relations that the chief component of Byzantine society, the nuclear family, had established around it and based on it. Kazhdan's theory of individuality does not fully describe Byzantine society. It was a society replete with social networks that complemented the nuclear family in its strictest sense. Nevertheless, these networks were 'individual' in themselves, by the mere fact that they were usually a means to individual political power or social ascent through service to, or patronage of, an influential person. As a result, these networks proved a powerful impediment to the creation of a collective sense of affinity to a social group or of common solidarity, in the form of either a community or a social class.

<sup>125</sup> Pach., 1:291–3.

<sup>126</sup> See Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and Turks*, 264–9; Laiou, *Andronikos II*, 80–2.

<sup>127</sup> See p. 75–6.

## 5

# Social Power

Apart from forming social networks and extended households, the Byzantine elite maintained its position by two other means: wealth and political power. Neither of these was a prerequisite for achieving the other, but the two usually were interconnected. It was difficult to achieve and maintain political power for the next generation without a strong material basis, and a strong material basis was an easy means for attaining political power.

In the following discussion we examine the degree of control the elite had over the economic resources of the empire and the contribution of different sources of wealth to its income. For the latter, our information is mostly fragmentary. Few testaments have survived and still these do not fully inform us regarding the property of the testator. For the testator has often previously sold, or given as dowry to his children (both male and female) part of his property before drafting the testament, and he does not include properties that were given him conditionally (such as a *pro-noia* from the emperor). We examine two such cases, involving Ioannes Sgouros Orestes and Konstantinos Pankalos. Regarding the control of economic resources, we have much more information about the situation in the countryside than for the towns, since most of our data comes from the Athonite archives. We get occasional glimpses of the value of the different economic assets controlled by the elite, but we learn hardly anything about the wages or other forms of income of the middle and lower classes; barely any testaments or property inventories of humbler folk survive and we lack any tax registers for the towns, unlike the countryside. Information on the rural properties of both landlords and peasants is markedly better. In this case one can calculate the control of the landlord and each member of village society of the available resources and the magnitude of inequality, while, with a model based on a few reasonable assumptions, one can even calculate the expected income of the peasants and their standards of living, as has been done for the case study in the village of Prebista in c. 1300. Our

data from the tax registers in the fifteenth century are less detailed; however, one can still estimate the level of general inequality among peasants and compare it with the earlier situation.

### The Basis of Economic Power

Apart from sporadic references to rents from houses or workshops, it is not easy to estimate real estate's contribution to the wealth of the elite. Documentary evidence suggests that a great part of any town's area was controlled by the elite, but at the same time there were still many non-elite real estate owners.<sup>1</sup> In the early fourteenth century, Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa owned some house complexes, a church and a bathhouse, which cost 4,000 *hyperpyra*, a substantial sum. These were bought by the daughter of the emperor Michael VIII, Maria Palaiologina (or 'Mary of the Mongols', since she married Abaqa Khan of the Ilkhanate, r. 1265–82), who intended to transform them into a nunnery. She bequeathed to the nunnery two bakeries, two vineyards and sixty houses in Constantinople that collectively produced an annual income of 300 *hyperpyra*.<sup>2</sup> The monastery of Lavra possessed around the same period a considerable amount of real estate in Constantinople: 36 houses, 10 shops and 20 exchange tables. These produced an income of 700 *hyperpyra* from rent, comparable to the income the same monastery gained from its wealthiest village, Doxompo. In fact the monastery invested in these properties to make them more productive: some houses were enlarged to become two-storeyed, three vegetable stores were transformed into two perfume stores and a grocery, another perfume store was created from a house and, finally, two other houses were newly constructed.<sup>3</sup>

Moveable wealth consisted of gold coins, precious garments, books, jewellery and other luxury goods. This form of wealth should not be underestimated. A single belt could be as expensive as 300 *nomismata*, a fortune in itself;<sup>4</sup> a holy icon as much as 1,000 *hyperpyra*,<sup>5</sup> a pair of earrings, much

<sup>1</sup> Matschke, 'Grund- und Hauseigentum'.

<sup>2</sup> PR III, 68 (no. 184: 1351). The buildings sold by Akropolitissa were only a part of the buildings bequeathed by Maria Palaiologina.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 24–5 (no. 123: 1342). An average rent of about 10 *nomismata* per structure is probably misleading; not only would every structure have to pay proportionally to its size, but there might also have been different rates for an exchange table, a shop and a house.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 318 (no. 124: 1366).

<sup>5</sup> Ganchou, 'Ultime testament', 346.

smaller in size, could cost 36 *hyperpyra*.<sup>6</sup> Jewellery and clothing remained, as always, a statement of wealth; an individual derived social prestige from his luxurious lifestyle. The amount of gold that a person could possess in some cases could be extremely high. The rich tax official Patrikiotes was able to donate to the public treasury 100,000 *nomismata* and another 40,000 *nomismata* in mobile wealth (jewellery and furniture).<sup>7</sup> Large quantities of gold were deposited in the houses of Kantakouzenos and of Theodoros Metochites.<sup>8</sup> Before the establishment of banks, precious items were a compact way to store wealth. There is little surviving evidence that would allow us to estimate how much of the total property of a person was held as mobile wealth, but it has been suggested that it represented only a small fraction of the total property of a member of the elite in most cases.<sup>9</sup> The dowry of Maria Deblitzene consisted of real estate, a vineyard, moveable goods and money, the total value of which was estimated at 1,584 *hyperpyra*, of which about a third, 500 *hyperpyra*, was cash.<sup>10</sup> But women's dowries often consisted much more of moveable goods and money than estates.

From early on, members of the Byzantine elite were engaged in trade. Traditionally, it has been claimed that the Byzantine elite turned to trade activities after the loss of their landed properties in the third quarter of the fourteenth century owing to the Serbian and, subsequently, the Ottoman conquests. Fortunately, over the past few years there has been a tendency to reassess the role of the elite in trade in the period before the loss of their lands. Our picture is influenced by the nature of our main sources, the Italian archives, which are not only biased by the very fact that they would only mention those Byzantines who cooperated with the Italians, but also quite limited, especially before the fifteenth century. In fact, most of the names of Byzantine aristocrats involved with trade come from a single source, the account book of Giacomo Badoer.<sup>11</sup>

The activities of Kasandrenos are recorded in his account book from the years 1355–7 in Thessalonike. Kasandrenos, a member of a Thessalonian civil elite family, was active in money lending, and especially in trade activities.<sup>12</sup> He was selling grain, barley, wine, resin, textiles and cotton,

<sup>6</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* III, 80 (no. 162: 1380).

<sup>7</sup> Kant., 2:62.

<sup>8</sup> Kant., 2:165 and Greg., 1:425–6, respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Morrisson, 'Byzantine money', 939–40.

<sup>10</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 263–5 (no. 49: 1384).

<sup>11</sup> Jacoby, 'Byzantine social elite'; Gerolymatou, 'Aristocratie et commerce'; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 160–201.

<sup>12</sup> Schreiner, *Texte*, 82.

all of which he was buying from either other merchants or local producers, who were either peasants or large landowners.<sup>13</sup> He had also formed a partnership with his brother and another man named Doukopoulos. Doukopoulos was a member of a family from the military elite of Thessalonike, and was a kind of public contractor. He reports that he spent 150 *hyperpyra* on 'jobs for the *archontes*' and received back payment in kind and that later he spent further money on a construction project.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that Kasandrenos is the (by then deceased) homonymous 'goldsmith', attested about twenty years later, who had loaned 80 *hyperpyra* to the father of Manuel Deblitzenos, having accepted as mortgage two perfume shops in Thessalonike.<sup>15</sup>

In the city-port of Monembasia there was a traditional connection of the elite with trade activities. Throughout the Palaiologan period, families of a Monembasiot background such as Sophianos, Notaras, Mamonas and Eudaimonoioannes, were engaged in trade activities. Some of them, like Notaras and Sophianos, found their way to Constantinople. By the end of the fourteenth century, many more members of the elite, including the emperor himself, were active in trade.<sup>16</sup>

Titles and offices were not only a means to political power and social prestige but also to wealth. The individual gained authority, which he could exercise for his own benefit. For example, a governor had certain rights on his administrative district from which he assured his own financial gain. He could, for example, buy grain at favourable prices (the so-called privilege of *mitaton*).<sup>17</sup> The benefits of office holding were well recognised by this elite. Demetrios Kydones says that, thanks to his office of *mesazōn*, he was able to purchase houses and fields, to become a creditor to merchants, thus receiving the interest, to trade his positive influence on the emperor to people who were petitioning the latter, to reserve access to state resources for his relatives and to achieve offices for his friends.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Schreiner, *Texte*, 86.

<sup>14</sup> Schreiner, *Texte*, 88. Georgios Doukopoulos was *myrtaitēs*, and had at least one *paroikos* in Chalkidike, several landholdings and part of a mill, which he donated to the monastery of Docheiariou: *Acts Docheiariou*, 118–19 (no. 11: 1311). The *paidopoulo* Petros Doukopoulos was contemporary with him (see Chapter 4, note 111).

<sup>15</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* III, 80 (no. 162: 1380). Although the document mentions him as χρυσοχόος, most likely he was a creditor.

<sup>16</sup> See in more detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>17</sup> See also Matschke, 'Notes on economic establishment', for the 'benefits' of a governor. The rights of the *kephalē* on the *mitaton* are specifically referred in the chrysobull of Andronikos II for Ioannina in 1319: MM V, 83 (no. 3.1: 1319).

<sup>18</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Oration to Ioannes V Palaiologos*, 21.

The real power and perhaps the abuse of authority is reflected in the holding of properties by governors in their former provinces of jurisdiction, although this practice was made illegal since the early Byzantine period. Ergo, Nikephoros Choumnos, who served as governor of Thessalonike in 1309–10, reports later that he owned some houses in the city, which he tried to protect from the abuses of the new governor, Ioannes Palaiologos.<sup>19</sup> Many were ready to buy an office of *kephalē*. Syrgiannes and Kantakouzenos bought the administration of areas in Thrace, as Ioannes Batatzes did for Thessalonike.<sup>20</sup> The purchase of an office of *kephalē* did not always prove profitable. Ioannes Batatzes was soon replaced by the son of Alexios Apokaukos and was unable to refund the full sum of the money he had paid. Still later, shortly before 1400, a certain Palaiologos had bought the office of *kephalē* of an unspecified city, but made a loss and was in danger of imprisonment for his debts to the emperor.<sup>21</sup>

Even more lucrative proved to be the tax assessors' posts in late Byzantium. It is not surprising then that many people, even in the Palaiologan period, sought to pay in order to assume an office, as Pachymeres testifies.<sup>22</sup> Tax farming was widely practised in Byzantium and in the eleventh century the elite, including the military elite, already engaged in this activity.<sup>23</sup> Details of the income provided by these positions is almost completely lacking, especially in cases of abuse of authority. Some, such as Theodoros Patrikiotes, Ioannes Batatzes and Alexios Apokaukos, were able to thoroughly enrich themselves. One indication of the amount of money they could earn, without abusing their authority and extracting more money for their benefit, is seen in the case of Demetrios Boullotes, an *oikeios* of Manuel II, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, who assumed curatorship of the fiscal rights of the Athonite monasteries in Macedonia for 500 *hyperpyra* annually; his sub-official, who assumed the responsibility of collecting the poll tax (*charatzin*) for the state, would be paid 200 *hyperpyra*, and Boullotes' son and a cousin, also employed under him, would each be paid 100 *hyperpyra*.<sup>24</sup>

Power had two sides in the political system of Byzantium: on the one side, a member of the elite strove to defend his position by securing offices for himself and, on the other side, the emperor strove to ensure political

<sup>19</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, nos 24–5, ed. Boissonade, 29–32.

<sup>20</sup> Greg., 1:302 and 2:741.

<sup>21</sup> MM II, 362 (no. 557: 1400).

<sup>22</sup> Pach., 3:235.

<sup>23</sup> Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, ed. Litavrin, 196 (= ed. Spadaro, 138–40).

<sup>24</sup> Batopedinos, 'Ἄγιορείτικα ἀνάλεκτα', 449–52 (= *Acts Vatopedi* III, 198–9 [no. 191: 1404]). The document should be dated September 1404. The poll tax was divided between the monasteries and the state, which was receiving one-third of this tax.

allegiance through the granting of immunities and incomes, which usually came in the form of an *oikonomia*, a donation of the revenues from a certain source, in most cases land and taxes from *paroikoi*.

The assumption of an office or a title assured also a large wage, which in some cases could exceed the revenue from the appointee's own landed property.<sup>25</sup> There are occasional reports of salaries for some lower court and administrative employees,<sup>26</sup> yet these reports do not cover the annual salary that a title-holder would normally expect. Most probably the higher-ranking officials were salaried with the granting of an *oikonomia*, which would correspond to their title, as had already happened during the Komnenian era.<sup>27</sup> Kantakouzenos suggests this possibility when he recounts that Sphrantzes Palaiologos was awarded the title of *meGas stratopedarchēs* and 'the equivalent annual revenues from villages.'<sup>28</sup> Pachymeres too confirms that the higher officials held normally *pronoiai*. He says that early in his reign Michael VIII enlarged the *pronoiai* held by the senators and made the *pronoiai* and all other payment for the soldiers heritable to their children.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the value of these *oikonomiai* could fluctuate from a few *nomismata* to hundreds. The *oikonomia* held by the *meGas domestikos* Alexios Komnenos Raoul in Prebista had a *posotēs* of 300 *nomismata*. But Alexios Komnenos Raoul was not an ordinary man; he was a son-in-law of the emperor Andronikos II.<sup>30</sup> Other *oikonomiai*, especially those held by lesser soldiers, could yield as few as 10 *nomismata*.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cheynet, 'Fortune et puissance'; Haldon, 'Social élites', 193–5; Lemerle, 'Roga'; Oikonomides, 'Title and income'.

<sup>26</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 186–7. Their salary was paid by the *meGas logariastēs*.

<sup>27</sup> Oikonomides, 'Title and income', 210–13.

<sup>28</sup> Kant., 1:457: προσόδους τε παρέσχεν ἐτησίους ἐκ χωρίων ἀναλόγως.

<sup>29</sup> Pach., 1:139. Unlike Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité*, 94–5), who believed that Pachymeres referred to a few exceptional cases of higher aristocrats holding a *pronoia* (since for him the principle was that *pronoiai* were to be a purely military holding and the passage uses the same word for both the senators and the soldiers), I believe that the passage suggests that the possession of a *pronoia* by senators was the norm. Moreover, there is no word about heredity of the *pronoiai* held by senators, unlike those of the soldiers, which enforces the idea that they were normally paid for their title through a grant of a *pronoia*, which was annulled after their death.

<sup>30</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 216 (no. 19: before 1303). For the *pronoia*, see Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, who does not discuss the possibility that the title holders were awarded with *pronoiai* as a payment of their *roga*. Evidence is scant, but it is a possibility, in view of the absence of references to a *roga* in the late period. See Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 275–318 for a similar view. The divergence between the *oikonomiai* of soldiers and the higher aristocrats, which Bartusis attributed to the high social status and connections or membership to the imperial family of the higher aristocrats, might be caused by the possession of a higher court title, which would subsequently require a higher *roga*.

<sup>31</sup> See pp. 124–6.



The *posotēs* of an *oikonomia* represented only a fraction of its real income. This *posotēs* included the sum of the taxes from the properties of certain *paroikoi* (land and animals), additional supplementary charges and taxes on the *paroikoi*, and the *supposed* tax on the demesne land, which is the tax that this property would have to pay to the state before the attribution of its tax to the beneficiary. The revenue of the latter corresponded to a much larger sum than the nominal income from the tax, as is evident, since the demesne land would be rented out to peasants or exploited through *corvées* or wage labour. Revenues from rented land amounted to around four times more than the actual tax on it. In villages, then, where peasants owned minimal land, the revenues of the landlord would be proportionally much higher than the supposed *posotēs*.<sup>32</sup>

In its initial form the *oikonomia* was a special donation to a recipient, after whose death it reverted to the state. However, during the Palaiologan period, many of the *oikonomiai* seemingly became transmissible to the heir.<sup>33</sup> In a chrysobull to Ioannes Sgouros Orestes from Melenikon, granting him part of his *oikonomia* as patrimonial property, the emperor states that he has the right to transmit this property to his son and the latter's immediate heirs, but if he dies childless, it should be transmitted to his wife, and when she dies it would revert to the state. The remaining part of the *oikonomia* that was not converted into patrimonial property, in contrast, could only be transmitted to his son or it would revert to the state directly.<sup>34</sup> The right of the transmission of an *oikonomia*, even if the practice diffused, did not become the norm. This can be inferred by the constant petitions by members of the elite for the emperor to transform part of their *oikonomiai* into patrimonial property, such as in the case of Orestes above. The situation is not at all clear, but what is certain is that the state retained authority in the redistribution of *oikonomiai*. Redistribution could take place even when there was no confiscation on grounds of someone falling into disfavour. The new recipient of the *oikonomia* obviously had a more powerful patron, whose petitions held more weight with the imperial administration. Thereupon, despite his constant remonstrations, the *oikonomia* of the soldier Nikephoros Martinos was assigned to the monastery of Prodromos in Serres. The state eventually assigned to Martinos the *oikonomia* of another soldier, the deceased Romaios, which was hitherto held by the latter's wife.<sup>35</sup> The cases of revocation of *oikonomiai* are quite fre-

<sup>32</sup> Laiou, 'Agrarian economy', 348–50.

<sup>33</sup> Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 274–82.

<sup>34</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 303 (no. 53: 1321).

<sup>35</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 404–5 (no. 208). Still, Martinos was quite unhappy with this turn of affairs.

quent regardless of the status of those affected: whether they were a higher aristocrat, a monastery or a soldier.<sup>36</sup>

In the countryside the material basis of the elite consisted also of their personal property, which could include land, domestic animals and herds, and houses or other buildings. It was in their interest to maintain a large personal property to avoid future setbacks for their heirs. Kyritses has asserted that while the bulk of the wealth of the higher aristocracy consisted of *oikonomiai* granted by the emperor, the provincial elite had a greater proportion of land acquired personally either as inheritance or through sale.<sup>37</sup> This is in all probability true, as will be shown in the next chapter. Apart from the single award of an *oikonomia*, an individual had three other ways of extracting wealth from land through imperial favour: the granting of immunity on his personal property, the increase of his *oikonomia* or, most commonly, the transformation of a part or the whole of his *oikonomia* into personal property, as for the aforementioned Orestes. In order to accomplish this, he needed either to have access to the imperial court (personally or through his social network) or to take advantage of possible political upheavals. The abbot of Vatopedi asked the *megas stratopedarchēs* Georgios Synadenos Astras, who was then *apographeus* in Lemnos, to petition the emperor for the cancellation of a tax of 10 *nomismata* that the monastery paid, in exchange for ‘multiple benevolences in this life and the afterlife (by God)’.<sup>38</sup> The granting of these privileges was even more apparent during the civil wars. In Serres the former wife of the metropolitan of the city had received, before 1321, a piece of land of 500 *modioi* with tax immunity. A few months after the beginning of the civil war her sons apparently supported the old emperor. As a consequence their father, the metropolitan of Serres, asked for and received immunity for all the possessions of his sons as well.<sup>39</sup> The *oikeios* of Ioannes V, Ioannes Margarites, received immunity for his property during the second civil war.<sup>40</sup> Ioannes V, during his stay in Thessalonike (1350–2), awarded a number of *oikonomiai* not only to members of the local elite but also to the monasteries, perhaps in an attempt to build up support for his future plans to rule alone.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Smyrlis, ‘State, land’, 58–87.

<sup>37</sup> Kyritses, ‘Κράτος και αριστοκρατία’.

<sup>38</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 283 (no. 114: 1359).

<sup>39</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 59–60 (no. 10: 1321).

<sup>40</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 400–1 (no. 206).

<sup>41</sup> See for example the case of Georgios Katzaras: *Acts Docheiariou*, 188 (no. 27: 1351) and for the monastery of Lavra a property of 1,000 *modioi*: *Acts Lavra* III, 49 (no. 132: 1351).

Many members of the elite strove to increase the revenues from their property by making improvements. Among these one may note the construction of mills, watermills, walls and towers for the protection of the produce and the producers, and contracts of planting (*emphyteusis*), mostly of vineyards. Others strove to increase their property through the acquisition of more land. The mother of Kantakouzenos, Theodora, in the winter of 1337/8 bought many small plots of land, all neighbouring each other, in order to create a large estate.<sup>42</sup> A larger estate was of course easier to administer. For many aristocrats, like Kantakouzenos, herds and other domestic animals were a considerable source of wealth. The enumeration of his animals that were confiscated during the civil war has become a cliché for Byzantinists, though he no doubt exaggerated: 5,000 cows and oxen (as herd animals), 1,000 pairs of oxen (used for ploughing), 2,500 mares, 200 camels, 300 mules, 500 donkeys, 50,000 pigs and 70,000 sheep.<sup>43</sup> Theodoros Sarantenos too, whose case we saw in Chapter 3, possessed sizeable herds of livestock.

### *Structure of the properties of individual members of the elite*

There are few members of the elite for whom details about their personal property are preserved in the archives. Regrettably, we do not know the total value of their *oikonomia* for any of them, since it did not constitute part of their personal property that could be bequeathed. The *archontopoulos* Ioannes Sgouros Orestes is attested as holding an *oikonomia* in Melenikon. In 1321, in tandem with his brothers, he assured the subtraction of a small *posotēs* of 6 *nomismata* from their *oikonomia*, which would be transformed into patrimonial property. Two years later the full personal property of Ioannes Orestes was registered: four 'men' (*anthrōpoi*, i.e. *paroikoi*?) in the city of Melenikon, all of whom lived in houses that he personally owned; a manor (*kathedra*) with a yard and adjacent houses, fields of 130 *modioi* and another two *paroikoi* in the village of Radobisdin; another 282 *modioi* of land, and two vineyards totalling 25 *modioi*. All this property could produce a little income, not appropriate for a member of the elite, an *archontopoulos*. Apart from the houses and 130 *modioi* (out of the 412 *modioi* that he held in total) in Radobisdin, all the rest of his property had been converted from the *oikonomia* in 1321 and represented a *posotēs* of just 6 *nomismata*. Ergo, Orestes must have relied heavily on the remaining part of his *oikonomia* that had been awarded by the emperor but whose full amount is unknown (but because of his designation as *archontopoulos*

<sup>42</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 99–148 (no. 80: 1337–8).

<sup>43</sup> Kant., 2:185.

cannot have been negligible), and not on his personal property, especially before the conversion of these 6 *nomismata* to personal property.<sup>44</sup> The situation of the other Orestes brothers must have been similar, and this is perhaps the reason for their effort to establish a larger share of personal property, which would give them a degree of future security or allow the fulfilment of some family or pious obligations (a dowry or a donation).<sup>45</sup>

The case of Konstantinos Pankalos is different: he claims that he had acquired his property as a result of his own effort and the gratitude of the emperor. However, all the property that he lists in his testament was acquired through purchase. Since he had no heir, any *oikonomia* that he might have held would revert to the state upon his death, and hence it is highly possible that it is not detailed in the will for this reason. The list of his property is interesting: he has no *paroikoi*, yet he owns land of 1,050 *modioi*; vineyards with a total area of 14 *modioi*; 3 shops and 2 taverns; a large yard that includes a well and two house complexes (each one incorporating two smaller houses); one house with a wine press; nine more houses around Serres and one large house in the nearby village of Kosna; a church that he built and to which he dedicated ten other houses, two orchards and a vineyard that he planted. Apart from the properties attached to the church, the total value of all this property was 703 *hyperpyra*.<sup>46</sup>

### *Income inequality in the village of Prebista*

In order to draw a comparison of the material realities between the landlord and the *paroikoi*, as well as the level of economic inequality among peasants, we will attempt to analyse the village of Prebista in the lower Strymon valley. Detailed information about the socio-economic structures in the village is provided first by a Byzantine *praktikon* of c. 1300, which lists the Byzantine households and their members, their respective private properties (land and domestic animals), the tax owed for these properties to the landlord, the domanial properties in the village and some other supplementary taxes. The second source is two Ottoman tax registers in 1454/5 and 1478/9, which list the heads of the households in the village and the tithe (and/or its monetary value) on village production in total (not by individual household), allocated according to the different products (cereals, grape must, etc.). Unlike

<sup>44</sup> The rare designation *archontopoulos* seems in this period to mean simply a lesser *archon*; only rarely does the meaning of the 'son of an archon' apply (e.g. Pseudo-Kodinos, 271), as in Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, 7.7.1, eds Kambylis and Reinsch, 220.

<sup>45</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, nos 52 (1319/1320?) and 60 (1323).

<sup>46</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 51–3 and 330 (first name correction) (no. 8: 1313).

the Byzantine *praktikon*, then, the Ottoman registers allows us more insight into the type and quantity of commodities produced in the village, but they lack information on how these were allocated to individual households. Our focus here will be on the Byzantine period, using complementary evidence from the Ottoman tax registers.

Prebista (modern Palaiokomi) was a relatively large village during Byzantine times, in c. 1300 containing 63 families and a total population of 311 persons, an average of 4.93 members for each household (Table 3). Men are slightly more numerous than women and only 8 families were headed by a woman (13 per cent). Only 7 families (11 per cent) are attested across three generations simultaneously (that is the presence of both a grandfather/mother and a grandson/daughter), while non-adult members of the household (those registered as sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, grandsons) make up 39 per cent of the total population. Almost half of the households are extended horizontally by the presence of the spouses of the brother and/or sisters of the head of the family: 48 per cent (30) of families contain a son/daughter-in-law, 22 per cent (14) at least one of the latter's children (nephews/nieces), and another 13 per cent (8) contain the unmarried brothers/sisters of the head of the household. By 1454/5, the population of the village had more than doubled to 146 households (c. 686 persons) and, by 1478/9, to 158 households (c. 728 persons), becoming one of the largest villages in the valley.<sup>47</sup>

Prebista is in the southern part of the Strymon valley and at the foot of the northwestern edge of Mt Pangaion, near the now-dried lake of Achinos. The lower parts of the village (mainly arable land) still flood today, which is nonetheless beneficial for the fertility of the soil. A small creek passes through the village, while in its northern fringes a sparse forest grows (becoming denser the higher the ground) (see Figures 8–9). Prebista was a *pronoia* of Alexios Komnenos Raoul in c. 1297–1303, after whose death it passed to the Catalan *meas doux* Ferran Ximénes de Arenós in 1308; in around 1325 it was acquired by the monastery of Zographou.

The *praktikon* that we consider here is dated to not long before 1303, since the village is referred to as the *pronoia* of Alexios Komnenos Raoul.<sup>48</sup> The *posotēs* of the *oikonomia* amounted to 280 *nomismata* (i.e. the sum of

<sup>47</sup> Moustakas, 'Transition', 339. There were only 2 Muslim households in 1454/5, increasing to 7 by 1478/9. Its population in 1900 was composed of 1,330 Greeks and 275 Muslims and today (2021 census) is inhabited by 1,195 people.

<sup>48</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 216–22 (no. 19: before 1303); it was also published by Mavrommatis, ('Le pronoia d'Alexis Comnène', transcription at 213–19), who however did not know the Variant B, which completes some missing information especially towards the end of the document.

the taxes of the *paroikoi* and of the fiscal value of the domanial land) but, as just explained, the projected actual income of the landlord would be higher than the *posotēs*:

Base taxes of <i>paroikoi</i>	167.32	46.9%
Additional taxes on <i>paroikoi</i>	62.33	17.5%
Domanial land income	127.2	35.6%
TOTAL	356.85	<i>nomismata</i>

Most of the arable land in the village (two-thirds) was owned by the peasants (Table 4). The average holding was about 37 *modioi* and its Gini index (43 per cent) shows that it was unequally distributed to a significant degree.<sup>49</sup> Almost all peasants owned some vineyard, the total area of which was 221.33 *modioi*. The importance of viticulture in the economy of the village is also reflected in the Ottoman registers: the tithe on grapes in 1478/9 was 1,300 *metra*, equivalent to 6,500 *aspra* (c. 433 *hyperpyra*) and 13,325 modern litres, representing 33 per cent of the total revenues of the fiefholder and being 64 per cent greater than the income from cereals (4,285 *aspra*).<sup>50</sup> There were many walnut trees in the village too (118, of which 30 of them were domanial), but the fifteenth-century census suggests the existence of an equal number of other fruit trees. The trees did not produce significant income; the tithe on walnut trees in the 1478 census was only 140 *aspra* (one-fiftieth of the grape must tithe). Livestock though was important; most of the peasants owned 1 or 2 oxen (14 households owned none, 24 owned 1, and 25 owned a pair of oxen), some cows (15 owned no cow, 32 owned 1 or 2, 13 owned 3 or 4, and only 3 owned more than 4), some pigs (an average of about 3.5 per household) and many sheep as well, which are, however, much more unequally distributed, since their Gini index rises to 83 per cent (three-quarters of households owned none). The average tax was about 2.4 *nomismata* and proportionally well allocated; the inequality in the level of tax in Prebista is one of the lowest attested.

I have attempted to calculate the *potential* income of those peasants in accordance with their possessions, the supposed fertility of the crops and animals, and the average price of those goods in this period. In the past, Jacques Lefort attempted to estimate the income and the surplus of an average peasant, but based only on his land holdings (either fully private or fully rented). According to the estimates of Lefort, half first-quality land and half second-quality land would have a yield of 4.8 grains for 1 as seed and,

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 182 and note 303, for the Gini index.

<sup>50</sup> Moustakas, 'Transition', 345 (*TTD*-7: pp. 174, 179–80, 199–200, 208–9).

given the fertility of the soil in this area, I am happy to accept this figure.<sup>51</sup> The fifteenth-century tax registers may suggest production at an analogous level: in 1454/5 the tithe on cereals and related products was at 223 *kile* (19.5 tons or 1,524 *modioi*) or 4,888 *aspra* (349 *hyperpyra*) and since a tithe was 10 per cent of production, total production would have been 2,230 *kile* (195 tons or 15,240 *modioi*).<sup>52</sup> This output was sufficient to feed the village inhabitants even if we assume that the peasants consumed only cereals, while fourteenth-century production actually provided a huge surplus that obviously allowed the subsequent substantial population growth (234 per cent).<sup>53</sup> The landlord also possessed 1,300 *modioi* of land (plus 153 *modioi* from *exaleimmata*), which would be cultivated through either corvées or rent contracts. Since it is impossible to calculate the relation between these two forms, I will hypothesise that the peasants do their corvées on the domanial vineyards and garden (32 and 2 *modioi* respectively) and that the income they derive from unaccountable animals (pigs, poultry, etc.), or foraging and hunting activities, equals the loss of income through the corvées. I hypothesise, moreover, that domanial land is allocated according to the labour force each household possesses. I have counted this workforce as 1 for each ox, 0.4 for every adult man and 0.2 for every woman or child. Consequently, a family of 4 members will have a workforce of 1, equal to

<sup>51</sup> Lefort, 'Rural economy', 299–303. The total village grain production would be in the range of 11,601 *modioi*.

<sup>52</sup> Stojanovski, *Турски документи*, 312–15, 330–1 and 341–2. If the area of land is the same in the Ottoman period this gives us a yield of 6.3 grains to 1. But in this yield have been calculated all the products coming from land cultivation (grain, barley, millet, oats, lentils, beans, rye and vetch), some of which had a higher yield, while owing to the larger population more land may have been cleared or more intensely worked. Grain makes up two-thirds of the production, but is the most expensive product (25 *aspra* to 1 *kile*), except for the (few) beans (just 1 *kile*, which cost 40 *aspra*), followed by barley (20 per cent) and rye (12 per cent). The 1478/9 register, however, makes use of the Constantinople *kile* (equal to one-twentieth of a *mudd*): grain was priced at 5 *aspra* per *kile*. I have calculated the *kile* of 1454/5 as of the *kile* of Thessalonike equivalent to one-sixth of a *mudd* (= 513 kg), since the *kile* of grain then cost 25 *aspra*. The 1478/9 register shows a larger production of 490 *mudd* or 251 tons, without providing the monetary or the *kile* equivalent; grain now amounts to the three-quarters of the total cereal production. The population more than doubled in the Ottoman period. I would like to thank Associate Professor K. Moustakas for kindly providing me these unpublished data of *TTD-7* for the village of Prebista.

<sup>53</sup> The fourteenth-century population would need 6,723 *modioi* of grain (58 per cent of total production). The 1454/5 population would need 14,899 *modioi* of grain (98 per cent of total production) and the 1478/9 population would need 15,754 *modioi* (80 per cent of total production). These numbers should really be reduced according to a peasant's diet by 33–50 per cent.

1 ox, which roughly corresponds to Byzantine workforce calculations. The potential land cultivated has been estimated as just 30 *modioi* per 1 point of workforce (Table 6).<sup>54</sup> The calculation of the labour of each person in the household allows a better estimation of the total workforce of those non-average-sized households. Presumably a widow, possibly of an advanced age, could not have the same workforce as a household of ten persons and therefore less land would be allocated to her.

I have then deducted from the total workforce the private land each household already possessed. This leaves us with only an additional 85 *modioi* of land from households that did not have the workforce to cultivate their own land, such as Photeine, the daughter of Nikolaos Goudeles (no. 28), who lived alone, had no oxen and owned 50 *modioi* of land and 2 *modioi* of vineyards. In total there were then 1,538 *modioi* of land available to rent and these were allocated proportionally to each household, according to their potential to cultivate it, in addition to their private holdings. The income from land has been accounted according to the estimates of Lefort: that five-eighths of the land was cultivated (the remaining three-eighths was left each year to fallow), that grain cost one-twelfth of a *nomisma* per *modios* of grain, deducting too the production costs and the seed for the following year.<sup>55</sup> The resulting coefficient is 0.185 *nomisma* income per *modios* of private land and 0.13 per *modios* of rented land (if the landlord takes a third of the gross production).

The incomes from vineyards and animals (cows and sheep) are more difficult to calculate, but I have used as coefficient their average value in relation to land, for example a *modios* of vineyard costs about twenty times more in this period than a *modios* of arable land, so the coefficient for vineyards is at 3.6 (for cows 1.39 and for sheep 0.2). The income derived from animals should not be underestimated; a pre-modern cow, such as in mid-nineteenth century Greece, normally produced an average of 500 litres of milk or 50 kg cheese per year and 60 kg meat, which gives around 1,230 calories per day, without counting the value of the leather from her skin. From just two cows, a family of five would have about 25 per cent of its nutrition needs assured. An ox in this period in this area cost 4 *hyperpyra*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Laiou, 'Agrarian economy', 332–5.

<sup>55</sup> The average market price for grain goes as high as half a *hyperpyron* in this period (not considering cases of shortage), but I preferred to keep the low end, first to avoid optimism and second because the market price obviously differed from the price at which the producer sold their crop. For all average prices in this section please refer to Cheynet and Morrisson, 'Prices and wages'. For all Byzantine measurements used throughout the book please refer to Schilbach, *Metrologie*.

<sup>56</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 275, l. 54–6 (no. 25: 1320/5).



The results are very interesting (Table 5); vineyards prove to be a major source of wealth for the peasants, making up 43 per cent of their total income; in some cases this amounts to more than three-quarters of a household's income. This should be correlated with the information in the Ottoman registers, where the income from viticulture is 64 per cent greater than the income from cereals. In a few cases animals were an important source of wealth, too, such as for the widow Maria (no. 8) with no private land, 63 per cent of whose income was due to her two cows, or Mpezanos (no. 46), 55 per cent of whose income was due to his seventy sheep. The average gross income of the peasants was about 27 *nomismata*. A few peasants had a considerable income and six of them would have had more than 50 *nomismata* – the wealthiest one, Stanos (no. 34), has been calculated at 67 *nomismata* – which is larger than the income attested for smaller *pronoiai*-holders. On the other side, eight households would have a tiny income, of less than 10 *nomismata*. The inequality level at this stage is calculated at 29 per cent, but if one included the income of the landlord (as above, 356.85 *nomismata*) in the calculation, this would rise to 39 per cent.

Finally, I have attempted to calculate the cost of consumption in relation to income. Lefort calculated cereal consumption at 15.5 *modioi* per person per year, and thus overestimated the surplus of a peasant. This however would provide only about two-thirds of a person's needs in calories, which is in line with Lefort's calculations through land only and the income from it. However, since I am interested in calculating the total cost of consumption and because it is impossible to calculate the value and the contribution of other products to the diet of each person, I have increased this to the level of 25.9 *modioi* per adult man of a household every year (2,400 daily calories), 20.5 per adult woman (1,900 daily calories) and 17.2 per child (1,600 daily calories, appropriate for a child aged between 9 and 13) (Table 6). The results indicate that about five households would not have been able to meet their basic nutritional needs, such as Ioannes Pelekanos (no. 52) with four family members, or Kale (no. 63), living with her daughter and son-in-law, both households with no possessions (Table 7). After the calculation of the consumption and the tax expenses, the inequality level among peasants rises to 40 per cent; some peasants still have a large surplus, with six of them at more than 30 *nomismata* and the wealthiest of them, Stanos (no. 34), with a surplus of almost 50 *nomismata*. In fact, 40 per cent is a very high index, if we recall that we are speaking about inequality in a single village with definite resources, and not state-wide as with the Gini indexes of today. The tiny surpluses of most of the peasants did not allow sufficient capital for investments and the coverage of other costs, or the possibility of extraordinary tax charges from the state (such as the *mitaton*

for officials or soldiers) or the landlord, crop shortages, weather damages and pestilences. I believe that only those with a surplus of more than 15 *nomismata*, that is about one-quarter of all households, would be able to achieve relative financial security. If the population continued to increase in the first half of the fourteenth century, and unless there was an expansion of arable land through land clearance, there might have been increasing financial hardship. In fact, just two to three decades after this *praktikon* was drafted a good number of peasants from Prebista are attested to have been employed in fields in the nearby village of Loukobikeia.<sup>57</sup>

### *Income inequality in fifteenth-century Macedonia*

The Athonite archives have preserved some *praktika* that allow us to observe how the patterns of inequality in the Byzantine countryside evolved between the early fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries. These *praktika* feature some peculiarities. Unlike the detailed early fourteenth-century *praktika*, the later ones usually do not enumerate the belongings or the members of each household, except of its head. They only mention the tax due and its fiscal category: a pair of oxen (*zeugarion*), a single ox (*boïdion*), a cow (*argon*), undesignated (no bovines), and status as a widow. The amount of tax they paid by the early fifteenth century is significantly higher than the tax they owed in the early fourteenth century, therefore it makes sense to assume that the figure now contained all their dues, including the tithe on the land they cultivated. The average tax at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Gomatou and Drimosyrta was around 1 *hyperpyron*, while in Pinson slightly higher at 1.2 *hyperpyra* (Table 8).<sup>58</sup> The average tax in Gomatou in the *praktikon* of the fifteenth century was 5.7 *hyperpyra*, in Drimosyrta 7 *hyperpyra* and in Pinson 7.5 *hyperpyra*. The list reveals that the higher the peasant's fiscal category, the more tax he paid proportionally. The divergence in the amount of tax among households in the same fiscal category must correspond to their individual differences in land or vineyard possessions.

It is not safe to draw conclusions regarding householders' bovine possessions. Under normal conditions the number of male oxen in a village should correspond loosely with the number of cows. In our case, in the village of Pinson, for example, only a pair of oxen is registered compared to thirteen cows. The only village in our list where male and female bovines correspond is Gomatou, where seven oxen and eight cows are mentioned. It is strange that someone with oxen (a pair or a single) never owns a cow,

<sup>57</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 294–5 (no. 28: 1327).

<sup>58</sup> *Acts Lavra II*, 227–9, 241–4 and 251–8 (no. 109: 1321).

Table 3 Family structure in Prebista.

H#	Father	Husband	Brother	Son	Son-in-law	Nephew	Mother	Wife	Daughter	Sister	Daughter-in-law	Niece	Total male	Total female	Total
1	1			4							2		5	2	7
2	1	1						1	1				2	2	4
3				4	1			1	1				5	2	7
4	1	1	1	1				1	1		1		3	3	6
5	1	1	1	3				1	1		1		5	3	8
6	1	1	1	1		1		1					4	1	5
7	1	1		1	1			1	1		1		3	3	6
8								1	2				0	3	3
9	1		2			1		1			1		3	3	6
10	1					1				1			1	2	3
11	1	1	1					1	1		1	1	2	4	6
12	1	1	2			1		1			2		4	3	7
13	1			2				1					3	1	4
14	1	1	1	1	1	3		1	2	2	1	1	7	7	14
15	1	1	2	1			1	1	1				4	3	7
16	1	1	1					1		1			2	2	4
17	1			2				1	2				3	3	6

(Continued)

H#	Father	Husband	Brother	Son	Son-in-law	Nephew	Mother	Wife	Daughter	Sister	Daughter-in-law	Niece	Total male	Total female	Total
18	1	1	1	1	1			1	2		1		5	4	9
19		1		1				1		1			2	3	5
20		1		2				1	3				3	4	7
21		1							1				1	1	2
22				1				1			1		1	2	3
23		1		2				1					3	1	4
24		1	3								1	1	4	2	6
25		1		1				1	1				2	2	4
26		1						1	2				1	3	4
27				2				1			1		2	2	4
28								1					0	1	1
29		1	1	1			1		1		1		3	3	6
30		1						1		1			1	2	3
31		1				1		1	1		1		2	3	5
32		1	1				1						2	1	3
33		1			1			1		1			2	2	4
34		1			1			1	1	1		2	2	5	7
35		1		1				1	1				2	2	4

H#	Father	Husband	Brother	Son	Son-in-law	Nephew	Mother	Wife	Daughter	Sister	Daughter-in-law	Niece	Total male	Total female	Total
36	1	1	3	1		1		1			1		6	2	8
37	1	1		2	1			1	1		1		4	3	7
38	1	1		2				1	1				3	2	5
39	1	1	2					1					3	1	4
40				2				1	1				2	2	4
41	1	1		1				1					2	1	3
42	1	1		1					2				2	2	4
43	1	1		2	1			1		1			4	2	6
44	1	1	1	1				1			1		3	2	5
45	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1		4	4	8
46	1	1		1				1					3	1	4
47	1	1	1			2		1			1	1	4	3	7
48	1	1		2				1	1				3	2	5
49	1	1		2				1					3	1	4
50	1	1		2				1	1				3	2	5
51	1	1	1				1	1	1				2	3	5
52	1	1		1				1	1				2	2	4
53	1	1		1	1			1	1	1		1	3	4	7
54	1	1						1	2				1	3	4

(Continued)

H#	Father	Husband	Brother	Son	Son-in-law	Nephew	Mother	Wife	Daughter	Sister	Daughter-in-law	Niece	Total male	Total female	Total
55	1			2				1	1				3	2	5
56			1	1				1	1				2	2	4
57	1							1	2				1	3	4
58	1												1	0	1
59	1							1					1	1	2
60	1			1				1					2	1	3
61	1		1										2	0	2
62	1			1				1	1				2	2	4
63					1				1				1	2	3
T	2	55	28	60	12	9	6	54	45	11	22	7	166	145	311 <sup>a</sup>
FS <sup>b</sup>	3.2%	87.3%	31.7%	58.7%	19.0%	9.5%	9.5%	85.7%	55.5%	15.9%	31.7%	9.5%	53.4%	46.6%	100%

*Notes*

H: Household T: Total FS: family structure

<sup>a</sup> 1-2 members: 5 families (8%); 3-4 members: 27 families (43%); 5-6 members: 17 families (27%); 7-8 members: 12 families (19%); 9 or more members: 2 families (3%).

<sup>b</sup> Percentage of families with at least one member of this affinity.

Table 4 Peasant properties in Prebista.

H #	Head of household	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Trees	Tax (nom.)
		M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Sheep	Fields	Vineyards			
1	Modenos	5	2	7	2	3	4		83	6	1	4	
2	Georgios Blachos	2	2	4	1	2	16					1	
3	Kale (widow of Moschonas)	5	2	7	1	2	1		45	3	3	3	
4	Ioannes Pelekanos of Mpratkos	3	3	6	2	2	3	15	50	0.67	3	3	
5	Konstantinos Serbos	5	3	8	2	2	8	25	100	6.5	1	3	
6	Semanos Rapses of Strabomites	4	1	5	1	3	2		50	4	2	3	
7	Basileios Motzitzas	3	3	6	2	1	4		24	3.5		3	
8	Maria (widow of Krasobenos)	0	3	3		2	2					0.5	
9	Basileios of Makroioannes	3	3	6	2	3	6		35	3.5		3	
10	Chrysos	1	2	3	1		8		20	2		2	
11	Daniel	2	4	6	2		3		40	6	3	3	
12	Kristelas of Kakouses	4	3	7	2		4	40	70	3.5	2	3	
13	Photeinos of Philagres	3	1	4	2	1	15		30	3	6	3	
14	Merzanos	7	7	14	2	2	4	60	70	5.66	2	3	
15	Ioannes of Myrka ( <i>protogeros</i> )	4	3	7	1	3	4	25	50	3.5	4	2	
16	Xenos Boutcheas	2	2	4	1	2	2		36	3	2	2	
17	Ioannes Katotikos (son-in-law of Elene)	3	3	6	2	1	2	80	16	1.5		2	
18	Photeinos of Letzista	5	4	9	2	2	4		17	2.5	4	2.5	
19	Merzanos of Blacha	2	3	5	2	3	2	80	30	1		2.5	

(Continued)

H #	Head of household	Family members					Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Trees	Tax (nom.)
		M		F		T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Sheep	Fields	Vineyards		
		M	F	F	T									
20	Tomprilas Pelekanos	3	4	7				3			17	2.5	1	2.5
21	Ioannes Mpeleanos	1	1	2	1		1				35	2	2	2.5
22	Dragana (widow)	1	2	3				2			6	2	2	1
23	Stanos	3	1	4								1	1	0.66
24	Michael of Dendros	4	2	6	2	4			40		60	5.5	1	3.5
25	Georgios Boulgaros (priest)	2	2	4	1	1	1	2			30	2.5	1	2
26	Basileios Raptēs ( <i>gambros</i> of Leon Katotikios)	1	3	4	1	1	1	2			16	3		1.5
27	Maria Termouria (widow)	2	2	4	1	1			25		34	2.5		2
28	Photeine, daughter of Nikolaos Goudeles	0	1	1							50	2		2
29	Nikolaos of Zimkos	3	3	6	2	2	2	2			46	3		2
30	Theodoros of Photinos	1	2	3	2	2	2	2			58	5	3	2.5
31	Basileios of Therianos	2	3	5	1	2	2	2			40	3.5	1	3
32	Georgios son of Demetrios Goudeles	2	1	3	1	1	1	2			54	3		2
33	Basileios Raptēs Goudeles	2	2	4		2	2	2			54	3		2.5
34	Stanos, son of Leon	2	5	7	2	3	4	40			120	9	1	4
34a	Stlana	0	0	0				(ex.)			50	4	2	3
35	Borilas Onouphrios	2	2	4	1			50			24	1	1	1.5
35a	Leon Chalkeus	0	0	0				(ex.)				3		1
36	Georgios of Nikolaos	6	2	8	2	3	4	100			60	4		3.5



H #	Head of household	Family members			Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Trees	Tax (nom.)
		M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Sheep	Fields	Vineyards		
37	Georgios Strabomites	4	3	7	2	1	2		35	4		3
38	Michael Tzankares	3	2	5		1	2		9	4		2
39	Belkanos of Merzanos	3	1	4	1	4			20	3		2
40	Maria (widow of Eugenios)	2	2	4	1	2	2		30	3		2
41	Ioannes Eugenios	2	1	3	1	8	4		56	1.5	2	2.5
42	Basileios of papa-Momtzilas	2	2	4			4		35	3	1	2.5
43	Baskos of Elene	4	2	6	2	2	4		80	5.5	1	4
44	Ioannes Philematas (priest)	3	2	5	1	2			60	2	4	3.5
45	Draganos (son of Kobasares)	4	4	8	2	3	3		75	9	2	4
46	Mpezanos, son of Romptzos Sagmaras	3	1	4	1	3		70		0.5		1
47	Ioannes Gregoras	4	3	7	2	5	6		80	6	2	4.5
48	Tzernes	3	2	5	1	1	15		2	3.5	1	2.5
49	Alexios Kapiotes	3	1	4	1	1	2		55	1.5	1	2.5
50	Beltzinas of Mpanaros	3	2	5	2	3	8		55	3		3.5
51	Georgios of . . .	2	3	5	2	6	8	13	65	6	2	4
52	Ioannes Pelekanos the <i>kolobos</i>	2	2	4								0.5
53	Basileios Parissas	3	4	7	2	3	3		30	3		2.5
54	Georgios Tountinos	1	3	4	1	1	8	30	70	4	2	3
55	Ioannes Philagres	3	2	5	1	1	15		30	6	2	3
56	Maria (widow of Chrysonas)	2	2	4	1	1	4		50	3	2	2.5

(Continued)

H #	Head of household	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Trees	Tax (nom.)
		M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Sheep	Fields	Vineyards			
57	Slinas of Stanos	1	3	4	2	2	10		90	6	2	5	
57a	Konstantinos of <i>papas</i>	0	0	0		(ex.)			50	6		3	
58	Theodoros, son of Niketas Skylioannes	1	0	1					8			0.5	
58a	Georgios Marlentos	0	0	0		(ex.)			20	3		2	
59	Beltzanos, son-in-law of Myrka	1	1	2			30		2	2.5		1	
59a	<i>Papas</i> Konstantinos	0	0	0		(ex.)			25	4	5	3	
60	Konstantinos Branas ( <i>proskathēmenos</i> at Koutzi)	2	1	3						2 (?)		0.66	
60a	Theodoros of papos	0	0	0		(ex.)			8	3	2	1	
61	Pharantzenos ( <i>proskathēmenos</i> at . . .)	2	0	2					5	3	2	1.5	
62	Domprilas ( <i>proskathēmenos</i> at Panagia)	2	2	4	1	2	4	40		2	3	2	
62a	Popelchas	0	0	0		(ex.)					3	1	
63	Kale, daughter of Alexios Kampiotes	1	2	3								0.5	
<b>T</b>		<b>166</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>763</b>	<b>2,565</b>	<b>221.33</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>167.32</b>	
A		2.63	2.3	4.94	1.18	1.73	3.57	12.11	36.64	3.16	1.26	2.39	
G					35%	48%	53%	81%	43%	33%	58%	24%	
	Domaniel property									32		n/a	
	Additional landlord's incomes								1,300	2 ( <i>garden</i> )	30	48	
	<i>Ennomion</i> and <i>aēr</i> taxes											44.33	
	Fair of St Christophoros Mill											[c. 18?] 2	
									<b>3,865</b>	<b>255.33</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>280</b>	

Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total (ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary) A: Average G: Gini index

Table 5 Income breakdown in Prebista.

H	Income from ...				Contribution to total income of ...				Total	
	Owned land	Rented land	Vineyards	Cows	Sheep	Land	Vineyards	Cows		Sheep
1	15.36	2.31	21.60	4.17	0	41%	50%	10%	0%	43.44
2	0.00	6.10	0.00	2.78	0	69%	0%	31%	0%	8.88
3	8.33	3.05	10.80	2.78	0	46%	43%	11%	0%	24.95
4	9.25	5.36	2.41	2.78	3	64%	11%	12%	13%	22.80
5	18.50	1.85	23.40	2.78	5	39%	45%	5%	10%	51.53
6	9.25	2.03	14.40	4.17	0	38%	48%	14%	0%	29.85
7	4.44	7.76	12.60	1.39	0	47%	48%	5%	0%	26.19
8	0.00	1.66	0.00	2.78	0	37%	0%	63%	0%	4.44
9	6.48	7.30	12.60	4.17	0	45%	41%	14%	0%	30.54
10	3.70	3.14	7.20	0.00	0	49%	51%	0%	0%	14.04
11	7.40	6.28	21.60	0.00	0	39%	61%	0%	0%	35.28
12	12.95	4.62	12.60	0.00	8	46%	33%	0%	21%	38.17
13	5.55	5.54	10.80	1.39	0	48%	46%	6%	0%	23.28
14	12.95	8.50	20.38	2.78	12	38%	36%	5%	21%	56.61
15	9.25	3.70	12.60	4.17	5	37%	36%	12%	14%	34.72
16	6.66	2.77	10.80	2.78	0	41%	47%	12%	0%	23.01
17	2.96	7.95	5.40	1.39	16	32%	16%	4%	47%	33.70

(Continued)

H	Income from ...					Contribution to total income of ...					Total
	Owned land	Rented land	Vineyards	Cows	Sheep	Land	Vineyards	Cows	Sheep		
18	3.15	11.18	9.00	2.78	0	55%	34%	11%	0%	<b>26.11</b>	
19	5.55	6.10	3.60	4.17	16	33%	10%	12%	45%	<b>35.42</b>	
20	3.15	2.86	9.00	0.00	0	40%	60%	0%	0%	<b>15.01</b>	
21	6.48	1.20	7.20	1.39	0	47%	44%	9%	0%	<b>16.27</b>	
22	1.11	1.11	7.20	0.00	0	24%	76%	0%	0%	<b>9.42</b>	
23	0.00	2.77	3.60	0.00	0	44%	56%	0%	0%	<b>6.37</b>	
24	11.10	5.54	19.80	5.56	8	33%	40%	11%	16%	<b>50.00</b>	
25	5.55	2.77	9.00	1.39	0	44%	48%	7%	0%	<b>18.71</b>	
26	2.96	4.07	10.80	1.39	0	37%	56%	7%	0%	<b>19.22</b>	
27	6.29	1.85	9.00	1.39	5	35%	38%	6%	21%	<b>23.53</b>	
28	3.00	0.00	7.20	0.00	0	29%	71%	0%	0%	<b>10.20</b>	
29	8.51	5.73	10.80	2.78	0	51%	39%	10%	0%	<b>27.82</b>	
30	10.73	2.40	18.00	2.78	0	39%	53%	8%	0%	<b>33.91</b>	
31	7.40	2.40	12.60	2.78	0	39%	50%	11%	0%	<b>25.18</b>	
32	9.99	0.00	10.80	1.39	0	45%	49%	6%	0%	<b>22.18</b>	
33	7.74	0.00	10.80	2.78	0	36%	51%	13%	0%	<b>21.32</b>	
34	22.20	0.00	32.40	4.17	8	33%	49%	6%	12%	<b>66.77</b>	
35	4.44	3.33	3.60	0.00	10	36%	17%	0%	47%	<b>21.37</b>	

H	Income from ...				Contribution to total income of ...				Total	
	Owned land	Rented land	Vineyards	Cows	Sheep	Land	Vineyards	Cows		Sheep
36	11.10	6.65	14.40	4.17	20	32%	26%	7%	36%	<b>56.32</b>
37	6.48	7.30	14.40	1.39	0	47%	49%	5%	0%	<b>29.56</b>
38	1.67	2.49	14.40	1.39	0	21%	72%	7%	0%	<b>19.95</b>
39	3.70	4.80	10.80	5.56	0	34%	43%	22%	0%	<b>24.86</b>
40	5.55	2.22	10.80	2.78	0	36%	51%	13%	0%	<b>21.35</b>
41	10.36	0.00	5.40	11.12	0	39%	20%	41%	0%	<b>26.88</b>
42	6.48	0.00	10.80	0.00	0	37%	63%	0%	0%	<b>17.28</b>
43	14.80	2.59	19.80	2.78	0	44%	50%	7%	0%	<b>39.97</b>
44	11.10	1.11	7.20	2.78	0	55%	32%	13%	0%	<b>22.19</b>
45	13.88	4.71	32.40	4.17	0	34%	59%	8%	0%	<b>55.16</b>
46	0.00	5.54	1.80	4.17	14	22%	7%	16%	55%	<b>25.51</b>
47	14.80	3.14	21.60	6.95	0	39%	46%	15%	0%	<b>46.49</b>
48	0.37	5.91	12.60	1.39	0	31%	62%	7%	0%	<b>20.27</b>
49	10.18	0.00	5.40	1.39	0	60%	32%	8%	0%	<b>16.97</b>
50	10.18	3.79	10.80	4.17	0	48%	37%	14%	0%	<b>28.93</b>
51	12.03	3.42	21.60	8.34	2.6	32%	45%	17%	5%	<b>47.98</b>
52	0.00	2.77	0.00	0.00	0	100%	0%	0%	0%	<b>2.77</b>
53	5.55	7.76	10.80	4.17	0	47%	38%	15%	0%	<b>28.28</b>

(Continued)

H	Income from ...				Contribution to total income of ...				Total	
	Owned land	Rented land	Vineyards	Cows	Sheep	Land	Vineyards	Cows		Sheep
54	12.95	0.00	14.40	1.39	6	37%	41%	4%	17%	<b>34.74</b>
55	5.55	3.33	21.60	1.39	0	28%	68%	4%	0%	<b>31.87</b>
56	9.25	0.92	10.80	1.39	0	45%	48%	6%	0%	<b>22.36</b>
57	16.65	0.00	21.60	2.78	0	41%	53%	7%	0%	<b>41.03</b>
58	1.48	0.37	0.00	0.00	0	100%	0%	0%	0%	<b>1.85</b>
59	0.37	1.48	9.00	0.00	6	11%	53%	0%	36%	<b>16.85</b>
60	0.00	2.22	7.20	0.00	0	24%	76%	0%	0%	<b>9.42</b>
61	0.93	1.20	10.80	0.00	0	16%	84%	0%	0%	<b>12.93</b>
62	0.00	5.54	7.20	2.78	8	24%	31%	12%	34%	<b>23.52</b>
63	0.00	2.22	0.00	0.00	0	100%	0%	0%	0%	<b>2.22</b>
<b>T</b>	<b>446.22</b>	<b>214.74</b>	<b>721.19</b>	<b>151.51</b>	<b>152.6</b>					<b>1,677.76</b>
A	6.95	3.41	22.54	2.40	2.42	42%	42%	9%	7%	26.63

Notes

H: Household T: Total A: Average nom.: *nomismata*

Table 5 is based on several hypotheses: the peasants do not work outside their village; they do not have other sources of income or nutrition – such as smaller domestic animals such as hens – or fishing, hunting, grass or wild fruit collection from the several available pigs and trees in the village; no corvées have been calculated; no peasants from other villages work as waged workers; income from resources other than land has been calculated according to its average market value in relation to the land value. I may have underestimated the income from vineyards; one source suggests that it was more than double than the coefficient I used: *Acts Docheiarioti*, 263 (a vineyard of 14 *modioi* brought in produce valued at 144 *hyperpyra*). The productivity and quality of viticulture varies much more than the productivity of arable land.

Table 6 Hypothesis for rented land in Prebista.

	Adult men	Adult women	Children	Human workforce <sup>a</sup>	Total workforce <sup>b</sup>	Difference of land <sup>c</sup>	Rented land (in <i>modioi</i> ) <sup>d</sup>
1	1	2	4	1.6	3.6	25	16.5
2	2	1	1	1.2	2.2	66	43.56
3	1	1	5	1.6	2.6	33	21.78
4	2	2	2	1.6	3.6	58	38.28
5	2	2	4	2	4	20	13.2
6	2	1	2	1.4	2.4	22	14.52
7	2	2	2	1.6	3.6	84	55.44
8	0	1	2	0.6	0.6	18	11.88
9	3	3	0	1.8	3.8	79	52.14
10	1	2	0	0.8	1.8	34	22.44
11	2	2	2	1.6	3.6	68	44.88
12	3	3	1	2	4	50	33
13	1	1	2	1	3	60	39.6
14	3	4	7	3.4	5.4	92	60.72
15	3	2	2	2	3	40	26.4
16	2	2	0	1.2	2.2	30	19.8
17	1	1	4	1.4	3.4	86	56.76
18	4	2	3	2.6	4.6	121	79.86
19	1	3	1	1.2	3.2	66	43.56
20	1	1	5	1.6	1.6	31	20.46
21	1	0	1	0.6	1.6	13	8.58
22	0	2	1	0.6	0.6	12	7.92
23	1	1	2	1	1	30	19.8
24	4	1	1	2	4	60	39.6
25	1	1	2	1	2	30	19.8
26	1	1	2	1	2	44	29.04
27	0	2	2	0.8	1.8	20	13.2
28	0	1	0	0.2	0.2	-44	0
29	2	2	2	1.6	3.6	62	40.92
30	1	2	0	0.8	2.8	26	17.16
31	1	2	2	1.2	2.2	26	17.16

*(Continued)*

	Adult men	Adult women	Children	Human workforce <sup>a</sup>	Total workforce <sup>b</sup>	Difference of land <sup>c</sup>	Rented land (in <i>modioi</i> ) <sup>d</sup>
32	2	1	0	1	2	6	0
33	2	2	0	1.2	1.2	-18	0
34	2	2	3	1.8	3.8	-6	0
35	1	1	2	1	2	36	23.76
36	4	2	2	2.4	4.4	72	47.52
37	2	2	3	1.8	3.8	79	52.14
38	1	1	3	1.2	1.2	27	17.82
39	3	1	0	1.4	2.4	52	34.32
40	0	1	3	0.8	1.8	24	15.84
41	1	1	1	0.8	1.8	-2	0
42	1	0	3	1	1	-5	0
43	2	2	2	1.6	3.6	28	18.48
44	2	2	1	1.4	2.4	12	7.92
45	3	3	2	2.2	4.2	51	33.66
46	2	1	1	1	2	60	39.6
47	2	2	3	1.8	3.8	34	22.44
48	1	1	3	1.2	2.2	64	42.24
49	1	1	2	1	2	5	0
50	1	1	3	1.2	3.2	41	27.06
51	2	2	1	1.4	3.4	37	24.42
52	1	1	2	1	1	30	19.8
53	2	2	3	1.8	3.8	84	55.44
54	1	1	2	1	2	-10	0
55	1	1	3	1.2	2.2	36	23.76
56	1	1	2	1	2	10	6.6
57	1	1	2	1	3	0	0
58	1	0	0	0.4	0.4	4	2.64
59	1	1	0	0.6	0.6	16	10.56
60	1	1	1	0.8	0.8	24	15.84
61	1	0	1	0.6	0.6	13	8.58
62	1	1	2	1	2	60	39.6



	Adult men	Adult women	Children	Human workforce <sup>a</sup>	Total workforce <sup>b</sup>	Difference of land <sup>c</sup>	Rented land (in <i>modioi</i> ) <sup>d</sup>
63	1	1	1	0.8	0.8	24	15.84
<b>T</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>81.4</b>	<b>155.4</b>		<b>1,533.84</b>
A	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.29	2.47		24.34

## Notes

T: Total A: Average

<sup>a</sup> Adult male workforce: 0.4; adult female workforce: 0.2; child workforce: 0.2. Women form a smaller workforce because they are assumed to be occupied with everyday household tasks and with children's upbringing. Children in traditional rural societies worked over a certain age (six or seven years old).

<sup>b</sup>  $x$  = human workforce + number of oxen possessed.

<sup>c</sup>  $x$  = (workforce  $\times$  30 *modioi*) – private land. This is the difference between the land that can be potentially exploited by a household, according to the capability of its workforce, and the private land it currently owns.

<sup>d</sup>  $x$  = Difference of land  $\times$  0.66. The coefficient 0.66 can be calculated: Total available rented land (1,538 *modioi*) / Total difference of land (2,329 *modioi*), i.e. total unexploited workforce.

Table 7 Consumption and income (*nomismata*) in Prebista.

	Consumption			Total	Total tax <sup>a</sup>	Gross income	Income	
	Men	Women	Children				After consumption	After tax
1	2.16	3.42	5.72	11.30	5.16	43.44	32.14	26.98
2	4.32	1.71	1.43	7.46	1.29	8.88	1.42	0.13
3	2.16	1.71	7.15	11.02	3.87	24.95	13.93	10.06
4	4.32	3.42	2.86	10.60	3.87	22.80	12.20	8.33
5	4.32	3.42	5.72	13.46	3.87	51.53	38.07	34.20
6	4.32	1.71	2.86	8.89	3.87	29.85	20.96	17.09
7	4.32	3.42	2.86	10.60	3.87	26.19	15.59	11.72
8	0.00	1.71	2.86	4.57	0.65	4.44	-0.13	-0.77
9	6.48	5.13	0.00	11.61	3.87	30.54	18.93	15.06
10	2.16	3.42	0.00	5.58	2.58	14.04	8.46	5.88
11	4.32	3.42	2.86	10.60	3.87	35.28	24.68	20.81
12	6.48	5.13	1.43	13.04	3.87	38.17	25.13	21.26
13	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	3.87	23.28	16.55	12.68
14	6.48	6.84	10.01	23.33	3.87	56.61	33.28	29.41
15	6.48	3.42	2.86	12.76	2.58	34.72	21.96	19.38
16	4.32	3.42	0.00	7.74	2.58	23.01	15.27	12.69

(Continued)

	Consumption			Total	Total tax <sup>a</sup>	Gross income	Income	
	Men	Women	Children				After consumption	After tax
17	2.16	1.71	5.72	9.59	2.58	33.70	24.11	21.53
18	8.64	3.42	4.29	16.35	3.23	26.11	9.76	6.53
19	2.16	5.13	1.43	8.72	3.23	35.42	26.70	23.47
20	2.16	1.71	7.15	11.02	3.23	15.01	3.99	0.76
21	2.16	0.00	1.43	3.59	3.23	16.27	12.68	9.45
22	0.00	3.42	1.43	4.85	1.29	9.42	4.57	3.28
23	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	0.85	6.37	-0.36	-1.21
24	8.64	1.71	1.43	11.78	4.52	50.00	38.22	33.71
25	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	2.58	18.71	11.98	9.40
26	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	1.94	19.22	12.49	10.55
27	0.00	3.42	2.86	6.28	2.58	23.53	17.25	14.67
28	0.00	1.71	0.00	1.71	2.58	10.20	8.49	5.91
29	4.32	3.42	2.86	10.60	2.58	27.82	17.22	14.64
30	2.16	3.42	0.00	5.58	3.23	33.91	28.33	25.11
31	2.16	3.42	2.86	8.44	3.87	25.18	16.74	12.87
32	4.32	1.71	0.00	6.03	2.58	22.18	16.15	13.57
33	4.32	3.42	0.00	7.74	3.23	21.32	13.58	10.36
34	4.32	3.42	4.29	12.03	5.16	66.77	54.74	49.58
35	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	1.94	21.37	14.64	12.70
36	8.64	3.42	2.86	14.92	4.52	56.32	41.40	36.89
37	4.32	3.42	4.29	12.03	3.87	29.56	17.53	13.66
38	2.16	1.71	4.29	8.16	2.58	19.95	11.79	9.21
39	6.48	1.71	0.00	8.19	2.58	24.86	16.67	14.09
40	0.00	1.71	4.29	6.00	2.58	21.35	15.35	12.77
41	2.16	1.71	1.43	5.30	3.23	26.88	21.58	18.36
42	2.16	0.00	4.29	6.45	3.23	17.28	10.83	7.60
43	4.32	3.42	2.86	10.60	5.16	39.97	29.37	24.21
44	4.32	3.42	1.43	9.17	4.52	22.19	13.02	8.50
45	6.48	5.13	2.86	14.47	5.16	55.16	40.69	35.53
46	4.32	1.71	1.43	7.46	1.29	25.51	18.05	16.76
47	4.32	3.42	4.29	12.03	5.81	46.49	34.46	28.66
48	2.16	1.71	4.29	8.16	3.23	20.27	12.11	8.89

	Consumption			Total	Total tax <sup>a</sup>	Gross income	Income	
	Men	Women	Children				After consumption	After tax
49	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	3.23	16.97	10.24	7.01
50	2.16	1.71	4.29	8.16	4.52	28.93	20.77	16.26
51	4.32	3.42	1.43	9.17	5.16	47.98	38.81	33.65
52	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	0.65	2.77	-3.96	-4.60
53	4.32	3.42	4.29	12.03	3.23	28.28	16.25	13.03
54	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	3.87	34.74	28.01	24.14
55	2.16	1.71	4.29	8.16	3.87	31.87	23.71	19.84
56	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	3.23	22.36	15.63	12.41
57	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	6.45	41.03	34.30	27.85
58	2.16	0.00	0.00	2.16	0.65	1.85	-0.31	-0.96
59	2.16	1.71	0.00	3.87	1.29	16.85	12.98	11.69
60	2.16	1.71	1.43	5.30	0.85	9.42	4.12	3.27
61	2.16	0.00	1.43	3.59	1.55	12.93	9.34	7.79
62	2.16	1.71	2.86	6.73	2.58	23.52	16.79	14.21
63	2.16	1.71	1.43	5.30	0.65	2.22	-3.08	-3.73
<b>T</b>	<b>209.52</b>	<b>159.03</b>	<b>173.03</b>	<b>541.58</b>	<b>197.4</b>	<b>1,677.76</b>	<b>1,136.18</b>	<b>938.78</b>
G						29%	36%	40%

*Notes*

T: Total G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> I have allocated the 44.33 nom. of additional charges proportionately to the tax everyone owes.

Table 8 Tax categories of villages in fifteenth-century Macedonia.

Category of peasant	Number and share of families		Average tax paid (nom.)	Range of tax paid (nom.)
Pergardikeia				
Zeugarion	0	0%	0	
Boidion	1	9%	5	5 to 5
Argon	6	55%	4.25	2.5 to 5
No bovines	0	0%	0	
Widows	4	36%	1.38	1 to 2
<b>Total</b>	11		36	
<b>Gini</b>			27%	

*(Continued)*

Category of peasant	Number and share of families		Average tax paid (nom.)	Range of tax paid (nom.)
Hermeleia				
Zeugarion	5	29%	4.1	3 to 5
Boidion	2	12%	3	3 to 3
Argon	3	18%	3.33	3 to 4
No bovines	5	29%	2.3	1.5 to 3
Widows	2	12%	1	1 to 1
<b>Total</b>	17		47	
<b>Gini</b>			21%	
Mariana				
Zeugarion	0	0%	0	
Boidion	7	29%	3.43	2 to 4
Argon	13	54%	2.31	1 to 3
No bovines	3	13%	2	1.5 to 2.5
Widows	1	4%	1	1 to 1
<b>Total</b>	24		61	
<b>Gini</b>			19%	
Drimosyrta				
Zeugarion	11	31%	10.82	9 to 11.5
Boidion	0	0%	0	
Argon	17	49%	6.02	4 to 8.5
No bovines	2	6%	5	3 to 7
Widows	5	14%	2.5	1 to 4.5
<b>Total</b>	35		244	
<b>Gini</b>			26%	
Pinson				
Zeugarion	2	10%	11.5	11.5 to 11.5
Boidion	0	0%	0	
Argon	13	65%	7.77	6 to 8
No bovines	3	15%	6.33	3 to 8
Widows	2	10%	3	3 to 3
<b>Total</b>	20		149	
<b>Gini</b>			9%	

Category of peasant	Number and share of families		Average tax paid (nom.)	Range of tax paid (nom.)
Gomatou				
Zeugarion	0	0%	0	
Boidion	7	33%	7.57	5 to 9
Argon	8	38%	6.44	6 to 9
No bovines	4	19%	2.75	2 to 5
Widows	2	10%	2	2 to 2
<b>Total</b>	21		119.5	
Gini			23%	

Note

nom.: *nomismata*

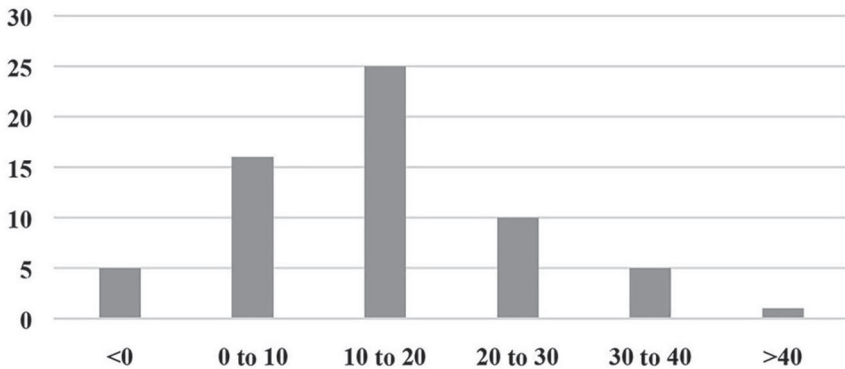


Figure 7 Levels of income of peasant families (horizontal) in *nomismata* (vertical) in Prebista (after tax).

a widow never owns any bovines, and no one holds more than one cow. Doubtless, bovines, especially cows, were registered only to the number that would correspond to the fiscal category of the peasant, as it would be superfluous to record higher numbers.

A calculation of the level of inequality among households based on the tax they owed reveals some interesting facts. The level of inequality in the early fifteenth century was well below 30 per cent; in the case of Pinson it fell as low as 9 per cent. These numbers should be contrasted to the situation in 1321, when inequality based on the tax amount was at 41 per cent in Drimosyrta (now 26 per cent) and 35 per cent in Pinson (my calculations). The vicissitudes of the late fourteenth century and the reduction of the population had created



Figures 8–9 Countryside of Prebista.

a visible class of well-off peasants on Lemnos. In Macedonia, although we have little evidence concerning the free peasantry, the *paroikoi* apparently became more equal, at least in terms of the distribution of income among them.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Pergardikeia, Hermeleia and Mariana: *Acts Docheiariou*, 277 (no. 53: 1409); Drimosyrta, Pinson and Gomatou: *Acts Lavra III*, 156–60 (no. 161: 1409). For the peasantry in Lemnos, see this volume, pp. 187–91.

It is time, however, to move our discussion to the other major determinant of social power, political power, and analyse its distribution among the different social groups.

## Political Power

Political power in any society, and especially where a pre-modern monarchical regime such as Byzantium is concerned, is not vested only in the person who makes the final decisions, the emperor. It is also vested in all those that have been delegated authority to any degree, such as governors in provinces, civil officials in the central bureaus, their representatives in provinces (i.e. the tax assessors), judges or, even lower, notaries. But official power is only one aspect of political power. Another angle is representative power, whereby an individual or a group of people recognises somebody as their (probably invariably male) spokesperson. This spokesperson would usually possess a higher social status or, because of his capacities and abilities, would otherwise be respected. The village elders, the heads of guild-like associations and ambassadors are all cases of official representative power.

The most interesting type of political power is the non-official: the power to influence decisions even without necessarily holding political authority. This was possessed, for example, by those called upon to advise the emperor, who, despite being a monarchical ruler, could not usually take major decisions without achieving a degree of consent. In micro-contexts, a town's governor, despite possessing authority, often needed to consider local notables. Equally, individuals may exert influence on people in key positions, due to their proximity to the source of power (as spouses or partners, friends, associates, relatives or even servants) or they may use their charisma (for example, preachers, demagogues) to influence the opinions of larger groups of people.

If one wished to rank political power in Byzantium below the emperor, one should begin with (1) those who were called upon to make decisions regarding important state affairs (i.e. the central government, the imperial council); then proceed with (2) the heads of central bureaus of administration, the governors of provinces and the generals (i.e. recipients of delegated imperial authority); (3) local notables, influential intellectuals, and higher ecclesiastical prelates (who would monitor or participate in the decisions of the previous groups not *ex officio* but *de facto*); (4) the lesser civil, ecclesiastical or military personnel, 'official representatives' of large/important groups of the lesser classes and other intellectuals (who may exert influence on the previous two groups); (5) 'non-official' representatives in micro-contexts, such as the elders of a village, the abbots of small

monasteries, spokespersons of small socially inferior groupings; (6) those with representatives (i.e. in categories 3 to 5) in the local authorities (such as villagers, artisans, simple monks); (7) and finally those who are not represented at all (social outcasts, ill people, herdsmen not inhabiting villages, wage workers). According to the social stratification analysis of Byzantium so far, the first two groups (1 and 2) are normally formed by the higher elite; the next one (3) by the lesser elite; the fourth by people of both the lesser elite and the upper middle class (depending on where one wishes to draw a boundary, whether, for example, the appointed *dēmarchoi* are regarded as part of the lesser elite or the upper middle class); the fifth mainly by the middle urban and rural classes; and the last two (6–7) by the lower social strata.

To the first grade of power belonged usually the immediate associates of the emperor, the imperial family and those who participated in the imperial councils or had private influence over the emperor. They controlled or heavily influenced the distribution of social distinctions, the appointment of other central, military and provincial higher officials (the next rank of political power), and the distribution of state resources (i.e. *oikonomiai*). These people were few – perhaps no more than a dozen – and did not include the whole higher elite but only a fraction of it; they might not have been higher aristocrats at all. At times, they can comprise people with a slightly humbler background, such as Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodoros Metochites, Alexios Apokaukos or Demetrios Kydones. The patriarchs should usually be counted among them.

The people of the second grade of power would comprise again usually members of the higher elite, who assumed the governor positions in the provinces and thence represented the imperial authority locally, though the emperor could always annul their actions. As representatives of the highest authority, they umpired in important local trials or disputes and might be able, if not to determine, then certainly to influence the composition of town councils. They appointed local military officials and commanded the local forces; in campaigns they commanded the army as generals; in Constantinople, they held positions that allowed them to appoint officials of lower ranks who reported to them (for example, the head of the financial department and his local *apographeis*, or the head judges). Finally, this group included all those who, even without official power, could exert hefty influence on the first grade, as participants of less private imperial councils, members of the senate or heads of important pressure groups. Ioannes Kantakouzenos, who did not have direct influence on the government until the beginning of the first civil war in 1321, but had a powerful pressure group (his followers) and influenced the decisions of the imperial grandson Andronikos III, would



belong to this second grade. After 1321, since Andronikos III now became the second pole of imperial authority and Kantakouzenos influenced him heavily, he belonged to the first grade.

Both grades so far include people who usually embodied official authority. The third grade does not embody official authority but represents local poles of power that could influence the decisions of the government or those representing it locally. Those that belong to it were the members of the local councils, the local *archontes*, who had established alliances and networks with other members of their kin, and who in a smaller context – such as in a village that they owned or over their retinue – were in effect a micro-authority. They usually possessed positions of power in the army and the administrative machine but they could not determine state affairs: they were *apographeis*, *kastrophylakes*, army officials, judges, metropolitans and bishops, and so on. Among these people should also be included important individual intellectuals and courtiers, as both formed ‘public opinion’ and/or enjoyed access to imperial authority and the first two grades of power.

The fourth grade is formed by people who were not at the centre of these poles of power, but a part of it. They would not normally participate in the councils around the local governors, but they possessed minor official positions and they could, at least collectively, form a pressure group. The metropolitan clergy, for example, normally belongs to this grade, as do lesser army officials. In the same category we should include people recognised as representatives or spokespersons of other groups of people who have no other position, such as the *dēmarchoi* or the heads of professional corporations.

The fifth grade includes people who might exercise small, localised authority over small groups of people, mainly derived from influence, such as the abbots of small and poor monasteries, the elders of a village, and so on. In the sixth grade are people who were usually represented politically by the *dēmarchoi* in large cities, or by the heads of their corporations, their elders in a village or their abbot. These two grades include people who might be able to act only collectively in order to influence the decisions of the upper grades (for example by a village delegation or even a riot). Finally, in the seventh grade belong those who had no spokespersons or representatives among the authorities, such as shepherds, urban and rural casual labourers, slaves, social outcasts and house servants. The last grade was unlikely to be in any position to influence decisions individually or collectively, or even to organise themselves into power groups. The last four grades (4–7) normally included the non-elite part of society, the middle and lower classes and perhaps some of the lesser elite too.

The interaction of the upper grades of political power and their relation to official power will be analysed subsequently. But let us first turn to the lower grades of political power and examine their opportunities for political organisation and participating in the political life of the empire, and assess the chances of their views being considered by the upper grades.

The sources afford a glance of the political organisation of the people in the late Byzantine period, at least in the two main cities of the empire. The existence of *dēmarchoi* is documented for Constantinople. They were not related to the Late Antique factions of the Hippodrome in the major cities of the empire. These seemingly lost their political role after the seventh century, retaining some mainly ceremonial duties, and had disappeared by the eleventh century. The *dēmarchoi* were not elected by the people; they were appointed by the government.<sup>60</sup> Their role was therefore more administrative and hence they played a minor role in the independent political organisation of the people. Among their tasks was possibly included the food provisioning of Constantinople: during a famine crisis in Constantinople in c. 1303–9 two of them, by the names of Ploummes and Antiocheites, were selected to aid supervision of the grain supply and surveillance of the bakeries.<sup>61</sup> The duties of the *dēmarchoi* also appear to have included the organisation of the people for defence: just before the siege of 1453 they provided catalogues of people within their respective neighbourhoods who were capable of fighting.<sup>62</sup> More routinely, they were responsible for some policing and for ensuring the continuation of normal life in each neighbourhood, and they also raised a customary special levy from the inhabitants.<sup>63</sup> In Thessalonike the office is less clearly documented. Heads of neighbourhoods, called *geitoniarchai*, are attested in eleventh-century Thessalonike, and the city was still divided into neighbourhoods (called *enoriai*) shortly after the Ottoman conquest.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps Andreas Palaiologos, the leader of the so-called *parathalassioi* ('people who dwell by the harbour') during the second civil war, had a sort of

<sup>60</sup> See also Kyrris, 'Political organisation'; Matschke, 'Rolle und Aufgaben'.

<sup>61</sup> Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, no. 100, ed. Talbot, 256.

<sup>62</sup> Sphrantzes, 132.

<sup>63</sup> See especially the template document ordering the appointment of a *dēmarchos* by the emperor in Sathas, *MB*, 6:643–4.

<sup>64</sup> *Acts Lavra* I, 277, l. 17 (no. 53: 1097); Lowry, 'Portrait of a city', 264–77. Therefore, it is possible that during the late Byzantine period, neighbourhoods still existed in Thessalonike.

*dēmarchos* or *geitoniarchēs* function, but certainly he was not the head of a supposed ‘guild of the sailors.’<sup>65</sup> There is no evidence of the existence of any system of political organisation of people in smaller cities and towns.

The term *politeia* means principally 1. the way of life, 2. the way of political life (‘constitution’), 3. the commonwealth of citizens, 4. a city or a state. In the late Byzantine context, the term was used also to signify the body of the citizens or the lay *archontes* in contrast to the ecclesiastical ones.<sup>66</sup> Sometimes, however, there is a distinction between the *archontes* of the senate and the officials and those of the *politeia*, who are not always called *archontes* in our sources.<sup>67</sup> Pachymeres says that the best of the *politeia* participated in several important councils: ‘the magnates and all the officials as well as the archpriests sat in council, and the whole of the senate stood near. The best monks together with the abbots of all the monasteries were present; nor was that eminent and noteworthy part of the *politeia* absent.’<sup>68</sup> In the trial for heresy of some Thessalonians, apart from senators, abbots and ‘not a few of the worthiest citizens (*tōn prokritōn politōn*) participated.’<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Greg., 3:347. There were suggestions that he was the head of a supposed guild of sailors: Maksimović, ‘Charakter der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur’, 161; Sjuzumov, ‘К вопрocy’, 26–7. For the fact that he was most probably a sort of *dēmarchos*, see also Matschke, ‘Thessalonike und Zeloten’, 24–6 followed by Maniatis, ‘Domain of private guilds’, 355–6.

<sup>66</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 291 (no. 49: 1317); Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 557.

<sup>67</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Historical discourse*, 7.4 (l. 20–21), ed. Balfour, 55: Καὶ οἱ [. . .] τῆς ἀρχοντικῆς μοίρας καὶ τῶν εἰδότην τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ μαρτυρήσουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῶν πρῶτοι (‘Testimony shall be provided by those reckoned among the *archontes*, and who know about me, and the first of our *politeia*’). Here *politeia* is the commonwealth of the citizens of Thessalonike and there is a distinction between the ‘first’ of the citizens and the *archontes*.

<sup>68</sup> Pach., 2:339–41: συγκαθέζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες καὶ ὅσον τὸ ἐν ἀξιόμασιν ἦν, συνηδρίαζον δ’ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου παρίσταντο. Συνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν μονῶν οἱ προὔχοντες μονήρεις συνάμα τοῖς σφῶν προεστῶσιν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ὅσον ἦν περιφανὲς καὶ δῆλον ἀπῆν. Cf. also 3:85: καὶ τότε ξυνέρχεται μὲν βασιλεὺς ξὺν πάσῃ συγκλήτῳ, συνέρχεται δὲ πατριάρχης συνάμ’ ἀρχιερεῦσι, καὶ τῶν κληρικῶν ὅσοι μετ’ ἐκείνον εἰρήνευον, καὶ λαὸς ἅπας τῆς πολιτείας (‘and then the emperor convened with all the senate, the patriarch with all the archpriests and the clerics who were at peace with him, and all the people of the *politeia*’); 3:127: συναχθεῖσης τῆς πολιτείας ἅμα συγκλήτῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ, μηδὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων μοναχῶν ἀπόντων (‘the *politeia* convened together with the senate and the emperor, and neither were the prominent monks absent’); 3:197: μετακαλεῖται δ’ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς τοῦ κλήρου καὶ μοναχοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ὅσον καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἔκκριτον (‘he invited the archpriests, the clergy and the monks, and the most prominent and pure part of the *politeia*’); 4:498: συγκλήτου πάσης καὶ πολιτείας παρισταμένης (‘while the whole senate and the *politeia* was present’).

<sup>69</sup> PR II, 110 (no. 111: 1337/8).

The term *politeia* becomes more frequent in the late Palaiologan period. The metropolitan of Thessalonike, Isidoros Glabas, addressed his speeches and advisory letters ‘to all the noble and glorious *archontes*, the priests and monks, those of the demure and glorious *politeia*, the private citizens and all the other Christian people.’<sup>70</sup> Most explicitly, it is used by Georgios Gennadios during conflicts over the Union of the Churches after the Council of Ferrara/Florence when he wrote to Loukas Notaras asking for a council to be convened composed by all three ‘orders’ of the citizens: the senate, the Church and the *politeia*.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the *politeia* must have been the body of the simple citizens, represented by some ‘worthy’ of its members. Their ‘worthiness’ as well as the way they were selected (‘elected’ or appointed: were these actually the *dēmarchoi*?) cannot be established given the present state of our sources.

The *dēmos* is one of the components of political power, albeit not comparable with the power of the *archontes*. On many occasions, embassies for peace or councils for important matters took place with the *dēmos* present through its representatives. In Berroia, when the city was about to shift its allegiance to Kantakouzenos during the second civil war, an embassy was sent to him comprised of three members, one representative of the *aristoi*, one of the ecclesial *archontes* and one of the *dēmos*. The same happened in Peritheorion and Bizye.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, Gregoras narrates that ten men were sent from Andronikos II to his grandson during the civil war as envoys. Two came from the senate, two were bishops, two were church dignitaries and four were representatives of the *dēmos* (who, according to the wish Andronikos III expressed, should have been educated).<sup>73</sup> The common people took part in the theological debates of the time but they were generally used as an element to exert pressure rather than actually consulted.

<sup>70</sup> Isidoros Glabas, *Letters*, no. 7, ed. Lampros, 382: Οἱ ἐν τῇ θεοσώστῳ καὶ περιφανεῖ πόλει Θεσσαλονίκη εὐγενέστατοι ἄρχοντες, ὅσοι τοῦ πρώτου γένους καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ λαμπροτάτης φυλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καὶ μοναχικοῦ καταλόγου καὶ ὅσοι τῆς σεμνῆς καὶ περιδόξου πολιτείας καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ συστήματος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὅπας τοῦ Κυρίου λαοῦ ὁ χριστῶνυμος.

<sup>71</sup> Gennadios Scholarios, eds Jugie, Petit and Siderides, vol. 3, 169: νὰ ἔλθω εἰς τὸ παλλάτιον, καὶ ἄς ἔνε αἱ τρεῖς τάξεις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ σύγκλητος, ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ πολιτεία. Elsewhere in the fifteenth century: Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 63; Kritoboulos, 41 (παρὰ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῆς πολιτείας); Lampros, *Παλαιολογία*, 35 (παρούσης τῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων συνάξεως καὶ πολλῶν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας); Symeon of Thessalonike, *Historical discourse*, 8.3, ed. Balfour, 57 (l.19–24); idem, *Apology*, 1, ed. Balfour, 70 (l. 9–10).

<sup>72</sup> Kant., 2:352, 214, and 490 respectively.

<sup>73</sup> Greg., 1:397–8.

They were present in the synod of 1341, which condemned the teachings of Barlaam,<sup>74</sup> in the synod of 1347 convened by the empress Anna, which deposed the patriarch Kalekas, and again in the synod of 1351.<sup>75</sup>

During the reign of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos the urban middle classes actively appeared on the political scene through their participation in the general assembly that this emperor summoned to secure consent for the raising of taxes. Kantakouzenos inveighs against the bankers for sabotaging the collection of these taxes by not paying their share and exhorting others to act similarly.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, aside from this refusal to pay the tax, the urban middle classes never seem to have pursued collectively a policy that would favour their social position and they never collectively applied pressure to the state and its dignitaries to pursue a policy that would at least favour their financial welfare. Admittedly, during the two anti-Genoese wars of Kantakouzenos' reign, the middle social layers actively engaged against the Genoese, not only by arming ships and defending Constantinople's walls, but also by constructing merchant ships and trying to undertake voyages and establish trade routes in the Black Sea.<sup>77</sup> However, this war and antagonism were not abstract and enduring struggles in which the middle classes found the opportunity to restore their position against the Genoese. The Genoese, who perceived the increase of Byzantine sea power and the negative effects that this might have in the future for them, took the initiative by attacking Byzantine merchant ships first. Besides, this was not only a project of the middle classes. It becomes clear from the accounts of Kantakouzenos, Gregoras and Makrembolites that all the social groups of Constantinople – including the aristocrats – were engaged in this fight. It was a matter of prestige for the Byzantines to avenge themselves on the 'hated' Genoese, who, in the words of Alexios Makrembolites, were 'stealing the wealth of the Romaioi' for so many years.<sup>78</sup>

Defeated in the wars against Genoa, the Byzantines lost an opportunity to attain a prominent position in Black Sea trade. Although the middle classes continued to engage in trade activities in the Black Sea, they were overshadowed by the elite, who proved more capable of adapting to the changing

<sup>74</sup> PR II, 214 (no. 132: 1341).

<sup>75</sup> PR II, 366 (no. 147: 1347).

<sup>76</sup> Kant., 3:40–2.

<sup>77</sup> Kant., 3:69 and 81.

<sup>78</sup> Greg., 2:846. In the assembly convened by the empress Eirene both senators and representatives of the *dēmos* unanimously cried in favour of war. See Alexios Makrembolites, *Historical discourse*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1:144–50 (p. 146 for the 'stealing of wealth'). For the large representative assemblies, see Medvedev, 'À propos'.

circumstances, and as a result, the middle classes could not profit socially – either as pressure groups or through professional associations – from the empire’s transformation into a sort of Constantinopolitan ‘city-state’, as most of its hinterland was lost in the late fourteenth century. Nonetheless, some of the bourgeoisie, the upper middle class, were able to profit not only financially but also socially. They were able to conclude marriages with members of the lower elite. A Xanthopoulina, from a civil aristocratic family, whose brothers held the titles of *orphanotrophos* and *stratopedarchēs*, was already married to the merchant Sideriotes in the 1340s.<sup>79</sup> Another man named Kalomiseides was married into the family of Strongylos through a certain Maria, whose brother was then a *prōtohierakarios*.<sup>80</sup> Remarkably, one of those who had sold exchange tables to the monastery of the Lavra a few years earlier was also named Kalomiseides.<sup>81</sup> In the last decades of the fourteenth century the rise of several members of the upper middle stratum to the ranks of the elite can be documented (see Chapter 7).

The rarity of occasions in which we encounter representatives of the people does not entirely minimise their role. Certainly, the lower layers of the common people had little chance of attaining political power. But the higher strata of the common people, their representatives, were treated as at least worthy of giving advice. A title that appears to have been bestowed on leaders of the common people is the *praitōr tou dēmou*. Unlike the surnames of the preceding and the following offices in hierarchy, most of the surnames of the few attested holders of this office are not aristocratic.<sup>82</sup>

The *dēmos* seems never to have undertaken articulated actions or adopted a common strategy. On the contrary, it was controlled by the authorities and easily incited against individuals for diverse motives. During the riot that ended with Thessalonike’s shift of allegiance to Andronikos III during the first civil war, the *dēmos* was reportedly incited by the rebels – who were senators, the army and possibly higher ecclesiastical authorities – against the governor, the despot Konstantinos Palaiologos. Interestingly, in relation to this incident, Kantakouzenos, unlike Gregoras, does not speak about a movement from the *dēmos* but only about a sort of coup of the supporters of Andronikos III; obviously the alternative would have hurt the reputation of the latter, since popular riots had a bad reputation with the intellectual

<sup>79</sup> PR II, 402–4 (no. 151: 1348).

<sup>80</sup> PR II, 392 (no. 150: 1348).

<sup>81</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 24 (no. 123: 1342). The identification is not certain, though it is an indication that Kalomiseides could have been the same or could have had a similar occupation.

<sup>82</sup> See Table 26, Appendix; the office is thirty-seventh in rank.

and elite circles who were Kantakouzenos' audience.<sup>83</sup> When in the synod of 1351, during the hesychast controversy, people were protesting in favour of the anti-Palamites (according to an anti-Palamite source), Kantakouzenos threatened the *dēmos* with persecutions 'through the *dēmarchoi*':<sup>84</sup> The *dēmarchoi* must have played a momentous role in the instigation of the people against the supporters of Kantakouzenos during the second civil war. Their initial incitement against Kantakouzenos and their support for the legitimacy of the minor Ioannes V must have been decisive motivations for their subsequent opposition to Kantakouzenos, yet even so, their behaviour was far from consistent.<sup>85</sup> Finally, Theodoros Agallianos says that the *dēmos* was incited to attack his property due to his opposition to the Union of the Churches shortly before 1453.<sup>86</sup>

Occasionally there were undoubtedly some incidents and movements that attracted or prompted popular support. The first of this is connected to the support of the legitimate emperor Ioannes IV Laskaris, who was blinded by Michael VIII Palaiologos. Soon after the apprehension of the news of Ioannes' blindness in the region of Trikokkia near Nikaia, there was a rural rebellion against the government. The rebels found a pseudo-Ioannes Laskaris and provided him with their support. Since they inhabited the frontier, they were not inexperienced in war. On that account they were able to resist for a long time using guerrilla tactics, although Pachymeres wants us to believe that they were simply farmers. This rebellion, as well the popular support that the Arsenites later gathered, was connected to the oaths through which Theodoros II Laskaris and later Michael VIII had obliged all their subjects to act against treason.<sup>87</sup>

The economic recession and the prolonged blockade of Thessalonike by the Turks, both in the 1380s and later in the 1420s, also brought serious social unrest. Even in 1372, Demetrios Kydones was advising the governor of Thessalonike Demetrios Phakrases to exhort the city's *dynatoi* not to strive only for gain and to pursue a more 'people-friendly' attitude (δημοτικώτερον χρωμένους τοῖς πράγμασι) in order to avoid internal conflict in combination with the external threat, alluding to the destructive situation that was prevailing in the second civil war.<sup>88</sup> The 'many' were in fact accusing the *archontes* of not contributing financially to the city's

<sup>83</sup> Greg., 1:356–7; Kant., 1:149–50.

<sup>84</sup> Anonymous source: see Weiss, *Kantakouzenos*, 134–5 (ms Cod. Vat. 2335, fol. 2).

<sup>85</sup> Greg., 2:608; Kant., 2:137–8. See also Malatras, 'Social aspects', 109–10.

<sup>86</sup> Theodoros Agallianos, ed. Patrinelis, 96.

<sup>87</sup> Pach., 1:259–67. See also Laiou, 'Peasant rebellion', 99–107.

<sup>88</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, no. 77, ed. Loenertz, 1: 109–10.

defence and of pursuing only their private interests; the latter actually contemplated surrendering the city to the Ottomans.<sup>89</sup> This negative climate continued even after the surrender of the city to the Ottomans, while Thessalonike during the first years had acquired self-governing autonomy. The metropolitan Isidoros exhorted the *archontes*, who feared a popular movement against them, to remain in their position and not resign.<sup>90</sup>

Similar social unrest is described in Constantinople during the long blockade by Bāyezīd I (1394–1402). The historian Doukas reports that the rule of Manuel II was questioned, as an impressive part of the *dēmos* called for the assumption of the throne by his rival cousin, Ioannes VII, who enjoyed the support of Bāyezīd. The common people, Doukas continues, were tired of the economic stress, the black market prices and poverty, and were ready to betray the empire.<sup>91</sup> The faction of Ioannes VII may have enjoyed popular support when he first rose to the throne in 1390, although the Russian account that testifies to it earlier mentioned that soldiers, ‘took care’ that the name of Ioannes VII would be shouted upon his entry to Constantinople.<sup>92</sup> The popular support may not have been as spontaneous and sincere as it appeared. Nevertheless, the fact that Ioannes VII could portray himself as the son of the legitimate – albeit fallen from grace – heir to the throne, Andronikos IV, must have played a role, as well as general popular dissatisfaction with the unionist plans of the circle of Ioannes V.<sup>93</sup> Ioannes VII was indeed posthumously remembered as a pious and just emperor and his tomb was said to perform miracles.<sup>94</sup>

In late Byzantium, then, political power was not wielded by any of the organisations of the middle and lower classes. It was always vested upon the upper stratum, the *archontes*. The most that the middle and lower strata could expect was to act, quite spontaneously, as pressure groups through riots, or that their representatives might occasionally be invited to participate in decision making. As most of the aforementioned incidents demonstrate, it was easier for our (elite) sources to talk about movements of the *dēmos* when they wanted to defame it, regardless of its actual composition or aim. With this in mind, it is time to proceed to analysing the power relationship between

<sup>89</sup> Symeon of Thessalonike, *Historical discourse*, 7.4, ed. Balfour, 55 (l: 16–26). See Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 69–73; Katsoni, ‘Urbanisation et déséquilibres’.

<sup>90</sup> Isidoros Glabas, *Homilies to St Demetrios*, no. 5, ed. Laourdas, 63–5.

<sup>91</sup> Doukas, 14.2–4, ed. Greco, 83–5.

<sup>92</sup> Ignatius of Smolensk, in trans. Majeska, *Russian travellers*, 102–4.

<sup>93</sup> Ganchou, ‘Autour de Jean VII’, 375–80. It should be recalled that Ioannes V had become Catholic.

<sup>94</sup> *Brief chronicle*, 2, ed. Philippides, 24.



the *archontes* and the two institutions of legitimate political authority in late Byzantium.

### State, Church and Society . . . and the Breakdown

There were two main institutions that influenced and possessed the authority to regulate life and relations among people in Byzantine society: the state and the Church. It is not our objective here to identify the importance of the Christian religion or of the state in the everyday life of Byzantines. Rather, we will consider how much these two institutions interacted with or were influenced by the structure of late Byzantine society.

First, we should ask whether there was a single Byzantine Church in the late Byzantine period and examine how closely it resembled a unified institution. If we mean the Byzantine rite and the Orthodox doctrine, there can be no doubt of its unification and uniformity. But in terms of organisation the situation is quite different. The Church in Byzantium was organised into metropoleis and bishoprics. Every town normally had its own bishop, who was subordinated to and appointed by the metropolitan of the province. Every issue, except differences between a bishop and a metropolitan or charges against a metropolitan, was expected to be resolved locally. The metropolitans themselves were elected, in this period, by the patriarchal synod in Constantinople.

This gives the impression of an organised system. In fact, there was much incongruence. Every see had its own property, which was supposed to provide sufficient income for its proper functioning. Most individual churches were also supposed to have their own property, which would fund their continued functioning. The monasteries in the provinces could be subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the patriarch, the emperor or a patron, or they could be completely independent.<sup>95</sup> More importantly, there seems to have been a lack of cooperation among the monasteries themselves. Many of the documents that have been preserved involve land disputes between two monasteries, which could result in serious conflicts between them.<sup>96</sup> There was no common solidarity; two monasteries would not cooperate in order to reclaim the property of one of them from the depredations of the state or a lay *archōn*. Besides, a monastery would resort for property

<sup>95</sup> Congourdeau, 'L'Église', 208–12; Preiser-Kapeller, 'Hauptständische Synode', 27–8; Thomas and Constantinides Hero, *Monastic foundation documents*, 1295–1302 (ch. 8) and 1483–94 (ch. 9).

<sup>96</sup> See for example *Acts Esphigmenou*, 188–90 (Appendix B: 1315).

disputes not only to a higher ecclesiastical authority, but also in many cases to a lay authority, such as the emperor or the local governor.<sup>97</sup>

The Church therefore was far from a unified, centralised institution. There was no such concept as the 'policy of the church'. The term 'church' itself is very rarely encountered in our sources to signify the institution. Usually this word means either a specific church building or literally 'Christ's Church'. The Byzantine Church was the sum of different local churches, monasteries and sees. The ecclesiastical *archontes* constituted a fairly well-defined group, as we saw. Yet, as with most other social groups in Byzantium, their social collectivity was underdeveloped. The reasons are not hard to imagine. Not only were ecclesiastical politics too dominated by factional rivalry, but many leading ecclesiastics preferred to promote their own benefit at the expense of the central ecclesiastical authority. Besides there was a need to maintain good relations with both the elite and the emperor, for the welfare of the monasteries and for their personal benefit.

It has been claimed that the late Byzantine Church and the patriarchate rose in prestige and power vis-à-vis the emperor.<sup>98</sup> Fortunately, in the last couple of years this idea has been corrected by several studies. Quite importantly, Ruth Macrides argued that there was no important shift during the Palaiologan period reducing the imperial image in the ceremonial or church liturgy. The imperial office still retained its splendour.<sup>99</sup> Can we observe, however, an ideological shift? Did the patriarchs or other leading churchmen envisage a change in the balance of power between state and church? This is what the Arsenites were supposed to be seeking.<sup>100</sup> But the Arsenites were rarely politicians; their main opponent was the official ecclesiastical authority and not the imperial authority.<sup>101</sup> Certainly, at times of stress there may have been ideas circulating about the liberty of the church or even the submission to the church of the emperor and the imperial authority. Such ideas had emerged from time to time since the ninth century and the era of Patriarch Photios. So, for example, the biographer of Patriarch Arsenios considers that a patriarch was the earthly image of Christ on earth and that

<sup>97</sup> Such as in *Acts Docheiariou*, 169–71 (no. 23: 1344).

<sup>98</sup> See Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 351–2; idem, 'Donation of Constantine', 105–17; Angold, *Church and society*, 530–63; Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, 286–94; Laiou, 'Palaiologoi and the world', 831; Nicol, *Church and society*, 17–20.

<sup>99</sup> The recent synthesis of the different studies raising this idea has been made by Macrides, 'Emperor and Church', 123–43.

<sup>100</sup> Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 374–87; Nicol, *Church and society*, 7–9.

<sup>101</sup> Gounaridis, *Κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν*, 189–234; Kontogiannopoulou, 'Σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν', 232–5; Messina, 'Autorita patriarcale'; Tudorie, 'Schisme arsenite'.

the unction the emperor received made him servant to the patriarch, and praises Theodoros II Laskaris for having submitted to the church.<sup>102</sup>

Athanasios I has been viewed as an energetic patriarch who wanted to promote the 'liberty of the Church'. So, when he returned for the second time as a patriarch, after an invitation from Andronikos II himself in 1303, he made Andronikos take a formal oath that he would leave the Church at liberty and faithfully serve it.<sup>103</sup> What Athanasios sought, however, was an assurance that this time the emperor would not leave him exposed to his opponents, as he had before. Athanasios by and large supported what he regarded as righteous behaviour in every field of political and social life and as a matter of fact on several occasions, despite protests, he strove to fulfil his vision. He never contested the right of the emperor to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs. On the contrary, Athanasios often asked for Andronikos II's intervention; a constant theme in his letters is the request that the emperor should force the dissident metropolitans to return to their sees. Besides, his letters to the emperor express his inferior place and exhibit his due deference.<sup>104</sup>

About a century later, in 1402, the scandal broke of the trisepiscopacy of Patriarch Matthaios I (1397–1410). Matthaios, the favourite of emperor Manuel II, was deposed during the absence of the latter in the Western Europe by a synod of metropolitans, a decision ratified by the synod some days after the return of Manuel from the West. However, the emperor, disturbed by the verdict of the synod, did not acknowledge it. Eventually, a few months later, he forced the prelates to issue a forgiving decree reinstating Matthaios to the patriarchal throne. However, the metropolitan of Ankyra, Makarios, and the metropolitan of Medeia never accepted this decree and initiated fierce strife with both the emperor and the patriarch until they were condemned in 1405 and again in 1409. Makarios devised a whole treatise against the imperial prerogatives over the Church, claiming that the emperor should obey the canons, that priestly power was above imperial and that the emperor should confine himself to only secular and not to church administration. Of course, all these arguments were written during Makarios' strife with the emperor, yet a few years earlier, when he was accompanying Manuel II to the West, he produced a treatise against the Latins, wherein he defended the rights of the emperor in ecclesiastical

<sup>102</sup> *Oration to patriarch Arsenios*, 460–1.

<sup>103</sup> Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 393–414; Boojamra, *Church reforms*; Laurent, 'Serment de l'empereur', 124–39.

<sup>104</sup> See for example Patriarch Athanasios, *Letters*, nos 110 and 61, ed. Talbot, 270–8 and 142.

matters, as the representative of Christ on earth, standing above any patriarch or council.<sup>105</sup>

When we move beyond theoretical disputes to practical issues, it becomes evident that the emperor was always the strongest authority. All the patriarchs of Constantinople since at least the sixth century were appointed by the emperor and even imposed on the synod when it was reluctant to 'elect' the emperor's chosen.<sup>106</sup> Patriarch Arsenios was imposed by Theodoros II Laskaris in 1254 and Ioannes Kalekas by Andronikos III in 1334.<sup>107</sup> A dissident patriarch is unlikely to have endured long in his office while in open opposition to the emperor. The emperor would depose patriarchs who were disobedient or had fallen from his favour. Kalekas himself, supposedly one of the most powerful patriarchs of the Palaiologan era as part of the regency of Ioannes V, was deposed by a not-all-powerful empress amidst the second civil war without further dissidence.<sup>108</sup> Before him, Patriarch Esaias (1323–34) had been deposed and imprisoned temporarily, when he declined to cease commemoration of Andronikos III during the first civil war.<sup>109</sup> Kantakouzenos, as the Gregoras' narrative proves, was the man who decisively turned the tide in favour of the Palamites after 1347.<sup>110</sup> Once his other chosen Patriarch, Kallistos, refused to crown his son Matthaïos as co-emperor, he orchestrated his deposition and appointed instead Philotheos Kokkinos, who was forced to abdicate as soon as Ioannes V returned to Constantinople and reinstated Kallistos. Philotheos Kokkinos, in order to return to the patriarchal throne in 1364 (after the death of Kallistos) was obliged by Ioannes V to take an oath stating that he would remain loyal to the emperor and that he would not persecute the anti-Palamites during his patriarchate.<sup>111</sup> During the struggle between, on the one side, Andronikos IV and Ioannes VII and, on the other side, Ioannes V and Manuel II, there were frequent changes of ruler, accompanied on each occasion by the deposition of the old patriarch and by the election of a new one, loyal to the new

<sup>105</sup> Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 25–7 (description of the unpublished treatise against the rights of the emperor in ecclesiastical matters) and 19 (description of the treatise against the Latins). Laurent too stresses this matter. See also Leonte, *Imperial visions*, 24–31 on this affair.

<sup>106</sup> This is also visible in the procedure of the election of a patriarch: Blanchet, 'Élection du patriarche', 63–78.

<sup>107</sup> Kant., 1:431–5. In fact, by 'tricks' of Kantakouzenos, the emperor's most trusted friend and official.

<sup>108</sup> Greg., 2:780–2; Kant., 2:603–4; PR II, 364–6 (no. 147: 1347).

<sup>109</sup> Kant., 1:247–52.

<sup>110</sup> Greg., 2:785–7 and thereafter *passim*.

<sup>111</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, no. 129, ed. Loenertz, 1:164–66; PR III, 196–8 (no. 211: 1355). See Failler, 'La déposition'.

emperor.<sup>112</sup> Finally, the detailed *Memoirs* of Sylvestros Syropoulos about the Council of Ferrara/Florence evince that the emperor was the decisive component in compelling the reluctant prelates to sign the decree of union. The opposition of ecclesiastics and monasteries to the Union of the Churches was not unanimous. The Constantinopolitan monasteries of the fifteenth century were divided on this matter and their stance fluctuated depending on the influence exerted on them by their imperial, patriarchal and lay patrons.<sup>113</sup>

The date 1380/2 is very important to the evolution of church–state relations. Emperor Ioannes V forced the synod and the newly elected patriarch Neilos (1380–8) to accept and institutionalise the imperial privileges in the domain of the election of metropolitans. Any of the candidates for a metropolis should henceforth also be loyal to, and approved by, the emperor; the same approval should be granted for the chief officials of the Great Church; not only did the emperor retain the right to define the boundaries of a see and promote a bishopric to a metropolis, but he also received the privilege of actually transferring a bishop to another see or promoting him to metropolitan status, if he wished; restrictions were imposed on the ability of the patriarch to excommunicate lay *archontes* or state officials, without imperial consent.<sup>114</sup> Thereupon, the emperor seems to have gained rather than forfeited authority in the late Palaiologan period, controlling in large part the internal politics of the Church.

Based mainly on the increased number of lay cases in the patriarchal court, as recorded by the survival of a patriarchal register containing documents for the years 1315–1402, it has been assumed that the Church expanded its jurisdiction as state mechanisms were declining.<sup>115</sup> A fresh examination, however, shows that this increase was largely based on the combination of accidental survival (one-quarter of all cases are concentrated on the last two and a half years, half of which are lay) and political

<sup>112</sup> Philotheos Kokkinos was deposed in 1376/7 and replaced by the protectee of Andronikos IV, Makarios. Ioannes V replaced Makarios with the newly elected Neilos (1380–8) and subsequently by Antonios who was deposed in 1390, as soon as Ioannes VII gained the imperial throne for some months and placed Makarios back on the patriarchal throne. Antonios was restored in March 1391 after the victory of Ioannes V.

<sup>113</sup> Melvani, 'Patriarchate and monasteries', 175–82.

<sup>114</sup> Laurent, 'Droits de l'empereur', 5–20, but Laurent sees this accord as 'humiliation of the secular power' (cf. p. 8). On the contrary, efforts of Byzantine emperors to regulate the elections of metropolitans had been seriously opposed in the past centuries: cf. Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, 319–20. See also Guran, 'Patriarche hésychaste'.

<sup>115</sup> Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 354; Lemerle, 'Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires I', 369–84; Lemerle, 'Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires II', 318–33.

reasons (their increase occurs immediately after the emperor Manuel II left to seek help in the West). It should be emphasised that in Byzantium there was no strict jurisdiction over specific cases, although, of course, criminal cases were not judged by an ecclesiastical court.<sup>116</sup>

Despite restrictions, a very common practice in Byzantium was the possession and transmission of monasteries. Undoubtedly the practice had been restricted after the monastic reforms of the late eleventh century, yet it persisted throughout the Palaiologan period. The monasteries themselves strove to find a powerful patron and *ktētōr*, who would actually help in the augmentation or at least the preservation of the monastery's wealth. Although Patriarch Athanasios I tried to expand the patriarchate's authority over all monasteries and restrict the privileges of patrons, the contemporary *typikon* of Akropolites shows how limited and ephemeral his success was.<sup>117</sup> Besides, among the groups that opposed the policies of Athanasios, monks figured prominently.<sup>118</sup>

There is little evidence to suggest that the patriarch and the Church authorities tried to protect ecclesiastical property against lay intervention. In one such case, the *ktētōr* Nikolaos Sophianos of St Mamas had bought a certain field from Raoul. Raoul subsequently claimed it back, and Sophianos went to the patriarchal court in order to clarify the issue, proposing to return the field but receive back the price he had paid. The court declined such a settlement; the monastery should keep the field because it was considered a 'holy property'.<sup>119</sup> The emperor could, in fact, arbitrarily confiscate ecclesiastic or monastic property and did so quite often.<sup>120</sup> The only recorded case of a protest by the patriarchal synod was in October 1367, when the emperor tried to confiscate two villages belonging to the patriarchate. The synod politely declined.<sup>121</sup> We should bear in mind that the patriarchate was in this case, unlike all others, directly affected by this proposed confiscation. Apart from these instances, there is to my knowledge no further evidence. The sole treatise against the confiscation of ecclesiastical property comes from a non-ecclesiastic, Nikolaos Kabasilas. Besides, this treatise was targeted against confiscation not only by the lay *archontes*,

<sup>116</sup> See Malatras, 'Trial process and justice'; Macrides, 'Competent court'.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas and Constantinides Hero, *Monastic foundation documents, 1295–1302* (ch. 8); Konstantinos Akropolites, *Testament for the monastery of Resurrection in Constantinople*, ed. Delehaye.

<sup>118</sup> Talbot, 'Patriarch Athanasius', 26–8.

<sup>119</sup> MM II, 304–12 (no. 528: 1399).

<sup>120</sup> Smyrlis, 'State, land'. For a different approach, see Charanis, 'Monastic properties'.

<sup>121</sup> MM I, 507–8 (no. 252: 1367).

but also against the those realised by a metropolitan at the expense of his suffragan bishops or priests.<sup>122</sup>

Certainly there were trends towards a more centrally organised church, around the patriarch and the patriarchal synod, which had been visible since the eleventh century.<sup>123</sup> The establishment of exarchs in Constantinople, one in each neighbourhood to supervise the behaviour of the priests, and the appointment of spiritual fathers to whom exclusively people could confess, are certainly measures in this direction, even if the institution was short-lived.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, it has been shown that the judicial praxis of the patriarchal court became more elaborate during the fourteenth century.<sup>125</sup>

The patriarch exercised his power and his 'supreme authority' only where he was able to. The most illustrious statements of patriarchal authority do not come from a Byzantine milieu, but they were included in letters sent to the Orthodox peoples of Eastern Europe. One of these is the famous defence of the Byzantine emperor, the imperial universal authority and the ecumenicity of the patriarchal throne, sent to the Russian prince by Patriarch Antonios IV (1389–90 and 1391–7).<sup>126</sup> Another declaration of patriarchal authority, this time regarding the relations between a metropolitan and a patriarch, was included in a letter to the metropolitan Isidoros of Thessalonike, who happened to be on bad terms with the patriarch.<sup>127</sup>

Did then the state in the late Byzantine period forfeit its hold on society? It is an old thesis that the aristocrats were trying to cut themselves loose from the state and become more independent, while the central government, on the contrary, was trying to curtail their power.<sup>128</sup> Again one should wonder, who runs the state? It was run by the emperor, the officials working in the central administration, the local governors sent by the emperor and the tax officials. For several reasons, these people did not represent a single cohesive social or political group that would defend

<sup>122</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Discourse against the archontes attacking holy property*, ed. Ševčenko.

<sup>123</sup> Angold, *Church and society*, 20–41.

<sup>124</sup> PR III, nos 180–3 and 239.

<sup>125</sup> Lemerle, *Tribunal du patriarchat*, 325–6; Papagianni, 'Un témoin', 216.

<sup>126</sup> MM II, 188–92 (no. 447). See in more detail Meyendorff, *Byzantium and rise of Russia*; Tinnefeld, 'Byzantinisch-russische Kirchenpolitik'.

<sup>127</sup> MM II, 39–42 (no. 354: 1382): καὶ ἔστιν ἡ διαφορὰ, ὅτι σὺ μὲν οὐδὲν μετέχεις ἐν τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς [μοναστηρίοις] οὐδένα λόγον εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ μετέχω εἰς τὰ σά, ὥστε κρίνειν καὶ ἀνακρίνειν καὶ κατακρίνειν καὶ ἄθροῦν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ κανόνες λέγουσι καὶ οἱ νόμοι, οὓς ἄνωθεν εἶπομεν, καθὼς ὑπόσχονται οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι κατὰ πάντα τῷ πατριάρχῃ. Isidoros was deposed shortly afterwards: see Loenertz, 'Isidore Glabas', 181–7.

<sup>128</sup> Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire*, *passim*.

central power in order to ensure their continuation in office. This implies articulate, strategic thinking and a sense of solidarity among these people for which there is no tangible evidence. Moreover, officials in the lower ranks of state service held no real power. Certainly, tax officials could profit hugely from their service, but actual government was reserved for higher aristocrats, who as the central administrators and as local governors, could personally survive even within a reduced state. Finally, as has been emphasised here on several occasions already, the members of this state elite were orientated to both the land and the urban economy, and as such did not differ markedly in terms of their economic interests from the members of the provincial elite.

I suggest that the state was still reasonably powerful until at least the middle of the fourteenth century. The state income in 1321 was comparable to those of the two largest monarchies of Western Europe, France and England, which had more than double the population of Byzantium.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, the state favoured a few prominent local families (for example, the TzAMPLAKONES or LASKARIDES in eastern Macedonia) with larger *oikonomiai* and prestigious titles, admitting them to the higher aristocracy, thereby avoiding the mistake of the Komnenian regime, which had restricted these privileges to the Constantinopolitan elite and particularly the Komnenian faction, leaving room for the accrual of local *dynastai*.

There were certain government failures. The preferential treatment accorded to the higher elite by the state, which is something that had not changed since the twelfth century, continued to alienate a large part of the lesser local military elite. There was a belief that a soldier supplied with a good income would fight better.<sup>130</sup> By granting *pronoiai*, the state simultaneously ensured defence at a local level and a constant flow of payment for the soldiers; however, these soldiers became more independent economically from the state and more identifiable with the local society. As Chapter 6 on Serres below suggests, these were probably the reasons for the painless establishment of the Turks and the Serbians in Byzantine lands; the local military elite, when the possibility was presented, chose to change its allegiance to the new lords.

With only very few exceptions (like the case of the ambitious Syrgiannes), the Byzantine higher aristocracy remained loyal to the emperor up to the end of the empire. Where the emperor failed, especially during the second half of the fourteenth century, was to keep his immediate family equally quiet. There was strife for possession of the throne involving:

<sup>129</sup> See Preiser-Kapeller, 'Complex historical dynamics', 100 and 126–7.

<sup>130</sup> See for example Pach., 3:235; Thomas Magistros, *On kingship*, ed. Cacciatore, 45.



- the son of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, Matthaios, against Ioannes V;
- Ioannes V's son, Andronikos IV, and his son, Ioannes VII, against Ioannes V and his second son, Manuel II;
- and finally Demetrios against his brother Konstantinos XI Palaiologos in Constantinople,

not counting the rivalries in the despotate of Mystras. The solution put forward by the empress Yolanda-Eirene of Montferrat to Andronikos II to divide the empire into equal shares for her children was rejected as incompatible with Byzantine tradition,<sup>131</sup> but Kantakouzenos, unable to achieve consent and unable to employ coercion, introduced the 'appanage system', the first expression of which can be seen in the appointment of his first cousin, Ioannes Angelos, as governor in Thessaly. Angelos became a kind of semi-independent ruler with full lifetime power over the province and the right to appoint local governors, but with the obligation to serve with an army when requested.<sup>132</sup> The system was furthered with the 'appanages' he created for Matthaios Kantakouzenos and Ioannes V in Thrace in an attempt to limit conflicts for the throne (with no success), and Manuel Kantakouzenos in Mystras, thereby initiating the custom of established lifelong offices of the governors of the Byzantine Peloponnesos.

This system was adopted by Ioannes V and was applied whenever he could not prevail over local forces, such as with the case of Anaktoropolis (the brothers Alexios and Ioannes), Old Phokaia (Leon Kalothetos) and Ainos (Limpidarios and later the Gattilusio family). Furthermore, the rulers of these areas still identified with the imperial order and were accepting official titles and imperial brides. Leon Kalothetos pressed Ioannes V to recognise his authority in Old Phokaia and confer on him the title of *panhypersebastos*.<sup>133</sup> Ioannes V granted to Alexios and Ioannes high titles, his own cousin as an imperial bride, and permission to rule the region of Anaktoropolis for their lifetime, something that they themselves stressed in the documents they issued.<sup>134</sup> The Gattilusi too married into the imperial family and strove to portray themselves as representatives of the emperor in order to gain the trust and support of the local populace.<sup>135</sup> On the south gate of the castle of Mytilene, for example, one can see next to the eagle of

<sup>131</sup> Greg., 1:233–6.

<sup>132</sup> Kant., 2:312–22.

<sup>133</sup> Kant., 3:320–2.

<sup>134</sup> For example in: *Acts Lavra* III, 71 (no. 135: 1357). Ioannes married Anna Asanina Kontostephanina: *Acts Pantokrator*, 90 (no. 8: 1369).

<sup>135</sup> For the Gattilusi appanages, see Wright, *Gattilusio lordships*.

the Doria on the left side the heraldic symbol of the noble Genoese family from which the Gattilusi descended, and on the right side the monogram of the Palaiologoi – in other words, in a position of precedence over the Doria eagle. The symbol of the Gattilusi (a pattern of overlapping scales) has been placed on the heart of the double-headed eagle, the symbol of the Byzantine empire (see Figure 10). In the fourteenth century the ‘appanage’ solution was enforced to achieve consent and avoid additional political conflict, but by the fifteenth century it became an almost natural division of Byzantine territory among members of the immediate imperial family.<sup>136</sup>

Decentralising tendencies have been a phenomenon attested in Byzantium since the eleventh century. In the beginning, they concerned peripheral provinces but by the late twelfth century, they were apparent in the core provinces too: an example of the dissatisfaction of the provinces with



Figure 10 Relief on the south wall of the fortifications of Mitylene. Source: Photographic records of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos. © Ministry of Culture/Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos.

<sup>136</sup> Barker, ‘Problem of appanages.’ Recently Kondyli, in ‘Lords,’ has analysed the political attitude of certain local lords and shown how the expression of their particular agendas and loyalty to the empire intermingled. A precedent was the treaty of Andronikos II with the Genoese Martino Zaccaria after the latter’s conquest of Chios in 1314. In this case, however, the rule of Zaccaria was about to last for only ten years, even though it was renewed soon afterwards until the Byzantines attacked and recaptured the island in 1329.

the pre-eminence of Constantinople.<sup>137</sup> It has been claimed that the privileges granted to a number of cities were signs of decentralisation and an expression of the local elite's desire to dissociate from the state.<sup>138</sup> Kyritses considers that these privileges constituted a form of protection from confiscation, although in fact an individual privilege, acquired personally from the emperor, would have guaranteed more protection.<sup>139</sup> He believes that the late Byzantine elite were always in a precarious position regarding their property, since the emperor could arbitrarily, just as with ecclesiastical property, implement large-scale confiscations.<sup>140</sup> Undoubtedly, the emperor had tied the hands of the elite having reserved for himself the transmission of the most important source of wealth, the institution of *oikonomia*. He had also reserved for himself the conferment of titles, a source of both social prestige and wealth, since a higher title was supposed to produce a larger income. He had finally reserved for himself the bestowal of the most important offices in government, the central and provincial administration, which also often produced significant revenues and supplied the holder with political power. By dissolving the rest of the judicial forums, except those of the forums of provincial governors, obviously, he identified the highest judicial authority, the *katholikoi kritai*, with imperial justice. The *katholikoi kritai* soon functioned in the *basilikon sekreton*, the imperial tribunal.

Yet Byzantium collapsed after 1341 and the reason was not solely its military failures. It seems to me that late Byzantium experienced a growth in government by consent. An imperial act could no longer be legitimated only by imperial authority; the emperor often needed to negotiate his authority and achieve general consent. In 1320, Andronikos III had fallen into disfavour and was no longer considered heir to the throne. Yet Andronikos II needed to set up a high tribunal that would judge his grandson and confirm his disgrace. In the end, Andronikos II was compelled to reach an agreement.<sup>141</sup> In 1367 the emperor asked for the consent of

<sup>137</sup> Angold, 'Archons and dynasts'; Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*; Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 150–60; Oikonomides, 'Décomposition'.

<sup>138</sup> For this thesis, see Pljakov, 'Statut de la ville byzantine'. Earlier Brătianu, *Privilèges et franchises*, had claimed that these privileges show the resurgence of urban institutions.

<sup>139</sup> Kyritses, 'Common chrysobulls', 229–45.

<sup>140</sup> Kyritses, 'Κράτος και αριστοκρατία', 180–6.

<sup>141</sup> Kant., 1:56–78. Certainly, an overt counter conspiracy set up by Andronikos III contributed to the agreement, but the importance of the need of legitimacy through the trial is still evident.

the patriarchal synod to confiscate an estate of the patriarchate.<sup>142</sup> This problem is even more apparent right at the end of the empire, when the emperor Konstantinos XI Palaiologos could not freely promote Sphrantzes to *megas logothetēs* but faced the intrigues and antagonisms of other members of the government.<sup>143</sup>

During the early Palaiologan period, the government failed to defend its right to taxation. This need for consent to taxation is a recurring and growing aspect of late Byzantine politics and in more remote areas, such as the Peloponnesos, it fomented rebellions. There were always complaints about excesses or over-taxation, as in any other state sustained by tax, but in the late Byzantine period the very principle of the right of the state to taxation was targeted.<sup>144</sup> The continuously depleting state funds, because of the extension of privileges and the destructive results of warfare, especially in Asia Minor, led the government of Andronikos II to inaugurate some unpopular taxes, making everybody liable to them. Particularly affected by these taxes were eventually the peasantry (to which much of the tax burden was transferred by the landlords) and the small landowners and soldiers. Thomas Magistros in his *Discourse on kingship* was quite critical about many of the extraordinary taxes, such as the *phonikon* (tax on murder), the *heuresis thēsaurou* (the appropriation by the state of a percentage of any discovered treasure) or the *abiōtikion* (the appropriation by the state, or the landowners in case of *paroikoi*, of the property of a deceased person with no direct heirs). In 1347 Kantakouzenos was forced to call for an assembly of all social/professional groups in the capital to convince them of the need to raise the taxes, a project that eventually failed. Government by consent and the growth of the politics of individual privileges bring Byzantium closer to the Western society of the time in its political culture.<sup>145</sup>

One of the most important limitations of governmental power was the restriction of the provincial governor's authority. Important trials judged by the authorities, including ecclesiastical authorities, came to be

<sup>142</sup> MM I, 507–8 (no. 252: 1367).

<sup>143</sup> Sphrantzes, 124–30.

<sup>144</sup> See Angelov, *Imperial ideology*, 286–309; Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 432–40; Laiou, 'Débat', 97–122; Malamut, 'Continuité et rupture'; Smyrlis, 'Financial crisis'.

<sup>145</sup> For government by consent as the essence of medieval political culture, see Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*. Kyritses, 'Imperial council' has also turned attention to the consent needed in the exercise of imperial authority, through the emergence of regular, but probably not with a clearly defined membership, imperial councils. See now also Leonte, *Imperial visions*, on Manuel II's rhetorical strategies to achieve consent.

dominated by local elites, even in many important cases such as heresy or treason.<sup>146</sup> This involvement is evident in several documents of the fourteenth century, and to these should be added the advice of Manuel II to the Athonite community, who argued that decisions should be made by both the abbot and the ‘best monks,’ just as well-governed cities were ruled by the opinions of the *aristoi* and not ‘the many and random ones’ or the governor (*archōn*) alone.<sup>147</sup> After a lapse of several centuries since Late Antiquity, works such as Nikephoros Choumnos’ oration to the Thessalonians on justice or Thomas Magistros’ *Political discourse*, are addressed to the citizens of provincial cities, setting forth their obligations regarding the city administration. The discourse of Magistros is, notably, structured in a setting without any reference to the central government or the emperor.<sup>148</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas accordingly speaks of a council, the administrators of the ‘common matters,’ who hide from the governor of the city the mistreatment of the poor and the weak.<sup>149</sup> The governor was still obviously the supreme authority in a city or region, and normally represented the emperor’s rights. There are really few exceptions to this rule, and one case is the rebellion of the *panhypersebastos* Ioannes Palaiologos, first cousin of the emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328). He rebelled and attacked against the empire with the aid of his son-in-law the Serbian king, until the emperor conferred on him the even higher title of *kaisaras*. Even in this case, however, Ioannes did not rebel in Thessalonike, the city he was governing; he instead left by the Serbian border.<sup>150</sup> But as happened several times during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially during the second civil war, the local elements of power proved much stronger than the governor. Even Manuel II during his rule in Thessalonike was unable to force the *archontes* to fight and to contribute to the defence of the city during the Ottoman siege of 1383–7 and was compelled to abandon the city, which surrendered despite his wishes.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>146</sup> For example, the trial regarding the charges of Chionios against certain Thessalonians on grounds of heresy: PR II, 106–16 (no. 111: 1337/8).

<sup>147</sup> *Acts Protaton*, 259 (no. 13: 1406): Τὸ πάντα τὰ τῆς μονῆς μετὰ βουλῆς τῶν κρειττόνων γίνεσθαι καὶ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι καλῶς πράττουσι τῆ τῶν ἀρίστων βουλῇ διοικοῦνται, καὶ οὐ τῆ τῶν πολλῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν τυχόντων, οὐδ’ αὖ τῆ τοῦ ἄρχοντος μόνου—τὸ μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατία, τὸ δὲ τυραννίς, ἀμφοτέρα δὲ ὁμοίως ἄτοπα—, δίκαιον ἂν εἶη μηδὲν τῶν τοῦ μοναστηρίου γίνεσθαι ἄνευ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ πάντα μετ’ εἰδήσεως καὶ γνώμης καὶ ἐνδόσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου.

<sup>148</sup> Thomas Magistros, *Political discourse*, 496–548.

<sup>149</sup> Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Fragment*, 127–8.

<sup>150</sup> Greg., 1:373–4.

<sup>151</sup> Manuel Palaiologos, *Advisory to the Thessalonians*.

If there were no conflicts within the central authority, though, everything worked almost in harmony. Minor cases of treason, rebellion or disobedience could be dealt with successfully. But the Palaiologan system, albeit in certain respects centralised, at the same time rested on a fragile balance, a balance relying on the assumption that the government had the ability to award *pronoiai* and titles to its supporters and one only needed to maintain an effective network through which they would be able to secure access to these resources. During the second civil war this balance broke down. Centralised empires facing a dynastic or political crisis at the centre often collapse, and this had happened several times in Byzantium in the past, with the more obvious case after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 to the hands of the Crusaders and the resulting collapse of Byzantine authority in all areas where local magnates had not already assumed power beforehand (such as Argos, Philadelpheia and Trebizond).<sup>152</sup> The political crisis of the 1340s broke the precarious balance that had been achieved under the first Palaiologoi. With the main armies of the two parties stationed in Didymoteichon and in Constantinople, and with many military officials kept imprisoned, little support could be expected from the central government and little coercion could be exerted on the provinces. The local elements of power, which had been growing in strength heretofore had, once faced with a crisis, the potential to govern themselves and were forced to choose where they would place their allegiance. It is no coincidence that during the civil war we hear constantly of city councils. The local notables had now assumed enough power for the protection of their interests to bypass even the governor. As happened in the late twelfth century, military leaders or local *archontes* strove to achieve autonomy.<sup>153</sup>

But neither Ioannes V nor Manuel II was completely blind. In some cases, such as in Anaktoropolis, Old Phokaia and Ainos, they let the local forces prevail, maintaining at least their nominal loyalty. This proved successful for a time; the rulers of Anaktoropolis (later with their seat in the nearby Christoupolis) expanded at the expense of the Serbians; Philadelpheia withstood for decades until Bāyezīd I decided to eliminate the resistance in 1390, bringing Manuel II on the campaign too; Ainos – and the other Gattilusi possessions – even survived the fall of Constantinople for some time, as did Mystras.

Both Ioannes V and Manuel I recognised that there was a need for more soldiers and they proceeded with the confiscation of monastic lands in order to create new *pronoiai*. After a long period contesting their rights

<sup>152</sup> Angold, 'Archons and dynasts'; Cheynet, Pouvoir et contestations, 427–73.

<sup>153</sup> Oikonomides, 'Pour une typologie', 169–75; Zachariadou, 'Ἐφήμερες απόπειρες', 345–51.

to taxation, the late Palaiologan emperors, excepting here the initial dissensions in the 1370s (represented mainly by the discourse of Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Against the archontes attacking holy property*), did not face the same problems.<sup>154</sup> As evidenced by the fifteenth century *praktika*, the state reserved for itself an important section of the revenues of the peasants, either in the form of the poll tax and other not negligible surcharges (such as the *bigliatikon*, related to the patrol service, in Lemnos) or even part of the capital tax. A much larger segment of the peasantry became dependent on the state or completely independent; the landlords themselves possessed much reduced numbers of *paroikoi*. Although we cannot judge the size of the lay landed properties, the landed possessions of the Athonite monasteries in the fifteenth century are not comparable to the extravagance of the reign of Andronikos II.<sup>155</sup>

These measures were implemented only gradually. Without the ability, and perhaps the volition too, to proceed instantly to *major* changes of land-ownership and taxation, with which the state could finance a sufficiently large army, they proved too late. Most of Thrace had fallen by the 1370s, when the state implemented the confiscation of one-third of monastic estates. Most of the new taxes made their appearance in the fifteenth century, not in the late fourteenth century. For quite some time issuance of privileges to the higher elite continued unbroken, even if the privileges did not materialise at the same pace. After the reconquest of parts of Macedonia by the Byzantines right after 1371, the government tried to restore pre-Serbian landownership status. The same restoration was not implemented when Byzantine rule was rehabilitated in the early fifteenth century, but the desire of the government to reward and sustain its main supporters, the higher elite, throughout the fourteenth century proved fatal both to state income and the size of the military, and to the allegiance of local elites.

The Byzantines were also fighting against a state, the Ottoman state, which was developing in the opposite direction. The Ottoman empire underwent growing centralisation after Murād I (r. 1362–89), with an important part of taxation destined for the state and a many more available military personnel. Consent in government was not a necessity; instead autocracy was growing, and execution of dissidents was a possibility. The Ottoman empire also offered the prospects of a dynamic and expanding state, its numbers growing every day through conversion to Islam, and possessed the ability to incorporate and use local elites by respecting local

<sup>154</sup> Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 432–47.

<sup>155</sup> Bartusis, *Land and privilege*, 550–78; Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 242–54 and 333–8.

autonomy in the initial stages of conquest when there was no serious opposition. So Thessalonike during the first Ottoman conquest (1387–1402) acquired autonomy;<sup>156</sup> on Lemnos, the Ottomans permitted the Christian peasants to be conscripted to fight under the command of their local Christian lords and maintained only a small garrison in the island's capital.<sup>157</sup>

In the seventh century, Byzantium had retreated and reorganised itself in Asia Minor, in the eleventh century in the Balkans and then, during the thirteenth century, in Asia Minor again. After the collapse of Asia Minor in the early fourteenth century, Byzantium had a chance to regroup in its Balkan provinces, and for a period this proved successful. Byzantium managed for some time to defend itself against the Turkish raids and even to expand in Thessaly and Epirus. After the end of the second civil war, in the 1350s and 1360s, the state was faced with a major Turkish incursion in Thrace, the last remaining Byzantine province (considering that the 'appanage' despotate of Mystras thereafter followed its own path). In addition it was a bankrupt state with a devastated countryside – and a bankrupt state has limited authority and autonomy of action. Now there was nowhere to retreat and regroup.

<sup>156</sup> See Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 84–102; Smyrlis, 'First Ottoman occupation'.

<sup>157</sup> Haldon, 'Limnos', 177–80; Lowry, *Early Ottoman state*, 95–114.



**Part II**  
**Case Studies**



## 6

# Late Byzantine Provincial Society: The Example of Serres

Serres in eastern Macedonia, in the lower valley of the river Strymon, is a fertile area. The lake of Achinos and the marshes surrounding the Strymon were the cause of many epidemic diseases and were drained only during the past century. It should be recalled that in 1342 a Serbian army besieging Serres was annihilated by these diseases.<sup>1</sup> My examination of the local society will include all the hinterland of Serres, the valley of the Strymon and the nearby towns, the most significant of which was the town of Zichna. The aim is to identify the social groups that constituted the social fabric of Serres; the sub-groupings of the local elite and their economic power in the area; and the latter's political and social attitudes, not only towards the lower social strata but also towards the state and the major political issues that come to the fore.

Most evidence regarding the society of Serres is of a documentary nature. The recent publication of Codex B of the Monastery of Prodromos on Mt Menoikeion near Serres, which was thought to be lost, provides us with valuable information about the local society. The Codex comprises 218 documents, the majority of which (except three later documents) were composed in the first half of the fourteenth century. Many of the documents have dating problems and, unfortunately, the edition of Lisa Bénou follows André Guillou in assuming that the monk Ioannikios was the founder of the monastery in around 1287.<sup>2</sup> In fact he was only its *refounder*; the origins, on the basis of documentary evidence, can be traced back to the late twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Codex B from the monastery of Prodromos is

<sup>1</sup> Kant., 2:292–3.

<sup>2</sup> Guillou, in *Acts Prodromou* (A), 5–8.

<sup>3</sup> Codex B, along with hundreds of other books, was lost after 1917 when the monastery was sacked during World War I. It was rediscovered in the 1990s in the Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies 'Prof. Ivan Dujčev' in Sofia. The re-examination of the

complemented by documentary evidence of the Athonite monasteries, most of which owned land in the Strymon valley, and real estate in Serres and Zichna.

The political institutions and organisation in Serres, especially under Serbian rule, have received considerable attention.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the society of Serres has not received the treatment it deserves. The sole specific study was by Laiou in 1996, but her work was published before Codex B.<sup>5</sup> Laiou divided the aristocracy of Serres into two groups: those who had property in the area but did not reside there, and the local aristocracy. Laiou's division is important in certain respects and, as my own research below confirms, reflects the share of political power and influence. But in the light of new evidence, the local elite can be divided into two further groups: one with a military and the other with a civil (ecclesiastical) tradition. Apart from Laiou's study, past research has focused on the rural relations in Macedonia as revealed through the Athonite documents.<sup>6</sup> Recently, Kostis Smyrlis has given attention to the study of monastic properties in the area.<sup>7</sup> The area of

dating of Codex B's documents was the result of a series of seminars in 1999–2001 at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS) in Paris under the direction of J. Lefort, V. Kravari and M. Verdure. Some of these results (for documents up to 1321) were concentrated in an unpublished report by Verdure, 'Prodomos'. This memoir is kept in the library of the Collège de France. See also Kresten and Schaller, 'Urkunden des Chartulars B', which includes a commentary and corrections on the first 18 documents from Codex B, the most intriguing and earliest acts. Schaller, in 'Prosopographische und diplomatische Ergänzungen', has also done good work correcting the dating of the offices of the metropolitan clergy. Table 29 in the Appendix compares the dates of the documents suggested by Bénou and the dates accepted in this book, based on the commentary in both Verdure and Kresten on the earlier documents and personal insights, especially on later documents. Wherever necessary I have annotated a few corrections in the reading of the documents, based on photos I have acquired since 2015 from the Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies 'Prof. Ivan Dujčev' in Sofia. I have not been able to acquire photos of the whole Codex; therefore, for many readings and interpretations, I have still relied on the otherwise fine edition of Bénou. A new critical edition and commentary is a desideratum.

<sup>4</sup> Ferjančić, *Византијски и српски Сер*; Ostrogorsky, *Серска област*; Soloviev, 'Треческие архонты'; Soulis, *Serbs and Byzantium*.

<sup>5</sup> Laiou, 'Κοινωνικές δυνάμεις'. A similar distinction between local and Constantinopolitan landowners is made by Moustakas, 'Transition', 18–25. Recently the social and political organisation of Serres in the Late Byzantine period has also been treated well by Kontogiannopoulou, 'Μεταξύ Κωνσταντινούπολης και Θεσσαλονίκης'. The arguments presented here in Chapter 6 follow, for the most part, those already introduced in my thesis dissertation (2013).

<sup>6</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*; See also especially the study Lefort, 'Radolibos', a large village situated in southern Serres, with abundant documentary material since the eleventh century.

<sup>7</sup> Smyrlis, *Fortune*.

Serres has also profited from the survival of two early Ottoman cadasters (TTD-3 of 1454/5 and TTD-7 of 1478/9), which present the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule and, in certain circumstances, preserve insight into the conditions that had prevailed during the late Byzantine period. The bulk of this research was made by Kostas Moustakas in his unpublished PhD dissertation,<sup>8</sup> while recently the cadasters have been used by Heath Lowry in a study regarding early Ottoman presence in the city of Serres.<sup>9</sup>

Serres was a medium-sized city but its importance grew in the late Byzantine period. The population of Serres in the mid-fifteenth century counted probably more than seven thousand inhabitants, while the nearby town of Zichna had roughly half of that, with the proportion of the urban element to the total population of the area at around 20 per cent.<sup>10</sup> This made Serres one of the largest Balkan towns at that time. As an medium-sized inland city, it was not a major commercial centre; nonetheless trade activities are reported.<sup>11</sup> Serres was an administrative centre, the capital of the thema of Serres and Strymon, and was subdivided into the *katepanikia* of Serres, Zichna and Zabaltia (or Parastrymon). Occasionally, before the abolition of the office of *doux* and its replacement with the *kephalē* in the first years of the first civil war, the jurisdiction of the *doux* was combined with the *katepanikia* of Christoupolis (modern Kavala) and Popolia (the region south of mountain Pangaion and east of the Strymon delta).<sup>12</sup>

During the first civil war, Serres and Zichna remained on the side of Andronikos II until 1327 when the governor of Zichna, Alexios TzAMPLAKON, with the consent of the town's populace, defected to Andronikos III. Serres, where an army of Andronikos II was stationed, fell soon after.<sup>13</sup> In the second civil war, Serres remained on the side of Ioannes V despite the two sieges by Kantakouzenos, raised in 1342 and 1343. Only in 1344 did strong Serbian pressure force the governor and the local elite, who held authority in the city, to surrender the city to Kantakouzenos. Nevertheless, Serbian pressure did not cease and a year later the Serbian-friendly party

<sup>8</sup> Moustakas, 'Transition of Southeastern Macedonia'.

<sup>9</sup> Lowry, *Shaping of Ottoman Balkans*.

<sup>10</sup> Nasturel and Beldiceanu, 'Églises byzantines'. A more accurate estimation is made by Moustakas, 'Transition', 248–60, stressing that this number may moreover reflect the city's populace after a recent epidemic due to the unusually high number of widow households.

<sup>11</sup> See Laiou, 'Κοινωνικές δυνάμεις', 204–7.

<sup>12</sup> See Theocharides, *Κατεπανίκια Μακεδονίας*, 37–65. The *katepanikion* of Strymon, however, belonged to the theme of Thessalonike and included the region on the western bank of river Strymon.

<sup>13</sup> Kant., 1:262.

in the city succeeded in delivering Serres to Stefan Dušan (king of Serbia: 1331–46, emperor of Serbia and *Rōmania*: 1346–55), where in 1346 he was crowned emperor. Zichna had already fallen, probably one year before Serres. After the death of Dušan in December 1355, Serres became the capital of the Serbian empire, under his widow Jelena and the despot Ioan Uglješa, until 1371 when the defeat of the Serbians at Maritsa allowed the Byzantine despot of Thessalonike, Manuel Palaiologos, to recapture and hold the area until the Turkish conquest of 1383.<sup>14</sup>

### The Higher Elite in Serres and the Non-local Forces of Economic and Social Influence

Some of the higher elite appear in possession of large amounts of property on the periphery of Serres, though it is evident that they never resided there. Among the most notable who owned land but did not reside in Serres was the son-in-law of the emperor Andronikos II, the *meḡas domestikos* Alexios Komnenos Raoul. He had been given as *pronoia* the village of Prebista (modern Palaiokomi), the total annual *posotēs* of which was 300 *hyperpyra*.<sup>15</sup> After the death of Raoul, the recipients of the village were also members of the elite: the emperor's niece, the *megalē doukaina* Theodora Palaiologina and her husband Ferran Ximénes de Arenós, a baron who had defected from the Catalan Company to the empire in 1308,<sup>16</sup> before it finally ended up in the hands of the monastery of Zographou shortly before 1325, after a request by the Bulgarian king Michael III (r. 1323–30).<sup>17</sup>

The family of Kantakouzenos is also attested as a great landowner in the area. In 1338 Theodora Kantakouzene, the mother of the later emperor, Ioannes VI, donated to the Athonite monastery of Koutloumousion some of her property in the city of Serres and its suburbs. She had striven to increase her possessions in Serres by creating a new estate. During the winter of 1337/8, through 110 individual purchases, she alone bought a total of 1,400 *modioi* of land from small and large local landowners to unite

<sup>14</sup> The date of the Byzantine recapture was recently proposed to have occurred on a later date, not convincingly enough according to my perspective: Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 201–36.

<sup>15</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 216 (no. 19: before 1303). For the village of Prebista, see this volume the analysis on p. 240–6.

<sup>16</sup> Greg., 1:23.

<sup>17</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 280–2 (no. 26: 1325) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 50–52).

them into a larger holding.<sup>18</sup> We learn that in 1342 during the civil war the *kephalē* of Serres, Sir Guy de Lusignan, confiscated vast amounts of Kantakouzenos' possessions in the surrounding area,<sup>19</sup> and among these was a large estate called tou Tzerne.<sup>20</sup>

Kantakouzenos was not the only member of the higher elite in Constantinople who endeavoured to acquire property in Serres. Before his downfall in 1328, the *meγas logothetēs* Theodoros Metochites was interested in the area and not only obtained through an imperial donation 4,400 *modioi* of land,<sup>21</sup> but proceeded also to make land purchases of his own.<sup>22</sup> Konstantinos Palaiologos, who defected from Kantakouzenos in fear of confiscation of his property in Serres in 1342,<sup>23</sup> and his brother, the *prōtobestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, also owned land. Most probably Konstantinos Palaiologos was the grandfather of Alexios Palaiologos and father of Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene, who were in possession of the village Hagios Georgios or Mperzitzikon near Serres in the later fourteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 99–148 (no. 80: 1337–8). It is also reported that an 'Angelina Kantakouzene, aunt of the emperor Ioannes Kantakouzenos', bought several fields in Serres in 1338: Eustratiades, 'Αγιορείτικων κωδικων σημειώματα', 90. The editors of PLP (no. 10931) connected her with Ioannes Angelos, the first cousin of Kantakouzenos, as the latter's aunt. However, Eustratiades did not publish the documents themselves, but only took down notes, having studied the archives of the monasteries of Mt Athos. He reports that these documents come from the year 1338 and are preserved in the archives of the monastery of Vatopedi, that they mention several sales all signed by the '*prōtodikos*' (sic.: the correct form is *prōtekdikos*) of Serres named Sergios Synadenos, and that their recipient is the aunt of the emperor Angelina Kantakouzene. He might be mistaken in noting Kantakouzenos as the nephew of this aunt, since all this information fits perfectly with the above documents (*Acts Vatopedi* II, no. 80), about which Eustratiades was speaking. So, she must have been the aunt of Andronikos III and the mother, not the aunt, of Ioannes Kantakouzenos: the well-known Theodora Kantakouzene.

<sup>19</sup> Kant., 2:185 and 191–2.

<sup>20</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 297 (no. 2: 1342). Half of it was given to Georgios Margarites and the other half to the monastery of Philotheou. Moreover, Kantakouzenos or Alexios Doukas Raoul must have been the *meγas domestikos* who is referred to as the neighbour of the monastery of Prodromos in Trilission shortly before 1337: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 203–4 (no. 121).

<sup>21</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 379 (no. 191). An imperial donation is implied by the term ἀνεδέξατο καὶ κατέχευεν used in the document to describe the way he had acquired his land.

<sup>22</sup> Two individual sellers are recorded: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 80–82 (no. 34) and 86 (no. 37).

<sup>23</sup> Kant., 2:196.

<sup>24</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 321–3 (no. 6: 1376). The connection has been made recently by Estangüi Gómez, 'Théodōra Palaiologina Philanthrōpēnē', 127–35. Theodora claimed that the village belonged to her family since time immemorial after a donation of the emperor to her father, an ancestor (πάππος) to the then emperor (Andronikos IV, in

Another aristocratic landowner in Serres was Eirene Chournaina Palaiologina, an educated woman and daughter of the *mesazōn* Nikephoros Choumnos, married to the imperial family through the despot Ioannes Palaiologos. Chournaina resided in Constantinople, but shortly before her death she moved to Zichna, where she donated a *zeugēlateion* to the monastery of Prodomos in 1355 in exchange for two *adelphata* of the monastery (one for her and one for whomsoever she wished).<sup>25</sup> The *eparchos* Michael Monomachos,<sup>26</sup> the *prōtostratōr* Theodoros Doukas

1376 when the document was drafted), who happened to have been a *ktētōr* of the monastery Philotheou. We know that the *prōtobestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, who died in 1328 during the first civil war as a supporter of Andronikos II, and his brother Konstantinos Palaiologos were *ktētores* of Philotheou and ancient relatives of Andronikos IV. According to Theodora, both her nephew Alexios Palaiologos and his father died young, Alexios Palaiologos having inherited the village directly from his grandfather. Since Andronikos Palaiologos died quite early (in 1328), we should consider Konstantinos Palaiologos, whose son, also named Andronikos Palaiologos, died at an early age in a river accident in 1344. This Andronikos Palaiologos must have been the father of Alexios Palaiologos and the brother of Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene. The mother of Alexios Palaiologos was the daughter of Alexios Apokaukos, who, after the death of Andronikos Palaiologos, married Ioannes Asanes, brother of the empress Eirene Kantakouzene. That Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene, however, was the sister of the aunt of the emperor Ioannes VII Anna Palaiologina in 1400 (MM II, 329–33 (no. 537: 1400); see also for her in this volume, p. 401), just because Anna's husband Komnenos Branas figures among the witnesses, is uncertain. Besides, Theodora, in the last sentence of the above-mentioned document from the monastery Philotheou calls all these witnesses as 'trustworthy *archontes*' and not her 'relatives'. One of these witnesses (Andronikos Tarchaneiotēs) calls her 'aunt of the emperor' and does not mention their own supposed degree of affinity. Therefore, not all these witnesses had any relation to Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene, and Anna Palaiologina was not her sister.

<sup>25</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 308–16 (nos 173–7). A few months beforehand she had sold part of her property to the monastery, but her final illness soon after forced her to donate the remainder. Her residency at Serres is confirmed by a clause in the donation document stating that 'in case she moves to Constantinople' the one *adelphaton* would be remunerated by 50 ounces of ducats (= 50 *hyperpyra*). Her move to the Serbian-occupied Serres may be connected to the persecution of anti-Palamites in the capital after the Synod of 1351; Chournaina was a renowned anti-Palamite and Serres were then under Serbian rule.

<sup>26</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 322–5 (no. 33: 1333) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 68–71): in 1333 a 50-*nomismata* portion of his *oikonomia* in Strymon (Chandax, Choudena, and Neboliane) was transformed into hereditary possession. Notably, at the end of the process, the revenue of the land delivered to him by the *apographeus* Ioannes Batatzes was virtually double that, perhaps a case of misappropriation of state revenue and cooperation between the landed aristocracy and the state's financial authorities. See also Oikonomides, 'Notes sur un praktikon', 343 and Mavrommatis, 'Πρόνοια Μονομάχου', 262–4. Monomachos seems to have resided in Edessa in western Macedonia, since we learn that his wife was arrested there in 1327 when the town reverted to Andronikos III: Kant., 1:274.



Synadenos,<sup>27</sup> and the *prōtasēkrētis* Leon Bardales are all attested as landlords in Serres.<sup>28</sup>

Following the defeat of Andronikos II in the first civil war, the property of Theodoros Metochites in Serres was confiscated and part of it was given to the monastery of Prodomos. The reason behind this act is not hard to find. The abbot of the monastery was the bishop of Zichna, Ioakeim, who had supported Andronikos III during the civil war. After the war he was able both to elevate his see from a bishopric to a metropolis, in 1329, and to enrich his monastery with additional imperial donations. Soon afterwards Andronikos III's trusted friend, the *meγas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos, undertook the *ephoreia* of the monastery.<sup>29</sup> It was not the only monastic foundation whose *ephoreia* Kantakouzenos took in the area. Not long before 1329, he had donated the monastery of St Demetrios near Serres, which he owned, as a *metochion* to the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi.<sup>30</sup>

There is a strong connection between landholding and previous service as a state official in a given area. The *meγas logariastēs* Kasandrenos, a fiscal official from Thessalonike, had appropriated (*dynasteia chrēsamenos*) the income from a fishing tax in the village of Chandax that belonged to the *eparchos* Monomachos.<sup>31</sup> Kasandrenos owned at least two more *oikonomiai* (one amounting to 40 *hyperpyra*) in the Strymon area that were confiscated in 1334 in favour of the monastery of Chilandar.<sup>32</sup> Similarly,

<sup>27</sup> He sold to the monastery of Chilandar a mill and 50 *modioi* of land in 1333 next to the village of Kremna he possessed near Zichna (*Acts Chilandar* [Petit], 256–8 [no. 123: 1333]) and he donated the *metochion* of St Kyriake to the monastery of Xenophon (*Acts Xenophon*, 196 [no. 25: 1338]).

<sup>28</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 207 (no. 124): he donated a bath in Zichna to the monastery of Prodomos. He seems to have had property in Kato Ouska as well (as neighbour of the monastery of Prodomos) just before 1339–41: *Acts Prodomou* (B), 251 and 253 (no. 146). The reference is made simply to a *prōtasēkrētis*, but it is known that Bardales held this title between at least 1320 and 1342 and besides he is mentioned in two judicial disputes and signs simply as '*prōtasēkrētis*', without a name: *Acts Prodomou* (B), 210–11 (no. 126); also see *ibid.* p. 212 for a judicial document of 1319 (no. 127) with no reference to the surname of Bardales.

<sup>29</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 237 (no. 138) and 382–3 (no. 192).

<sup>30</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 374–5, l. 55–60 (no. 68: 1329).

<sup>31</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 324 (no. 33: 1333) (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 71).

<sup>32</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 268, l. 85–8 (no. 42: 1319) and 272–3, l. 10–13 (no. 43: 1319). Kasandrenos is not known to have served in the region. But his title implies service in the financial departments, and the appropriation must have originated from this function. The context for the confiscation is not known, but he might have fallen into disgrace. At any rate this disgrace might have led him to support Andronikos III in the coming civil war between grandfather and grandson. A document from the patriarchal court mentions that the houses of a certain Nikolaos Kephalas were seized by Konstantinos Mouzalon, having obtained an imperial confirmation during

Ioannes Panaretos, who served as *apographeus* in 1297/1312, managed to transform 30 *hyperpyra* from his *oikonomia* into a hereditary possession.<sup>33</sup> The *meGas primmikērios* Nikephoros Basilikos had served as governor of Melenikon in 1328 and refused to join Andronikos III, but soon after the latter's victory he came to peaceful terms with him and remained as governor. Perhaps as a result, an *oikonomia* of 100 *hyperpyra* belonging to the monastery of Prodromos was transferred to him shortly afterwards.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to Choumnaina, another member of the elite who resided in Serres temporarily was the *sebastos* Konstantinos Pankalos. Pankalos obtained his property through imperial donation and personal purchases from individuals but nothing from hereditary possession, which implies that he did not come from Serres. Besides, he became a monk in the monastery of Pantokrator in Constantinople, to which he donated his property in a document drafted in Ainos in coastal Thrace.<sup>35</sup> Pankalos was not a member of the higher elite, we do not know of any other members of his family, but he represented a non-local force in Serres. His is an example of horizontal mobility among the ranks of the provincial elite. The story of Pankalos also reveals that there was room for large investments in Serres in the first half of the fourteenth century. Many of the houses that he owned had been built by him, and he had also planted some of the vineyards and orchards.

It is not an easy task to trace the relations between the higher and the local lesser elite or the intensity and the nature of the influence that the central authority and higher elite families exercised in the area. As can be observed from the list of officials before the Serbian occupation (Table 9), most of the governors (*kephalai*) of the area were appointed from the ranks

the 'turbulent times' – that is, during the first phase of the first civil war, 1321/2 – because Kephalas allegedly had 'followed Kasandrenos': PR I, 422–4 (no. 71: 1324). Since Thessalonike had remained at the side of Andronikos II in that first phase, the government obviously regarded Kasandrenos as an enemy.

<sup>33</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 49 (no. 6: 1313).

<sup>34</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 96 (no. 27: c. 1333–8). The monastery would receive other land as substitution. Around the same date (before 1337) there appears to have been a *meGas primmikērios* neighbour of the *metochion* of Trilission (in northern Serres, not too far from Melenikon): *Acts Prodromou* (B), 203, l. 19 (no. 121). This could have been Basilikos. This document also refers to another two elite neighbours: a *meGas domestikos* (l. 10) and a *meGas tzaousios*. The *meGas domestikos* most probably is Kantakouzenos (or Alexios Doukas Raoul, a native of Zichna) but the *meGas tzaousios* (l. 19) cannot be identified since the previous known holder of the office, Alexios Tzemplakon, had been promoted to *meGas papias* already in 1327 (the next attested holder is Theodoros Koteanitzes in 1344 in Thessalonike).

<sup>35</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 51–3 (no. 8: 1313). For a list of his properties, see this volume, p. 240.

of the higher aristocracy or, in the case of financial officials (*doukes*, *apographeis* and similar), from the civil elites of Constantinople and Thessalonike, with the exception of Michael Papylas Gogos.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, they owned large amounts of property and these two elements were vital for the control of both local resources and the exercise of influence. It is known, for example, that Leon Bardales, who had donated a bath in the nearby town of Zichna to the monastery of Prodomos, seems to have intervened at least twice to help the monastery in judicial disputes.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most influential higher aristocrat in Serres was Manuel Asanes, the third son of King Ivan Asen III of Bulgaria (r. 1279–80) who had been forced to retire to Byzantium. Ivan Asen had married a daughter of Michael VIII and his descendants became fully assimilated, making one of the noblest families in late Byzantium. Manuel Asanes, unlike his brothers in Constantinople, resided in Serres, where in 1343 he is attested as owning at least some houses and land.<sup>38</sup> His two elder brothers, Andronikos and Isaakios, were leading members of the regency faction against Kantakouzenos. Following the city's defection to Kantakouzenos in 1344, Asanes became the alleged leader of the pro-Serbian party in Serres, and eventually, in spite of the efforts of Konstantinos Palaiologos and the latter's son-in-law Demetrios Tzamlakon, succeeded in handing over the city to Stefan Dušan.<sup>39</sup> Two other members of the Asanes family are attested shortly afterwards, in 1348, the siblings Alexios and Maria Asanina, owners of a shop in Serres that they sold to the monastery of Prodomos.<sup>40</sup> Alexios is Alexios Asanes, the cousin and *oikeios* of the empress Jelena in Serres in 1365.<sup>41</sup> They were probably the offspring of Manuel Asanes.<sup>42</sup> If this is the case, then Manuel Asanes not only resided

<sup>36</sup> He is attested twice in 1335 and 1349 in Zichna: *Acts Prodomou* (B), 64 (no. 21) and 307 (no. 172). In 1342 he is attested as *apographeus* of the *thema* of Melenikon (with jurisdiction over the north of Serres, around Trilission (modern Katafyto).

<sup>37</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 210–13 (no. 126).

<sup>38</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 129 (no. 64). It must have been the same Asanes who was neighbour to some fields of the monastery of Prodomos in c. 1341: *ibid.*, 99, l. 2–3 (no. 45) and 242, l. 14 (no. 141).

<sup>39</sup> Kant., 2:535.

<sup>40</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 128 (no. 63).

<sup>41</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162–3 (no. 27: 1365).

<sup>42</sup> First of all, it is still too early for the surname of Asanes to have diffused outside the main line of the family (until the 1340s there were only the first and second generations of the family: i.e. the children and grandchildren of the Bulgarian king), and secondly this identification would explain the reference to Alexios as cousin of the empress, through Manuel Asanes, who was an uncle to Ioannes V. See also Ferjančić, *Византијски и српски Сер*, 90–1; Trapp, 'Asanen', 163–77.

in Serres but was married into the local elite. The mother of the two children was a Senacherina and their maternal grandmother a Doukaina Troulene: a Georgios Doukas Troulenos was a large landowner in Serres, recipient of an *oikonomia* and *oikeios* of the emperor in the early fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup>

Once the Serbians were established in Serres, the scene changed drastically. The vast properties of the higher aristocracy were confiscated by the emperor Stefan Dušan. For example, the *pinkernēs* Demetrios Tornikes and Anna Tornikina, who owned a certain estate in Zabaltia that fell into the dominion of the Serbians, had to move to Constantinople. There in 1358 they stipulated that in case Alexios and Ioannes, the appanage-rulers of Christoupolis, managed to recover the area from the Serbians, half of the estate would revert to the Athonite monastery of the Pantokrator, which had recently been founded by Alexios and Ioannes.<sup>44</sup> Most probably they returned again to the area after the re-establishment of Byzantine rule, since Tornikes was attested there in 1378.<sup>45</sup> Another case of confiscation might be that of a certain Raoulaina, whose *oikonomia* was assigned to a company of men-at-arms.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 52–3 (no. 8: 1313), without the surname Doukas; *Acts Prodromou* (B), 278 (no. 160), where he himself signs as Georgios Doukas Troulenos, and 280–1 (no. 161). Bénou thinks that Alexios might be the brother of Manuel Asanes, but he was certainly not, since their mother was named in the document as a Senacherina, whereas Manuel Asanes' mother was Eirene Palaiologina, the daughter of Michael VIII.

<sup>44</sup> *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 104–5 (no. 12: 1358). Anna had three children but none of them bore a surname in the document. She claimed that the field was given to her as a dowry by her father 'the *parakoimōmenos*'. Since one of her sons bore the surname Kantakouzenos and not Tornikes, it makes sense to suppose that she was a Kantakouzene and probably daughter of the *parakoimōmenos* Andronikos Kantakouzenos in 1320 (Kant., 1:17). If this Andronikos Kantakouzenos can be identified with the homonymous *meγas chartouliarios* Andronikos Kantakouzenos, governor of the Strymon area in 1322 and *prōtobestiariētēs* and *sympentheros* of Andronikos II in 1324, then we have one more case of an official who had obtained for himself lands in the area that he was administering: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 220–2 (nos 130–1); MM III, 104 (no. 24: 1324). The main problem with this identification is that the title of *parakoimōmenos* is higher than both the *meγas chartouliarios* and *prōtobestiariētēs*, in which he is attested in 1322 and 1324. Kantakouzenos may have made a mistake, using a later title for him. Nicol, in *Family of Kantakouzenos*, 155, identifies as her father the *parakoimōmenos* Andronikos Palaiologos Tornikes in 1324–7, but has no actual explanation for the surname Kantakouzenos. For these identifications, see the commentary by Lemerle in *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 103 and Schmalzbauer, 'Tornikioi', 129–30.

<sup>45</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 331 (no. 157: 1378).

<sup>46</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 301: καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ προνομίοις ἧς ἐνέμετο τὸ μέρος τῆς Ραλένης. The editor, Vasiliki Kravari, assumes that this was not a confiscation but that she was just deceased. However, the document does not refer to her as ἐκείνη,

The family of Tzamlakon was equally affected by the establishment of Serbian rule. They originated seemingly from the nearby town of Drama,<sup>47</sup> and owned large properties around central and eastern Macedonia, which fell to Serbian dominion. They were then impelled by the situation, as were other aristocrats, to donate these properties (even if *de facto* no more the holders, they had their ownership titles) to Athonite monastic establishments, since these monasteries, being powerful and also under the dominion of the Serbians, could perhaps retrieve the properties and profit. Demetrios Tzamlakon, the son-in-law of the above-mentioned Konstantinos Palaiologos, tried along with the latter to prevent the defection of the city to the Serbians, but failed and was compelled to leave the city for Christoupolis, where he wrote his testament.<sup>48</sup>

A branch of the Laskaris family seems to have been in the area of Serres. Konstantinos Komnenos Laskaris was in possession of 600 *modioi* of land in the village of Dekalista, which was then given to the monastery of Karakallou.<sup>49</sup> The 'most noble' Georgios Komnenos Laskaris, who in 1334 is attested as buying some land in Serres, must have belonged to the same family branch.<sup>50</sup> This family, too, apparently suffered from the establishment of the Serbians in the area. The 650 *modioi* of land of the *epi tēs trapezēs* Laskaris near Chrysoupolis were confiscated by Dušan in favour of the monastery of Vatopedi.<sup>51</sup> This Laskaris is known to have left the area and was killed in Didymoteichon, fighting perhaps for Matthaïos Kantakouzenos.<sup>52</sup>

In 1377, Konstantinos Laskaris and his sisters were active in Serres claiming (unsuccessfully) some buildings and an orchard from the monastery of Lavra. According to the document, their mother had donated this property to Lavra 'many years ago'. Even though it is probable that they all resided in Serres when the donation had taken place, it is equally possible that, as with other aristocratic families, their mother sought to sell

the usual designation for deceased people. Besides, it is stipulated at the end of the document that in case someone representing 'those who were holding the estate beforehand' came under the authority of king Stefan and requested it back, they would receive another estate of similar size rather than the one they asked for. Therefore, we are probably dealing with a case of confiscation.

<sup>47</sup> Hunger, 'Anonymes Pamphlet', 96, where there is the reference to a Tzamlakon from Drama.

<sup>48</sup> Kant., 2:535. For the practice of donating lost properties to the powerful Athonite monasteries, see Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 186–95.

<sup>49</sup> *Acts Karakallou* (Pavlikianov), 74–5 (no. 1: 1294) (= Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 112).

<sup>50</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 97–8 (no. 43).

<sup>51</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 215 (no. 97: 1348).

<sup>52</sup> Sakkelion, 'Συνοδικαὶ διαγνώσεις', 274.

or donate unused property to an Athonite monastery under the dominion of the Serbians.<sup>53</sup> The Laskaris family later cooperated with the Ottomans after their establishment in the area. Makarios (monastic name) Bryennios and his relative, the 'most noble' Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris, were assigned the village of Achinos under the terms of a *timar*.<sup>54</sup>

These examples of a few members of the higher elite residing in the area, or becoming part of the local elite in eastern Macedonia show an important feature of late Byzantine society. The Laskaris or Tornikes families did not originate from this area but obviously became established there at some point in the early Palaiologan period. Their establishment served not only their desire to administer their properties better, but also, as is demonstrated by many similar cases, the government's desire to better control local society. The government deliberately ceded large estates and accorded extensive privileges to the higher elite, in this way encouraging their establishment in the area in order to serve as stabilising and loyal forces.

### The Local Military Elite of Serres

The important local families are relatively distinguishable. The properties of the local elite in Serres consisted mostly of substantial land and real estate holdings. One of these families was the house of the Synadenoi. Due to their lesser financial robustness and evident residency in this area, they cannot be feasibly connected to the aristocratic family of the Synadenoi. Although the *prōtostratōr* Theodoros Synadenos has been identified as a landowner in the area, it cannot be established that the local Synadenos family had any connection with this higher elite family, especially because the name Synadenos is attested even among peasants in the countryside of Serres. Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos, an *oikeios* of the emperor Andronikos III (attested in 1329 and 1341), obviously had financial difficulties. He sold his half share of a mill to the monastery of Prodromos, and later the houses and some land in the city, which were included in the dowry of his wife Theodora Angelina. The last transaction was annulled afterwards, since Theodora went to the *katholikai kritai* in Constantinople and was

<sup>53</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 111–12 (no. 148: 1377). It is uncertain whether this Laskaris can be identified with another Konstantinos Palaiologos Laskaris, who along with his two brothers, Leon Koteanitizes Laskaris and Georgios Laskaris, were large landowners in Strumica (*Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 326–9 (no. 155: 1374)), situated not too far in the northwest side of Serres, as the editors of PLP assume: PLP, no. 14543.

<sup>54</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 175–7 (no. 30: 1393). See Moustakas, 'Pronoia of Laskaris', 63–95 on the *timar* affair.

vindicated. Following the annulment of the transaction, it was stipulated that Nikolaos should give the money back to the monks. But obviously he was unable to refund them fully for a house that they had built on site, and he let the monastery receive the rent for the house until he had the means to buy it.<sup>55</sup> The second family branch around the same period is that of Michael Synadenos. Michael was a landowner in the area of Serres; he is attested buying a woman's house and some land from three other individual aristocrats.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps he can be identified with a homonymous governor of Zichna in 1349.<sup>57</sup> A third family branch is connected to the ecclesiastical administration (see the next section).

There were families in Serres claiming their lineage from the noble house of the Komnenoi, but probably none of them was connected to it. One of these families was the Komnenoi Patrikioi. The first Komnenos Patrikios, in the late thirteenth century, and subsequently his sons (Ioannes and some unnamed others) in 1307 and his grandsons (Leon and Stephanos) between 1307 and 1330, donated property to the monastery of Prodromos, made up of 880 *modioi* of land and 20 *modioi* of vineyards.<sup>58</sup> Around the same period – in 1313 – a *paneugenestatos* (i.e. 'most noble') Georgios Komnenos Patrikios is attested buying a small plot of land of 3 *stremmata*. Though he is certainly related to the other Patrikioi, we are unable to state his exact relationship with them.<sup>59</sup>

The local family of Kardames also claimed descent from the Komnenoi. At least one of the sons of Eirene Komnene Kardamina, the widow of Theodoros Kardames, eventually adopted only the surname Komnenos.<sup>60</sup> Three more members of the family are attested: the *mezas tzaousios* Kardames in 1365,

<sup>55</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 46–7 (no. 14) and 144–5 (no. 72) the full reading of the name on p. 46 is Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos, not simply Doukas Synadenos, as Bénou read: see Kresten and Schaller, 'Urkunden des Chartulars B', 210–11.

<sup>56</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 116–18 (nos 56–7).

<sup>57</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 307 (no. 172).

<sup>58</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 73–5 and 77 (nos 27–9 and 31): (p. 74, correct reading at the end of l. 6: ἀμπ(ἐ)λλ(ιον) [(καὶ)] γῆν μοδ(ίωv) ἑκατ(όν) not ἀμπ(ἐ)λλ(ιον) μοδίωv ἑκατ(όν)). For the affair, see Verdure, 'Regestes', 53–6. The main line of the Komnenoi clan had mostly disappeared by the end of the twelfth century, albeit some major lines, such as the Komnenoi Doukai, the Komnenoi Laskarides and the Komnenoi Doukai Palaiologoi (the imperial dynasty), survived. The only branch of the main line that survived was the dynasty of the Megaloi Komnenoi in Trebizond. Komnenos eventually became so common that it was later (from the fifteenth century onwards), and until today, used as a first name, particularly in Macedonia.

<sup>59</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 95–6 (no. 42). *Stremma* is roughly equivalent to *modios*. He could well have been one of the unnamed brothers of Ioannes Komnenos Patrikios.

<sup>60</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 138 (d.: 1340); he signs simply as Komnenos; also p. 140 for the reference to her already deceased husband Theodoros Kardames in 1333.

a member of the senate of Serres under Serbian rule,<sup>61</sup> Ioannes Kardames in 1310;<sup>62</sup> and Nikolaos Kardames, who along with his son-in-law Konstantinos Atuemes, both *oikeioi* of the emperor, is attested as selling some land and a vineyard to Michael Synadenos in 1334.<sup>63</sup>

Another important family in the area were that of Batatzes. There are at least four individuals with this surname, but unfortunately there is not enough evidence to argue that they formed a single branch of the family. The first was the *paneugenestatos* Georgios Komnenos Batatzes, who in 1313 is attested buying a small field near his possessions in Libobiston.<sup>64</sup> The second was the *oikeios* of Stefan Dušan, Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos, and the third was Ioannes Batatzes, the son-in-law (apparently) of Ioannes Modenos, son of the *prōtopapas* and *sakellarios* Modenos. His wife's property amounted to 1,000 *modioi* of land as dowry from Ioannes Modenos. They sold it to the monastery of Chilandar for 260 *nomismata*, but half of the money would go to his grandson on reaching maturity.<sup>65</sup> The last person was Konstantinos Batatzes, a goldsmith,<sup>66</sup> but he rather belonged to the middle class.

<sup>61</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162 (no. 27: 1365). The evidence of a senate in Serres can only be connected to the adoption of Byzantine practices in the court of the empress Jelena. On these adoptions of Byzantine practices, see Maksimović, 'Порески систем'; Ostrogorsky, 'Relations byzantine-serbes'; Soulis, 'Byzantino-Serbian relations', 57–61.

<sup>62</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 134 (no. 66). Both Bénou and Verdure ('Prodromos', 69) list him as *primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn* because the office appears before him in the document: παρρησία τῶν εὐρισκομένων ἀξιόδεκτων μαρτύρων, τοῦ τε πριμμικηρίου τῶν χρυσοβουλλάτων κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρδάμη, τοῦ Γλαβάτου κῦρ Μιχαήλ καὶ κῦρ τοῦ Ζαμπλούμου καὶ κῦρ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ῥαμβουλά . . . He could not be this though, since in the very same document the purchaser Andronikos Lypenares is mentioned as the *primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn*. The essence of the meaning of the word *primmikērios* is 'first'; therefore, there can be no second 'first' of something in an office, and especially in the same area. As we see there is no *καὶ* after the next name (Michael Glabatos), so the office might refer to Lypenares again, saying that *he* also was present during the transaction, and that the writer simply omitted the *καὶ* once more; thus a comma is needed before κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρδάμη. See also note 66. Unless Ioannes Kardames was *primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn* in another town.

<sup>63</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 116–17 (no. 56). In the same document, another *oikeios* of the emperor, Manuel Zagaromates, signs but his relationship to Nikolaos Kardames or Michael Atuemes is unknown.

<sup>64</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 93–5 (no. 41).

<sup>65</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 246–9 (no. 118: 1329).

<sup>66</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 139 (no. 69: 1340): ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου σκευοφύλακος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγιωτάτης μητροπόλεως Σερρών, κῦρ Κωνσταντίνου χρυσοχοῦ τοῦ Βατάτζη καὶ ἐτέρων. I believe he is not the *skeuophylax*, since he is a goldsmith; a comma should be inserted after Σερρών. A similar more obvious case can be seen on p. 60: the bishop of Zichna remains unnamed and certainly he is not *kyr* Ioannes Rammatas that follows among the witnesses (the comma there was correctly placed).



Most of the local elite are attested with the designation 'oikeios of the emperor'; some must have had some sort of title or office, even if this cannot be verified, since people did not always necessarily refer to them in the documents, especially to those of minor importance. As we noted above, the higher offices in Serres were mostly reserved for the families of Constantinople and the higher elite. Local society usually had to confine itself to lower offices of minor importance. Michael Maurophoros is attested as an *oikeios* of Andronikos III and *kritēs tou phossatou* (a military judge) in Serres between 1327 and 1348.<sup>67</sup> The same office was held earlier in 1307 by the *oikeios* of Andronikos II, Alexios Diplobatzes, who was then also able to obtain the privilege of transforming 1,000 *modioi* of land from his *oikonomia* into hereditary land. Just a few years later he is attested with the lower title of *hetaireiarchēs*.<sup>68</sup>

The second office usually reserved for the local elite was that of *kastrophylax*. The manifest military nature of the office, the command of the town garrison, leaves open to doubt whether a *kastrophylax* had any meaningful administrative duties; his opportunities to attain political power were decidedly curtailed by the presence in all Byzantine cities of *kephalai*, who supervised the administration and the command of the army in both their city and its surrounding territory. Leon Azanites in 1339 and Demetrios Arethas in 1375 are attested as *kastrophylakes* of Serres in the Byzantine period.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, Konstantinos Achyraïtes in 1321, Alexios Angelos in 1327 and Ioannes Konstomoiros in 1349 are attested as *kastrophylakes* of Zichna.<sup>70</sup> Achyraïtes also held the office of *prokathēmenos* in 1335, the nature of which was unclear after the introduction and the extension of the post of *kephalē* in all the cities of the empire.<sup>71</sup>

Another office of plausibly military origin was the *primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn*, which so far has been attested only in Serres and then only for two individuals: Andronikos Lypenares, son of a local elite family,

<sup>67</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 211 (no. 126: 1327), 69 (no. 23: 1329), 169 (no. 93: 1329), 63 (no. 21: 1335); *Acts Vatopedi* II, 215 (no. 97: 1348).

<sup>68</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 41 (no. 2: 1307); Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, 1:83. The post *kritēs tou phossatou* was also attested in Thessalonike, occupied by a certain Senachereim in 1338: PR II, 114 (no. 111: 1337/8).

<sup>69</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 285 (no. 162) and *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 130 (no. 33: 1375), respectively.

<sup>70</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 133 (no. 66), 168 (no. 92) and 305 (no. 171), respectively.

<sup>71</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 64 (no. 21). Regarding the office, see Maksimović, *Provincial administration*, 168–74. A *prokathēmenos* had probably some administrative tasks in a specified town and was subordinate to the *kephalē*. There is also a distinction in the list of Pseudo-Kodinos between the posts of *prokathēmenos* and *kastrophylax*: Pseudo-Kodinos, 188.

in 1310, and Michael Kaphoures in 1322.<sup>72</sup> The exact duties of this office cannot be determined, though it literally means ‘head of those who possess a chrysobull’, in other words, those who have received an imperial privilege. Georgios Troulenos, after he succeeded in converting part of his *oikonomia* into patrimonial and tax-exempted land, was considered a *chrysoboullatos*.<sup>73</sup> They had a form of organisation and were obliged to care about ‘imperial business, for *douleia*’.<sup>74</sup> Since in Byzantine documents, *douleia* can also mean military obligations, I suspect they primarily had military obligations or, at least, promoted imperial interests in their respective area.<sup>75</sup> When in 1293 Leon Koteanitzes received some land in full dominion, it was specified that the land was to be held without any *douleia*, that is, with ‘no obligation’, which ultimately means the obligation to provide military service. Similarly, in Thessaly in 1340, soldiers are referred to in a document together with the *chrysoboullatoi*, implying a correlation.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, I believe that those who received land after a chrysobull also assumed certain obligations, such as perhaps additional military duties.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 133 (no. 66); *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 222.

<sup>73</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 53 (no. 8: 1318): ἄνευ μέντοι τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς σιταρκίας [. . .]. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ μόνα ὀφείλουσιν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν πᾶσι κτήμασι καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρυσοβουλλάτοις ἐστὶ συνήθεια ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δουλειῶν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς χρήσεως (‘without the taxes of *sitarkia* [. . .], and since these alone need to be requested of them, because it is a custom to request these [taxes] from all estates even from the estates of the *chrysoboullatoi*, in order to be used for the common cause’). Even monastic properties acquired or protected by a chrysobull also counted as *chrysoboullata*: *Acts Lavra* II, 179 (no. 107: 1319): οἱ ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἀπογραφικὴν ἀποκατάστασιν [. . .] οἶδατε ὅπως ἐτάχθητε συντηρῆσαι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνοχὴν ὑμῶν εὐρισκόμενα χρυσοβουλλάτα κτήματα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ προσόντα τῆ [. . .] σεβασμῆς μονῆς [. . .] τῆς Λάβρας (‘you, who are performing the duties of *apographis*, know that you have been appointed to oversee within your jurisdiction area the *chrysoboullata* estates and the other ones that belong to the holy monastery of Lavra’).

<sup>74</sup> Sathas, *MB*, vol. 6, 648–9.

<sup>75</sup> For *douleia* as military obligation, see, for example, *ibid.*, 642; *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 203 (no. 96: 1324); *Acts Docheiariou*, 188 (no. 27: 1351); *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 90–1 (no. 20: 1342); *Acts Vatopedi* I, 359, l. 176 (no. 64: 1325) (in the context of ‘killed in battle for the emperor’). Yet it may mean any ‘imperial business’ too, including the task of an *apographeus* (e.g. *Acts Prodromou* (B), 416, no. 214). Since, however, there is no connection in our case to any financial or civil office, here it apparently means military obligations. An additional indication is the epithet ἀνδρικότατος, ‘most brave’, used of Lypenares.

<sup>76</sup> Bees, ‘Σερβικά καὶ βυζαντιακά γράμματα’, 63–4: συμπαραόντων ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων [eight names of *archontes*], ἔτι τὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρικαλιτῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ χρυσοβουλλάτων πολλῶν.

<sup>77</sup> Recently Smyrliis, in ‘Petty elite’, 662–3, has expressed the view that the term concerns non-*archontes* who received a privilege. In our case, Georgios Troulenos was surely an *archon*, since at the time he received the privilege, he was already in possession of an

The only member of the local elite who obtained the office of *kephalē* in Zichna during the Byzantine rule was Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias,<sup>78</sup> son (?) of Guillaume de Calabria (*Goulielmonas Kaballarios Ntekalabrias*), who had died sometime between 1323 and 1330.<sup>79</sup> Guillaume evidently had a Latin origin, and we may suppose that he had entered the service of the Byzantine emperor as a soldier and had received land. Both his descendants, Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias and his grandson Ioannes, have Greek names.<sup>80</sup> The surname Kaballarios probably does not come through an earlier alliance with the Byzantine *oikos* of the Kaballarioi, since Guillaume is referred to by that name too; it was either acquired as a nickname for being a horseman or is the homonymous lesser title attested in this period.<sup>81</sup>

As had happened in the late twelfth century with the disintegration of state authority, the expansion of the power of local *archontes* and the establishment of local autonomous rulers, so in the mid-fourteenth century the crisis of the second civil war brought forth the dissatisfaction of the local elites. In Serres this did not result in a request for autonomy, as was the case in nearby Thessalonike and Anaktoropolis, but the arrival of the Serbians in the area in 1344 shaped the nature of opposition. Most of local society, if it did not cooperate with the Serbians, at least accepted the new Serbian rule eagerly and was incorporated into it. The extent of the collaboration in the Serbian regime has been questioned, unconvincingly in my view, considering the new evidence presented here.<sup>82</sup> Certainly, there were those who did not want to compromise. In one case the property of the *prōtallagatōr* Basilikos, who left for Constantinople, was appropriated by Gogos by means of a *prostagma* of Dušan, on grounds of Basilikos' treason.

*oikonomia*, which included the land of 1,600 *modioi* that was privileged then. Ioannes Panaretos, who received the same privilege, of converting part (30 *hyperpyra*) of his *oikonomia* into privileged land through a chrysobull, possessed already the title of *hetaireiarchēs* and had served earlier as *apographeus*: *Acts Prodromou* (A), 49 (no. 6). Andronikos Lypenares also cannot be considered as non-elite; his father had founded the monastery of Latomou, which later became a *metochion* of Koutloumousiou.

<sup>78</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 69 (no. 23).

<sup>79</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 185 (no. 111: donation to the monastery of Prodromos by Guillaume in 1323 – and not obviously in 1338, when Bénou preferably dates this document) and 176 (no. 102: Guillaume with full name, mentioned as deceased in 1330).

<sup>80</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 265 (no. 152: sale document of 1343 to the monastery of Prodromos by Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias and his son Ioannes).

<sup>81</sup> It is referred as one of the lowest titles (eighty-seventh of ninety-one titles) by the list of offices of Harmenopoulos in Pseudo-Kodinos, 302, followed by Matthaios Blastares in *ibid.*, 323. It is not mentioned in subsequent lists of titles, including the one by Pseudo-Kodinos.

<sup>82</sup> Ferjančić, *Византијски и српски Сер*, 64–112; Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs'; Soulis, *Serbs and Byzantium*, 80–4, who adopts a compromising view.

Nevertheless, shortly later Stefan Dušan confirmed through a chrysobull all the properties of the inhabitants of Zichna. Accordingly, Basilikos' wife, who had stayed behind, was able to retrieve the property back in 1349.<sup>83</sup>

Among those who integrated into the Serbian regime was Michael Maurophoros. During the civil war he had supported Kantakouzenos and as a result his property was confiscated. However, after the coming of Stefan Dušan he not only regained his possessions, but was restored as *kritēs tou phossatou* and received from Dušan an additional estate (which Maurophoros subsequently donated to Vatopedi in 1348).<sup>84</sup> Two more members of the elite attested in the Byzantine period received additional privileges from Dušan. Ioannes Margarites had supported the regency during the civil war and as a result obtained confiscated land in various places, as well as other privileges such as the removal, in 1342, of the tax of 9 *nomismata* that he paid for lands that he held.<sup>85</sup> He subsequently joined Stefan Dušan, and by 1348 he was a *meγas hetaireiarchēs*; he is then attested with more property in many places (Kato Ouska, Rachoba, Dratzoba, Mikra Nebo-liane, Kaisaropolis), land near Chrysoupolis and a church and house in this town.<sup>86</sup> Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos, married to Anna Angelina, donated his property (probably his entire patrimonial property) in 1353 to the monastery of Prodomos. It consisted of two estates, a vineyard, two watermills and some houses and shops in Serres, many of which he had bought during the previous thirty years. He was designated as *oikeios* of the emperor Dušan who later granted him tax immunity.<sup>87</sup>

The *meγas domestikos* Alexios Doukas Raoul, a native of Zichna, is called 'my beloved *oikeios*' by Andronikos III, who also confirms the donation Raoul had made to the monastery of Prodomos in 1337.<sup>88</sup> In 1355,

<sup>83</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 307 (no. 172). I interpret πρὸ χρόνων ἐξέφυγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν as meaning that Basilikos had left for the City (i.e. Constantinople). Regarding Dušan's confirmation of the properties of the inhabitants of Zichna: ἔλαβεν πρόσταγμα ἵνα ἔχη τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτῆς, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ζιχινιώται [. . .] καθὼς διορίζεται ὁ αὐθέντης ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος καὶ καθὼς διαλαμβάνει τὸ χρυσοβούλλιον τῶν Ζιχινιωτῶν ('she received a *prostagma* to possess her property like the other inhabitants of Zichna [. . .], as our holy lord and emperor commands and as the chrysobull for the inhabitants of Zichna stipulates').

<sup>84</sup> *Acts Philotheou*, 23 (no. 8: 1344); *Acts Vatopedi* II, 215 (no. 97: 1348).

<sup>85</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 400–1 (no. 206).

<sup>86</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 215 (no. 97: 1348).

<sup>87</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 91–104 (nos 40–9) and 288–90 (no. 165).

<sup>88</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 205–6 (no. 123) and 420 (no. 218). See also *ibid.*, 5–6, where the editor Bénou rejects the possibility that the two acts were drawn up during the Serbian regime as Mavrommatis ('Alexis Raoul', 157–62) stipulated. Besides he was then called *oikeios* and not 'uncle of the emperor', as was the case with Dušan.

holding the same title, he was now (Serbian-appointed) *kephalē* of Zichna and signed as an 'uncle of Stefan Dušan'.<sup>89</sup> The high rank in Serbian hierarchy did not prevent Raoul from concluding a marriage alliance with a Byzantine high official: he married his daughter to Angelos, the son of the *panhypersebastos* Stephanos Kalothetos from Xantheia, in Byzantine-held Thrace. After Angelos' death and when Kalothetos had become monk in Vatopedi, Alexios claimed his property (his daughter's dowry?) estimated at a value of more than 2,100 *hyperpyra* of moveable goods. Despite Vatopedi's initial support of Kalothetos, Raoul, with the help of a *prostagma* of the Serbian empress Jelena, successfully reclaimed his property in 1366.<sup>90</sup> We should recall that Mt Athos was by then under Serbian rule.

Alexios Raoul was not the only Byzantine whom the Serbs designated governor in the area. Unlike in other areas, such as Chalkidike, in Serres we have evidence for at least four members of the local elite serving as *kephalai* during the Serbian rule. The first of them was Michael Abrampakes, who was attested as *kephalē* of Serres by 1346, a year after the capture of the city.<sup>91</sup> Shortly afterwards in 1349, Michael Komnenos Synadenos presided over the return of the property of the above-mentioned Basilike in Zichna; this probably means that he was the *kephalē* of the town. Interestingly, Synadenos signed this document in Serbian and not in Greek, which might suggest that some of the local elites were ready to learn to use Serbian in official contexts, identifying with the new order.<sup>92</sup> In 1354 the *kephalē* of Serres was Georgios Doukas Nestongos. In 1353, he was still only a *logothetēs*, but by 1355 he was elevated to the high title of *meγas papias* in the Serbian hierarchy. The elevation may relate to his service not only as *kephalē*, but also as ambassador to Pope Innocent VI in Avignon that same year. In 1360 he signed as a *doulos* of the empress Jelena.<sup>93</sup> The last known *kephalē* of Serres of Byzantine origin was Demetrios Komnenos Eudaimonoïoannes, who signed a judicial document in 1360 as *kephalē* of Serres and *doulos* of the empress Jelena.<sup>94</sup> In 1360, Eudaimonoïoannes had

<sup>89</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 313 (no. 5: 1355). In the same document a Demetrios Palaiologos Raoul also signs as a 'doulos and son of our *authentēs*'; he could be a son of Alexios Raoul (note also that he does not say 'of our *authentēs* the *basileus*' as is normally the form; could Demetrios have meant instead Alexios, his actual father?).

<sup>90</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 317–21 (no. 124: 1366).

<sup>91</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 102 (no. 48). The family owned real estate: his mother had sold a large shop in Serres (worth 50 *nomismata*) to the monastery of Prodromos: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 141–3 (no. 71).

<sup>92</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 307 (no. 172).

<sup>93</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 125–7; *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 310 (no. 146: 1360); Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs', 282.

<sup>94</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 310 (no. 146: 1360); Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs', 282.

been chosen by the metropolitan of Serres as a judge for merely a case, but by 1366 he held the high judicial office of *katholikos kritēs* in Serbia.<sup>95</sup> The only known *kephalē* of Serres of Serbian origin is a Radoslav in 1365.<sup>96</sup> The office of *kastrophylax* was continuously held by Byzantines during the Serbian regime: Ioannes Konstomoiros was *kastrophylax* of Zichna in 1349;<sup>97</sup> the office was possibly held by the *epi tou stratou* Orestes in 1368.<sup>98</sup>

In the list of the Byzantines that held important offices during the Serbian regime we may number the *oikeios* of Dušan, Georgios Phokopoulos, who in 1346 received immunity for his property in Serres and had been active earlier under Byzantine rule as an *oikeios* of Andronikos III;<sup>99</sup> Doukas Koreses, an *oikeios* of Dušan in 1355;<sup>100</sup> the *meγas tzaousios* Kardames in Serres in 1365, who, along with Palaiologos Makrodoukas and Michael

<sup>95</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 318 and 320 (no. 151: 1366); *Acts Esphigmenou*, 164 (no. 27: 1365). An Eirene Komnene Eudaimonoioannina was known a generation earlier (*Acts Prodromou* (B), 141, no. 70): she may have been the owner of half of a house, signing a contract whereby the house's other half was sold. Thus the family must have been a local one and not related to the Eudaimonoioannes branch of Monembasia in Peloponnesos.

<sup>96</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162 (no. 27: 1365).

<sup>97</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 305 (no. 171).

<sup>98</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 318 and 320 (no. 151: 1366). The document reads *epi tou kastrou*, an office or title never otherwise attested, but earlier in the same document he had been referred to as *epi tou stratou*, a title in the official hierarchy. I wonder whether the designation of both *epi tou stratou* and *epi tou kastrou* is a mistake and in fact he held only one title. Orestes is elsewhere attested as *epi tou stratou* but not as *epi tou kastrou*: *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162 (no. 27: 1365). If, however, the text reads indeed *epi tou kastrou*, he must have had the well-known office of *kastrophylax*. A new edition of this Chilandar document is still awaited. Besides, Orestes was attested in the building of a tower in Serres: Bees, 'Κτίσται', 302–19; Soulis, 'Notes on Serres', 373–9; Χυngopoulos, *Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα Σερρών*, 6–18. See also about the identification of this person in Ferjančić, *Византијски и српски Сеп*, 82–3. Orestes could be related to the four *archontopoula* Orestes the nearby Melenikon: *Acts Vatopedi* I, 302 (no. 52: 1319/20?); both cities were now under Serbian dominion.

<sup>99</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (A), 139 (no. 44: 1352).

<sup>100</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 308 (no. 146: 1360). This man has been connected to a certain Koreses (Korać, 'Коресис', 213–19), who had appropriated an orchard belonging to the monastery of Koutloumousion and despite the fact that he lost the trial before the *katholikos kritēs* Matarangos in 1341, he seized the orchard again by taking advantage of the Serbian dominion. It was not taken from his possession until 1375 and a new court verdict after the Byzantine recapture of Serres: *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 89 (no. 19: 1341) and 128–30 (no. 33: 1375). If this identification is correct then we have one more case of an individual who profited from Serbian rule to appropriate property.

Schoules are mentioned as members of the senate of Serres;<sup>101</sup> the *endoxotatos* Michael Papylas Gogos, who obtained the property of the above-mentioned Basilikos after the conquest of Dušan;<sup>102</sup> Ioannes Masgidas, an *oikeios* of Dušan, who during the Byzantine period bore the lesser dignity of *megalodoxotatos*;<sup>103</sup> Markos Angelos, an *oikeios* of Dušan in 1348, who donated churches, houses, vineyards and fields from his patrimonial property to the monastery of Vatopedi;<sup>104</sup> Demetrios Bastralites, who in 1342 had signed as a *doulos* of the Byzantine emperor and in 1353 called Dušan 'supreme king' while donating the land he held in a village to the monastery of Prodromos;<sup>105</sup> the *prōtallagatōr* Konstantinos Trypommates in 1349, who owned significant land and real estate in the city of Serres, part of which he donated to the monastery of Prodromos in exchange for an *adelphaton*.<sup>106</sup> Around sixteen individuals in Zichna, designated as *archontopouloi*, belonging probably to a company of men-at-arms, received jointly an estate from Dušan in 1344. The donation took place soon after the conquest of Zichna and even before the surrender of Serres, thus collaboration with the Serbian regime seems more likely. Besides, the estate had been confiscated from a certain Raoulaina.<sup>107</sup> An early connection with the Serbians might be inferred from one more case: Manuel Garianos was awarded in 1318 the transformation of his *pronoia* into a hereditary possession, after the intervention of the monk Kallinikos, who was emissary of the Serbian court to the Byzantine emperor, and simultaneously also in the latter's service.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Acts Esphigmenou*, 162 (no. 27: 1365).

<sup>102</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 64 (no. 21: *endoxotatos* and witness in a trial); 236 (no. 137: *apographous*); 307 (no. 172: for the appropriation of the property of Basilikos, though the identification here is uncertain since the first name is not mentioned); *Acts Karakallou*, 101 (no. 4: 1342), where Pavlikianov read the second surname erroneously as Romanos. The surname is written in the signature as a ligature where the two Γ are placed each within an O, a C within the third O, including the usual final cross at the end of the ligature: i.e. ὁ Γόγος † (see *ibid.*, plate 17). Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', was unable to read the final ligature.

<sup>103</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 308 (no. 4: 1347).

<sup>104</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 215 (no. 97: 1348).

<sup>105</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 245–8 (nos 143–4).

<sup>106</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 155–6 (no. 80).

<sup>107</sup> *Acts Philotheou* (K), 301–2 (no. 3: 1344).

<sup>108</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 246 (no. 37: 1318): ἀποσταλεις ἀποκρισάριος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου παρὰ τοῦ [. . .] κράλη Σερβείας, καὶ διὸ εὐρίσκεται ἐπιμελούμενος καὶ ἐνεργῶν εἰς τὰς δουλείας τῆς βασιλείας μου ('he was sent as emissary to my majesty [Andronikos II] by the king of Serbia, and thus he acts for business related to the empire (the state)'). Both the Serbian and Bulgarian kings, when participating in diplomatic negotiations, usually asked for the accordance of privileges or new property to monasteries of Mt Athos.

In sum, the local lesser elite not only was not hurt by the Serbian occupation, but positively benefited, receiving confiscated properties of the higher aristocrats in Serres and the posts that were normally reserved for the latter.<sup>109</sup> As soon as the Byzantines reoccupied the area, the previous situation was reinstated: in 1375 Manuel Doukas Tarchaneiotēs, a member of the higher elite not connected with Serres, is attested as *kephalē* of Serres.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, the emperor ordered the restitution of the properties of those who had lost them during the Serbian regime, even if this did not always prove successful.<sup>111</sup>

The military nature of part of the local elite can also be inferred from the holding of *pronoiai*, offices of military nature, or – much more rarely – the specific designation of someone as a soldier, just as Niketas Xiphias and Manuel Garianos were both mentioned as soldiers of the *mega allagion* of Serres.<sup>112</sup> The *pansebastos sebastos* soldier Nikephoros Martinos received 30 *hyperpyra* from the *oikonomia* of 80 *hyperpyra* that had belonged to the *sebastos* Ioannes Sarakenos, after whose death (soon after 1321) it had passed over to the latter's wife, Romaia.<sup>113</sup> Ameras (of Turkish origin?) had a *pronoia* in the vicinity of Serres that his son-in-law Batatzes inherited.

Kallinikos might have supervised these requests (a few months earlier the Serbian monastery of Chilandar in Mt Athos, 'after a request of the Serbian king' had its properties confirmed: *Acts Chilandar* I, 235–8, no. 34). Obviously, our evidence is biased in favour of the Athonite monasteries; the Serbian king is likely to have requested more privileges for other monasteries or individuals.

<sup>109</sup> This trend had already been noted by Soloviev, 'Archontes grecs', 277 answering to Jireček (*Staat und Gesellschaft*, 43); also Ostrogorsky, 'Relations byzantine-serbes', 48–9.

<sup>110</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 130 (no. 33: 1375).

<sup>111</sup> *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 117 (no. 15: 1375). In this case Alexios Palaiologos, whose property had been donated by Serbians to the monastery of Saint Panteleemon, recognised the rights of the monastery, since he had lost his documents because of his captivity by the Turks.

<sup>112</sup> For Manuel Garianos: *Acts Chilandar* I, 246 (no. 37: 1318). For Nikephoros Xiphias, *Acts Prodromou* (B), 51 (no. 17), where he signed as *doulos* of the emperor. For the *allagia*, military divisions, see Bartusis, 'Megala allagia and tzaousios'.

<sup>113</sup> Martinos' *pronoia* was confiscated after an intervention of the queen of Serbia in favour of the monastery of Prodromos: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 372–3 (no. 189: 1317). The confiscation of Sarakenos' *oikonomia* was decided in 1325: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 402–3 (no. 207). Martinos is specifically designated elsewhere as a soldier: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 337 (no. 179) and 347 (no. 181). Romaia, due to her 'improper' association with one of her servants (ὑποχείριον αὐτῆς) had her *oikonomia* confiscated. Since the holders of *pronoiai* of whom we know nothing else belonged to the local society and did not possess any significant title or office (for which they would receive the *pronoia* as remuneration), we may justifiably consider that they hold their *pronoia* on condition of military service.



The *pronoia* was given thereafter by the emperor to Georgios Doukas Troulenos, who signed as 'oikeios of the empress' (Eirene-Yolanda, wife of Andronikos II).<sup>114</sup> Andronikos Lypenares, the 'most brave' *primmikērios tōn chrysouboullatōn*, was also probably a military official.<sup>115</sup>

Unfortunately, not all the names of the sixteen *archontopouloi* in Zichna in 1344<sup>116</sup> are legible on the document concerning their estate: Ioannes Rizenos, Ioannes Koubaras, Andronikos Mesopotamites, Ioannes Manikaïtes, Smoleanites, Manuel Antiocheites, Leon Gobenos, Niketas Archontitzes, Mamenos, Kladon, Ioannes Katabolenos (and?) Aaron. At least three of them are identifiable as members of the local society during Byzantine rule: Leon Gobenos is attested in 1329 when selling to the monastery of Prodromos his share of the house of his son-in-law Alexios Angelos, the *kastrophylox* of Zichna.<sup>117</sup> Andronikos Mesopotamites could be connected to the *kaballarios* Manuel Mesopotamites, a partisan of Ioannes V and landowner in the nearby village of Drachoba,<sup>118</sup> and to a *sebastos* Mesopotamites, who is attested as landowner in Zichna in 1342.<sup>119</sup> A certain Ioannes Rizenos is attested as *oikeios* of the emperor in 1335 while he was trying to annul a donation by his uncle to the monastery of Prodromos that had been made some decades earlier.<sup>120</sup> It should be noted that the uncle of Rizenos was Symeon Madarites, a substantial landowner in Serres (he had at least two *zeugēlateia* and a mill in his possession), and a *paidopoulon* of Michael IX. Madarites, for his part, had a son-in-law named Mamenos who was also a soldier.<sup>121</sup> It is obvious, then, that this was a family of soldiers. Therefore there was some continuity in military status for at least some members of the local elite. Another member of the *archontopouloi* was named Kladon:

<sup>114</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 279 (no. 160).

<sup>115</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 133 (no. 66).

<sup>116</sup> As introduced on p. 315.

<sup>117</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 169 (no. 93).

<sup>118</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 276–7 (no. 132: 1343). He was presumably a partisan of Ioannes V because the date of his granted privilege coincides with the second civil war and the area was still controlled by the regency then.

<sup>119</sup> *Acts Karakallou*, 98 (no. 4: 1342) (= Lemerle, 'Praktikon inédit', 282). Either Andronikos or Manuel could well have been the same person as the *sebastos* Mesopotamites.

<sup>120</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 62–4 (no. 21).

<sup>121</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 66 (no. 23). When Mamenos was summoned for war, he borrowed (or bought) the armour from his father-in-law for 7 *hyperpyra*. Can this mean that he was under his command as well? Symeon Madarites is mentioned as a *paidopoulon* in *ibid.*, 71–2 (no. 26): on p. 72 (document no. 26) in l. 2–3 the correct reading is 'Μανουήλ Κουροπαλάτα, ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων τοῦ περιποθήτου υἱοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου, τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ αὐθέντου σου [i.e. Michael IX], Συμεὼν ὁ Μαδαρίτης', while document no. 25 should be ascribed to Michael IX, not to Andronikos II, since Madarites is mentioned as a *paidopoulon* 'τῆς βασιλείας μου'.

some decades earlier in 1301 a Germanos Kladon donated to the monastery of Prodromos some land that had been given to him by the emperor; he may have held it initially as an *oikonomia* and then received an additional privilege to allow its transmission.<sup>122</sup>

In addition to the *archontopouloi* of Zichna, there is also reference in 1348 to *archontopouloi* in Serres who tried to appropriate some *paroikoi* of the Athonite monastery of Alypiou, but the ecclesiastical court of Serres decided against them. The same document was signed by a *hetaireiarchēs* Ioannes Gabras, a Kaballarios and other lay *archontes*, who could well be these *archontopouloi*.<sup>123</sup>

The evidence for the local elite in Serres can be completed by some additional information about individuals for whom, although we do not have any information about holding state offices or *oikonomiai*, we possess details concerning their property. This is the case of Philippos Arabantenos, whose testament has been preserved in the archives of the monastery of Prodromos, where he became a monk shortly before his death. Arabantenos had in his possession some houses, a *zeugēlateion*, three small vineyards totalling 5 *modioi*, a pair of oxen, a horse, a mule, some jewellery as dowry of his wife (the rest of the dowry, valued at 260 *nomismata*, was spent) and he had a debt of 10 *nomismata*. We know that his sister had at least one *paroikos* in her service and that his nephew was *kyr* Ioannes Doukas Melissenos, thus he was related to the upper class of the local society.<sup>124</sup> Although we do not know the exact size of the *zeugēlateion*, his property certainly cannot be considered substantial, especially since almost all his wife's dowry had been spent and he had debts. Nonetheless, it was much above the level of a well-off independent peasant.

In another case, Anna Krokaina and her five children sold land to the monastery of Prodromos with a value of 149 *nomismata* in 1320, and shortly after 1339 sold some further land. A certain Krokas, probably one of Anna's children, later donated land of more than 750 *modioi* and sold another 120 *modioi* for 54 *nomismata* to the monastery of Prodromos sometime before 1339.<sup>125</sup> This was also not on the scale of a wealthy aristocrat, but the family

<sup>122</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 53–4 (no. 18).

<sup>123</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 92–3 (no. 21: 1348). They could have signed a guarantee that they would respect the court's verdict. *Hetaireiarchēs* is a title of military origin.

<sup>124</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 123–5 (no. 60: 1334).

<sup>125</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 82–7 and 339 (nos 35–7 and 179). With the prices of land attested in Serres, 149 *nomismata* would correspond to around 250 to 500 *modioi*. As with Arabantenos, so with Krokas, their surnames are not attested elsewhere, except for a spiritual father, Athanasios Krokas, who is attested in Mt Athos in the middle of the fourteenth century: Niphon, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, eds Kourilas and Halkin, 51 and Theophanes, *Life of Maximos Kausokalybites*, eds Kourilas and Halkin, 92.

must have had additional property. Two of the fields they sold and donated had belonged to the *megas logothetēs* Theodoros Metochites and were probably granted to Krokas when the confiscations of 1328 affected Metochites' properties; it is unlikely that Krokas would have been the recipient of the confiscated lands had he been a commoner.

### The Civil (Ecclesiastical) Elite of Serres

Tables 10–11 present the most common church offices and the attested metropolitan dignitaries that held them in the late Palaiologan period in Serres and in Zichna.<sup>126</sup> The number and chronological range of the acts from the two sees, preserved in the Athonite archives but mostly in Codex B of the Monastery of Prodromos, allows us on many occasions to observe the career of individual dignitaries and other trends, such as family traditions in office holding or the influence that political changes may have had. The tables reveal, first, that these dignitaries usually had long tenures. The tenures of Manuel Koubaras as *oikonomos* of Serres (1323–60), of Ioseph as *oikonomos* of Zichna (1320–40), of Theodosios Cheilas as *sakellarios* of Zichna (1305–29), of the *chartophylakes* of Zichna Georgios Kallomenos (1321–43) and Ioannes Zacharias (1353–78), and the *skeuophylax* of Zichna Theodoros Keramotos (1311–30s) are indicative in this respect. Even when one individual was attested for a short period of time, the chronological gap between the previous and the next known holder was large enough to suggest that he held it for longer than is documented.<sup>127</sup> Usually it was on the death of an individual dignitary that major changes took place. When the *sakellarios* of Serres Georgios Mourmouras (1313–33) died sometime between 1333 and 1336, he was succeeded by Ioannes Modenos (1339–60). Modenos' previous office of *skeuophylax* was then occupied by Theodoros Tzemtzeas, while Tzemtzeas' previous office of *sakelliou*, in turn, was occupied by Michael Kalorizos (1339–49). Michael Kalorizos himself had until then been *prōtekdikos*, and was succeeded by Sergios Synadenos, who had held hitherto the office of *logothetēs*.

The second meaningful trend that we can identify is the family tradition of the office holders. In Serres, apart from the *oikonomos* Manuel Koubaras

<sup>126</sup> For the ecclesiastical structure of the two metropoleis, see Kraus, *Kleriker*, 180–202.

<sup>127</sup> Thus, for example Theodoros Symeon is attested as *prōtekdikos* of Zichna only in 1310 and then as *sakelliou* only in 1329. However, the previous *prōtekdikos* was Theodoros Keramotos in 1310, who in the subsequent year, 1311, was promoted to *skeuophylax*. The next *prōtekdikos*, Ioannes Kallomenos, was attested only in 1343. It is thus logical to suppose that Theodoros Symeon served in the office of *prōtekdikos* for many more years than is attested in the surviving documents.

(1323–60), there was also the *chartophylax* Theodoros Koubaras (1365–78) and Nikolaos Koubaras, first *prōtonotarios* (1328–49) and later *prōtekdikos* (1353). In addition to the *chartophylax* Alexios Lyzikos (1299–1311) there was the *sakellarios* Manuel Lyzikos (1365/6). In Zichna, beside the *chartophylax* Georgios Kallomenos (1321–43) there was Ioannes Kallomenos as *sakelliou* (1343–55) and *sakellarios* (1356), and another Georgios Kallomenos, attested as *hypomnematographos* in 1356.<sup>128</sup> Contemporary to Ioannes Modenos was Theodoros Modenos, a scholar from Serres and a correspondent of the *aktouarios* Ioannes Zacharias.<sup>129</sup>

What is more, there is no overlap in the family names of the dignitaries of the two metropolitan sees (Serres and Zichna), despite the short distance (approximately 20 km) separating the two cities. However, there is some evidence of marriage alliances within the respective ecclesiastical elites: the man who succeeded the *sakellarios* of Serres Georgios Mourmouras was his son-in-law, Ioannes Modenos.<sup>130</sup> Mourmouras himself was a nephew of Xenos Kalligopoulos Mourmouras and in this period Theodoros Kalligopoulos had served for several years as *primmikērios tōn taboullariōn* (1301–25) and as *logothetēs* (1319–25), again in Serres.<sup>131</sup> About three centuries later, the family was still associated to the church service with the priest Ioannes Mourmouras.<sup>132</sup>

In lower metropolitan offices, many family names are encountered only once. This might be due to the equally low frequency with which these offices appear in the surviving record. Whereas in almost every document

<sup>128</sup> The office of *hypomnematographos* is significantly inferior to the office of *chartophylax*, which Georgios Kallomenos held between 1321 and 1343 and, since downgrading is almost absent in Byzantium, most probably this was a second Georgios Kallomenos and not the same one. Moreover, there is a large chronological gap.

<sup>129</sup> Ioannes Zacharias, *Letter to Theodoros Modenos*, ed. Treu, 39; Theodoros Modenos, *Letters*, ed. Treu. There have been preserved eight small letters from him sent to unnamed correspondents. They reveal the existence of a small literary circle in Serres in this period: when a letter (no. 8) from a friend arrived, Theodoros Modenos read it in the presence of his unnamed brother (could that have been Ioannes Modenos?) and his colleague Theodoros. Two more literary colleagues are named earlier in his letters: Niketas and Spelaiotes (no. 1).

<sup>130</sup> The wife of Georgios Mourmouras says that she has a daughter the '*sakelaraia* Modene'. Given that by then the *sakellarios* was Ioannes Modenos, she was most probably married to him.

<sup>131</sup> For Xenos Kalligopoulos Mourmouras: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 111–12 (no. 53).

<sup>132</sup> Papa-Synadinos, *Memoirs*, ed. Odorico, 74: he died in 1615. Synadinos was also a priest and high-ranking cleric of the local metropolis; however, we cannot securely connect him to the Late Byzantine local family of Synadenoi, which also produced clerics of the metropolis, since Synadinos is used here as a first name.

the *primmikērios tōn taboullariōn* or one of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries would almost certainly sign, some of the other officials appear only in a very few documents, as additional witnesses in trials or in contracts. The lack of continuity may also be connected to the lower social status of these people. These dignitaries would presumably receive a smaller wage and it is not improbable that, rather than forming the initial stages of the career of the higher metropolitan clergy, they were held by the local middle classes. In fact, as is evident from the list, the holders of the higher offices are never attested holding lesser offices. They held those offices above *logothetēs* (eighth in the hierarchy) exclusively, in addition to the civic office of the *primmikērios tōn taboullariōn*. Accordingly, holders of the lesser offices never managed to attain the higher offices.

Nonetheless, despite the family tradition, there appears to be a periodic renewal of the families in post around every thirty years, at least in some degree. In Serres one encounters three almost contemporary Dishypatoi holding office: Konstantinos Dishypatos as *diepōn ta dikaia* of the metropolis (that is, in charge of the rights of the metropolis, usually fiscal) in 1356,<sup>133</sup> Ioannes Dishypatos as *skeuophylax* and Manuel Dishypatos as *archōn tōn monastēriōn* in 1365.<sup>134</sup> The family had not previously appeared in our records. The 1360s and 1370s see individuals with no previous tradition of ecclesiastical service rise to high posts. Aside from the family of Dishypatoi, we may note, in Serres, the *sakellarios* Theodoros Dokeianos (1375–88), the *sakelliou* Theodoros Melanchrinos and the *prōtekdikos* Theodoros Melissenos (1366) and, in Zichna, the *prōtekdikos* Demetrios Skleros and the *sakelliou* Manuel Melitas (1362). Nevertheless, long attested families like the Koubarades, Lyzikoi and Zachariai continue to be met without any interruption.

It appears that the political troubles of the time did not affect the ecclesiastical dignitaries. In Serres and Zichna all the attested officials continued to serve during the first and second civil wars; there was no change of office holders.<sup>135</sup> The local church of Zichna actively supported the side of Andronikos III as is documented by the case of the bishop of Zichna

<sup>133</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 310 (no. 174). Elsewhere, the same charge instead of *διέπων τὰ δίκαια* is referred to as *δικαίου*.

<sup>134</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 92 (no. 143: 1365).

<sup>135</sup> See in Serres for the first civil war the careers of Georgios Mourmouras (*sakellarios*), Theodoros Eirenikos (*skeuophylax*), Ioannes Modenos (*chartophylax*), Theodoros Tzemtzeas (*sakelliou*) and in Zichna the careers of Ioseph (*oikonomos*), Theodosios Cheilas (*sakellarios*), Theodoros Keramotos (*skeuophylax*), Georgios Kallomenos (*chartophylax*).

Ioakeim, perhaps with the backing of the dignitaries of his church; as a result, Zichna gained independence from Serres and was promoted to a metropolis. At the same time, the metropolitan of Serres Makarios, was imprisoned in Constantinople in December 1327 for promoting a reconciliation policy between the two rival emperors Andronikoi. He is not identified presumably with the unnamed metropolitan of Serres, whose sons had supported Andronikos II in the first phase of the civil war (1321/2).<sup>136</sup> In the nearby (but inadequately documented) suffragan bishopric of Kaisaropolis, the *prōtonotarios* Iakobos Mpalaës (attested with this office in 1329, but he probably also held it earlier), was awarded in 1328 by the emperor Andronikos III the small monastery of St Anastasia near Zichna, 200 *modioi* of confiscated land from Alexios Palaiologos and the taxes of the Jews of Zichna (20 *hyperpyra*), in gratitude for Mpalaës' support in the first civil war.<sup>137</sup> In the second civil war, like most of the elite in the area, he remained on the side of the regency, since in 1342 Patriarch Ioannes Kalekas confirmed his possession of St Anastasia.<sup>138</sup> The same can be documented for the advent of the Serbians: Ioannes Modenos remained *sakellarios* even after the Serbian occupation.<sup>139</sup> Iakobos Mpalaës, once more on the side of the victorious, had the possessions of his monastery confirmed and augmented by Stefan Dušan.<sup>140</sup> The same holds true for the only two cases that we can document in the change from the Serbian to the Byzantine rule of the area: Theodoros Koubaras remained *chartophylax*, and also Ioannes Zacharias in Zichna.

The final observation that we may draw from the tables is the weak connection of this local civil elite to the higher or the local military elite. The Synadenos family, which produced at least four individuals for the

<sup>136</sup> Kant., 1:251–2. Patriarch Esaias was also deposed and confined in the monastery of Mangana then for the same reason. For this unnamed metropolitan of Serres in 1321, see this volume, p. 238. Makarios is for the first time attested in 1327, while the previous known holder, Nikolaos, is attested until 1319. Since on the document of 1321 it is mentioned that the ex-wife of the (unnamed) metropolitan of Serres had received some lands 'many years ago', one can suppose that she had been the wife of Nikolaos and not of Makarios, who would just have received the throne.

<sup>137</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 248 (no. 118: 1329); *Acts Prodromou* (B), 267–9 (no. 154).

<sup>138</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 273–4 (no. 158).

<sup>139</sup> For the second civil war in Serres, see the careers of Manuel Koubaras (*oikonomos*), Ioannes Modenos (*sakellarios*), Nikolaos Abalantes (*chartophylax*), Michael Kalorizos (*sakelliou*), Sergios Synadenos (*prōtekdikos*) and Nikolaos Koubaras (*prōtonotarios*).

<sup>140</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 271–3 (nos 156–7). He was granted the properties of the two deceased brothers Kyriaules.

metropolitan clergy during the fourteenth century,<sup>141</sup> did not necessarily belong to the well-known higher aristocratic family of the Synadenoï, not even to the Serraiian branch of Doukas Synadenos, to which reference has already been made. Although the families of these dignitaries are not generally attested in non-ecclesiastical offices or as holding *oikonomiai* (which normally implies the possession of a state office or a military obligation), there were always exceptions. The son of Theodoros Mourmouras, Xenos, was not a cleric, neither were the sons of the *prōtopapas* (and probably *sakellarios*) Modenos. Almost a century after Konstantinos Azanites is attested as *chartophylax* and *prōtonotarios* in Serres, a Leon Azanites figures as *kastrophylax* of Serres in 1339.<sup>142</sup> The Konstomoiros family, apart from the four individuals who are attested as church officials in Zichna during the fourteenth century, included in its ranks the *kastrophylax* of Zichna in 1349, Ioannes Konstomoiros.<sup>143</sup>

The cultural and social connections of this local civil elite with Constantinople were few. Theodoros Pediasimos, a celebrated scholar from Serres in the first half of the fourteenth century, maintained literary links mostly with his town or nearby Thessalonike. Other than Andronikos Zarides, his correspondents were mainly from Thessalonike (Demetrios Kydones and Nikolaos Kabasilas in their young age, and Sophianos) and Serres (the *prōtekdikos* Michael Kalorizos, c. 1333–6). Two of his other works were also related to Serres: an encomium on the Holy Theodores, the protector-saints of Serres, and an *ekphrasis* of the cathedral of Serres (see Figure 11).<sup>144</sup> In this *ekphrasis*, as the analysis of Paolo Odorico has shown, Pediasimos alludes to the contemporary situation and the need to preserve Serres under Serbian Christian rule.<sup>145</sup> Besides, a member of this family, the ‘wise’ Niketas Pediasimos, was among the *archontes* closest to the despot Ioan Uglješa, and a *katholikos kritēs*.<sup>146</sup>

The origin of the wealth and financial situation of these ecclesial dignitaries is not always clear. They would certainly receive a salary from the bishopric/metropolis, the amount of which cannot be estimated. But

<sup>141</sup> Sergios Synadenos: *logothetēs* (1329–34), *prōtekdikos* (1329?/1337–48) and *skeuophylax* (1353–5); Ioannes Synadenos: *hieromnēmōn* around 1319 and *archon tōn ekklesiōn* in 1323; Ioannes Synadenos: *primmikērios tōn taboullariōn* (1347–55) and *prōtonotarios* (1357–60); Theodoros Synadenos: *kanstrisios* in 1377.

<sup>142</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 285 (no. 162).

<sup>143</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 305 (no. 172).

<sup>144</sup> Theodoros Pediasimos, *On the Holy Theodoroi*, ed. Treu, 14–25.

<sup>145</sup> Odorico, ‘Identité et craintes’, suggests that this ‘need’ refers to the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans in the 1350s and 1360s.

<sup>146</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 318 (no. 151: 1366); *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 378 and 383 (nos 43–4: 1369).

the fact that they also had civil functions must have provided them with considerable additional income from the customary 'gifts' they received for drawing up a document or work of similar nature. For example, it was common for such gifts to be included in testaments. Iakobos Mpalaës in his testament left one *hyperpyron* for each of six higher church dignitaries (*chartophylax*, *sakelliou*, *prōtekdikos*, *nomophylax*, *logothetēs*, *sakellarios*) and two more *hyperpyra* for the metropolitan of Zichna.<sup>147</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that this civil elite did not differ significantly from the military elite in respect of the basis of their wealth. Many of them possessed landed property. Ioannes Kallomenos was a neighbouring landowner of the *metochion* of St Anastasia;<sup>148</sup> Theodosios Kamateros, the *prōtopsaltēs* of Zichna, also owned landed property;<sup>149</sup> Ioannes and Manuel Dishypatos sold 200 *modioi* of their land to the monastery of Lavra in 1365;<sup>150</sup> the *chartophylax* of Serres Nikolaos Abalantes sold (or donated) 100 *modioi* of land to the monastery of Prodromos;<sup>151</sup> the *prōtopsaltēs* Ioannes Adam sold land near Serres to the monasteries of Chilandar and Prodromos;<sup>152</sup> the parents of the *logothetēs* of Zichna Demetrios Bardas donated some fields in Zdrabikion in exchange for an *adelphaton*;<sup>153</sup> finally, the ex-wife and later the sons of the metropolitan of Serres (Nikolaos?) owned 500 *modioi* of land after an imperial donation in 1321.<sup>154</sup>

The *prōtopapas* Modenos possessed around 3,000 *modioi* of land in the village of Zdrabikion for which he had obtained, before 1281, a chryso-bull from the emperor granting him tax immunity. Modenos died long before 1320, when two of his sons, Michael and Ioannes, are referred to as deceased as well. The exact value of his land is unclear. Five hundred *modioi* were sold for 222 *nomismata*, some textiles and an *adelphaton* in the monastery of Chilandar, whereas the third son's share of 1,000 *modioi* was sold for 260 *nomismata*.<sup>155</sup> Laiou thinks that Modenos was a village priest, an

<sup>147</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 277 (no. 159).

<sup>148</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 259 (no. 148).

<sup>149</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 287–8 (no. 164).

<sup>150</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 92 (no. 143: 1365).

<sup>151</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 292 (no. 166).

<sup>152</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 199 (no. 93: 1323), *Acts Prodromou* (B), 49–50 (d.: 1299), respectively.

<sup>153</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 310 (no. 147: 1362). The document uses the word *κυβέρνησις* ('provision') since it was reserved for their child (who could not have an *adelphaton*), and not for them as monks.

<sup>154</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 59–60 (no. 10: 1321).

<sup>155</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 197–200 (nos 27–8: 1281; see also in the Corrigenda, 304 attributing the date of no. 27 to before 1281); *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 128–31 (no. 53: 1320), 139–41 (no. 59: 1321), 155–8 (no. 69: 1321) and 246–50 (no. 118: 1329).



independent landowner,<sup>156</sup> something rather improbable. Three thousand *modioi* is a large amount of land; several pairs of oxen and workers were needed for the cultivation. One should also recall the unnamed *sakellarios* Modenos in 1298/9, who had simply signed as ‘priest and *klērikos*’ (which means that he was member of the clerical staff of the metropolis)<sup>157</sup> in 1268 and that another Ioannes Modenos served later as an ecclesiastical dignitary. Certainly the evidence is too scarce to identify the *sakellarios* Modenos with this *prōtopapas*, but the fact that other members of the Modenos family were ecclesiastical dignitaries should make us suspicious about the designation of the *prōtopapas* Modenos as a simple village priest and independent landowner, rather than as a member of the local civil elite, as I would prefer to designate him.

The aforementioned Iakobos Mpalaës drew up his testament in 1353, having transformed the monastery in advance into a *metochion* of the monastery of Prodomos. The property left in Mpalaës’ possession after the donation of his monastery consisted mostly of land, large quantities of stored crop seeds (wheat, millet, rye and cotton), beehives and oxen. Apart from one house (in a non-stated location) no other urban property is mentioned.<sup>158</sup>

Another church dignitary about whose property we have sufficient evidence is the *sakellarios* Georgios Mourmouras. At some point Mourmouras founded the small monastery of St George Kryonerites (see Figure 12), which, after his death, his wife donated to the monastery of Prodomos. The property of the monastery, enumerated by his wife in a list drawn up when the donation took place, consisted mostly of land, in total more than 500 *modioi*, a tiny part of which had been purchased from or donated by other people. Most of its property must, therefore, have been the personal property of Mourmouras. Besides, his wife claims that all their property, apart from the dowries of their children, was given to the monastery (in addition she necessarily stipulated an annual *adelphaton* for her sustenance), and therefore we may safely conclude that Mourmouras’ property was also primarily landed.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Laiou, ‘Priests and bishops’, 44–5; her assumption is based on the fact that in the act Modenos is described as free from any duty of a *paroikos* and free of any tax.

<sup>157</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 37 (no. 8: for the date 1268) and 29, 49 and 50 (nos 5, 15 and 16: as *sakellarios*). Ioannes was also the name of one of the three sons of the priest Modenos. However, he is referred to as deceased in 1320, so he could not have been the *sakellarios* Ioannes Modenos, who died shortly after 1360.

<sup>158</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 275–77 (no. 159).

<sup>159</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 282–5 (no. 162) and 287–8 (no. 164).

Table 9 Governors and state officials in Serres.

Name	Office (date attested)
	Financial officials
Ioannes Panaretos	<i>Apographeus</i> in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1297 and 1312/13)
Tryphon Kedrenos	[ <i>Apographeus</i> ] in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1316)
Georgios Strategos	<i>Apographeus</i> in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1316–17)
Nikolaos Theologites	<i>Apographeus</i> in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1316–17)
Ioannes Oinaiotēs	<i>Apographeus</i> in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1321 ?)
Theodoros Aaron	<i>Apographeus</i> in Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1321 ?)
Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs	<i>Epi tēs dēmosiakēs enochēs</i> in Boleron and Serres (1325–6)
Theodoros Palaiologos	<i>Epi tēs dēmosiakēs enochēs</i> in Boleron and Serres (1326)
Manuel Theologites	<i>Epi tēs dēmosiakēs enochēs</i> (1327 ?)
Ioannes Ioannitzopoulos	<i>Apographeus</i> in Zichna (April 1327)
Konstantinos Makrenos	<i>Domestikos tōn thematōn, apographeus</i> in the theme of Christoupolis (1333–5)
Ioannes Batatzes	<i>Apographeus</i> (1333 and 1339)
Manuel Doukas Glabas	[ <i>Apographeus</i> ] of Melenikon (1341)
Michael Papylas Gogos	[ <i>Apographeus</i> ] of Melenikon (1341–2)
	Doukai
Leon Akropolites	<i>Doux</i> of Serres and Strymon (1265)
Manuel Liberos	<i>Doux</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1242/82)
Manuel Kouropalates	<i>Doux</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1305)
Ioannes Apelmene	<i>Doux</i> of Boleron and Mosynopolis (1319)
	Kephalai
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	<i>Kephalē</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon (1322)
Theodoros Palaiologos	<i>Kephalē</i> of Boleron, Strymon, Christoupolis and the surroundings (1325)
Alexios Tzamplakon	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres and the ‘land of Popolia’ (1326)

Name	Office (date attested)
Demetrios Angelos Metochites	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1328/9)
Sir Guy de Lusignan	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1341–2)
Konstantinos Palaiologos	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1342–5)
Michael Abrampakes	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1346)
Georgios Doukas Nestongos	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1354)
Demetrios Komnenos Eudaimonoïoannes	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1360)
Radoslav ( <i>Čelnik</i> )	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1365)
Manuel Doukas Tarchaneiotes	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres (1375)
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	<i>Kephalē</i> of Zichna (1328)
Theodoros Ntekalabrias	<i>Kephalē</i> of Zichna (1329)
Michael Komnenos Synadenos	<i>Kephalē</i> (?) of Zichna (1349)
Alexios Doukas Raoul	<i>Kephalē</i> of Zichna (1355)

*Note*

An office in brackets means that it is not mentioned *per se* in the document but the person performs its duties (for example, he performs the *ἀπογραφικὴν ἀποκατάστασιν*, i.e. was presumably an *apographeus*).

Table 10 Ecclesiastical dignitaries in Serres

<b>Metropolitan</b>	Leon (1276–99)	Sava (1365)
	Niphon (1309?)	Theodosii (1375)
	Nikolaos (1315–19?)	Matthaios Phakrases (1376–1409?)
	Makarios (1327–47)	Ignatios (1420–1)
	Iakov (1348–60)	Theophanes (1438)
<b>Oikonomos</b>	Theodoros (Balsamon?) (1301–14)	Manuel Lyzikos (1377–88)
	Manuel Koubaras (1323–60)	Theodoros Photeinos (1393)
<b>Sakellarios</b>	Konstantinos Bolas (1268–79?)	Ioannes Modenos (1339–60)
	Konstantinos Theodoulos (1279?/1287–90)	Manuel Lyzikos (1365–6)
	Modenos (1298–9)	Theodoros Dokeianos (1375–88)
	Georgios Mourmouras (1313–33)	Konstantinos Glabas (1393–8)
<b>Skeuphylax</b>	Ioannes Modenos (1319–34)	Ioannes Dishypatos (1365)
	Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1339–48?)	Theodoros Photeinos (1377)
	Sergios Synadenos (1353–5)	Theodoros . . . (1393)
	Nikolaos Koubaras (1357)	Teknodotos (1398)

*(Continued)*

<b>Chartophylax</b>	Konstantinos Azanites (1228) Tzylones (1242) Ioannes Kappadokes (1269–75) Alexios Lyzikos (1299–1310/18)	Theodoros Eirenikos (1323–8) Nikolaos Abalantes (1336–53) Georgios Triboles (1357–60) Theodoros Koubaras (1365–88)
<b>Sakelliou</b>	Nikolaos Zacharias (1275–87) Zerbos (bef. 1339) Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1330–4) Michael Kalorizos (1336–49) Georgios Triboles (1353–55)	Ioannes Zabarnas (1357–60) Theodoros Melanchrinos (1366) Theodoros Logariastes (1377) Theophanes Choneiates (1388)
<b>Prōtekdikos</b>	Theodoros Mourmouras (1298?–1301) Theodoros Zerbos (1305–14) Theodoros Tzemtzeas (1319–28) Michael Kalorizos (1333–6) Sergios Synadenos (1329?/37–48)	Nikolaos Koubaras (1353) Demetrios Apelmene (1360) Ioannes Abalantes (1365) Theodoros Melissenos (1377) Manuel Sebasteianos (1393–8)
<b>Prōtonotarios</b>	Konstantinos Azanites (1228) Theodoros (1290) Georgios Mourmouras (1301–1308/9) Nikolaos Koubaras (1333–49)	Ioannes Synadenos (1357–60) Ioannes Choneiates (1377) Konstantinos Glabas (1379) Georgios Glabas (1394)
<b>Logothetēs</b>	Konstantinos Bodeles (1275) Theodoros Kalligopoulos (1319–25) Sergios Synadenos (1334)	Demetrios Bardas (1362) Manuel Xenophon (1387)
<b>Repherendarios</b>	Kritakes (bef. 1316?)	Nikephoros Pepanos (1310?–19)
<b>Kanstrisios</b>	Eudokimos Atzymes (1313) Theodoros Synadenos (1377)	Ioannes Melitas (1398)
<b>Hypomnēmatographos</b>	Athanasios Xenophon (1345)	
<b>Prōtopapas</b>	Michael Odontes (1275)	Michael Teknodotes (1343)
<b>Dikaiophylax</b>	Nikolaos Abalantes (1353)	
<b>Archōn tōn monastēriōn</b>	Leon Kallomenos (1328)	Manuel Dishypatos (1365)
<b>Archōn tōn ekklesiōn</b>	Ioannes Synadenos (1323) Konstantinos Synadenos (1324)	Toxaras (bef. 1360) Manuel Choneiates (1365)

<b>Katēchētēs</b>	Konstantinos Marmaras (1275–87)	
<b>Epi tōn gonatōn</b>	Leon Maramanthas (1319)	Michael Glabas (1377)
<b>Epi tēs eutaxias</b>	Nikephoros Pepanos (1301)	Andronikos Doukas (bef. 1421)
<b>Epi tēs hieras katastaseōs</b>	Pyrouses (1325)	
<b>Laosynaptēs</b>	Konstantinos Bodeles (1268)	Leon Zacharias (1299–1313)
<b>Prōtopsaltēs</b>	Michael Manasses (1242) Adam (1319)	Koubaras (bef. 1360)
<b>Ekklesiarchēs</b>	Zacharias (1365)	
<b>Domestikos</b>	Eudokimos Grentlas (1268–87) Georgios Maureas (1301)	Adam (1305) Ioannes Koubaras (1319–23)
<b>Primmikērios of the anagnōstai</b>	Sergios Synadenos (1329)	
<b>Primmikērios of the taboullarioi</b>	Theodoros (1268–87) Theodoros Kalligopoulos (1301–25) Ioannes Synadenos (1347–55)	Ioannes Choneiates (3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter of 14 <sup>th</sup> c.) Theodoros Choneiates (3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter of 14 <sup>th</sup> c.)
<b>Taboullarioi</b>	Konstantinos Azanites (1228) Konstantinos Theodoulos (1275) Ioannes Phalakros (1301–5) Konstantinos Triboles (1310) Leon Zacharias (1313) Theodoros Aploraudes (1316–17)	Michael Teknodotes (1320–8) Ioannes Papadopoulos (1323) Theodoros Logariastes (1323–30) Sergios Synadenos (1329) Ioannes Abalantes (1366)

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Table 11 Ecclesiastical dignitaries in Zichna

<b>Metropolitan</b>	Ioakeim (1303–39) Sophonias (1349–56)	Paulos (1378–86) Makarios (1388)
<b>Oikonomos</b>	Ioannes Binariotes (1310–11) Ioseph (1320–40)	Gabriel Kalodioikes (1356) Michael Boubalas (1360–2)
<b>Sakellarios</b>	Demetrios Diogenes (?) (1304) Theodosios Cheilas (1305–29)	Gabriel Kalodioikes (1353–5) Ioannes Kallomenos (1356)
<b>Skeuphylax</b>	Georgios of Archdeacon (1304) Ioannes Zerbos (1310) Theodoros Keramotos (1311–29)	Leon Konstomoiros (1353–62) Stephanos Amarantos (1356)
<b>Chartophylax</b>	Georgios Konstomoiros (1305–11) Georgios Kallomenos (1321–43)	Ioannes Zacharias (1353–78)
<b>Sakelliou</b>	Demetrios Diogenes (1306) Theodoros Keramotos (1310) Theodoros Symeon (1329)	Ioannes Kallomenos (1343–55) Manuel Melitas (1362)
<b>Prôtekdikos</b>	Theodoros Symeon (1310) Ioannes Keranitzas (1349–55)	Theodoros Cheilas (1356) Demetrios Skleros (1362)
<b>Prötonotarios</b>	Georgios Konstomoiros (1304–6) Konstantinos Ioseph (1310–11) Ioannes Kallomenos (1329–40)	Ioannes Keranitzas (1343) Demetrios Bodeles (1349) Diogenes (1356)
<b>Logothetēs</b>	Demetrios Stylites (1329) Leon Konstomoiros (1349–56)	Demetrios Bardas (1362)
<b>Repherendarios</b>	Nikephoros Pepanos (1319) Rantilas (bef. 1329)	Ioannes Konstomoiros (1329)
<b>Kanstrisios</b>	Georgios Pentakales (1320)	
<b>Hypomnēmato graphos</b>	Michael Drynos (1322–30s)	Georgios Kallomenos (1356)

<b>Prōtopapas</b>	Ioannes Zerbos (1311) Zampitlibas (1320)	Michael Boubalas (1356)
<b>Prōtopsaltēs</b>	Theodosios Kamateros (1311–39)	Koubaras (b. 1360)
<b>Laosynaktēs</b>	Theodosios Kamateros (1305)	
<b>Archōn tōn kontakiōn</b>	Theodosios Kamateros (1305)	
<b>Domestikos</b>	Michael Binariotes (1305–10) Ioannes Stylites (1311)	Manuel (1355)
<b>Kouboukleisios</b>	Alexios Probatas (1311)	
<b>Primmikērios of the taboullarioi</b>	Ioannes Drynos (1304) Demetrios Stylites (1305–11)	Gabriel Kalodioikes (1320–40) Demetrios Amarantos (1356)
<b>Taboullarioi</b>	Michael Binariotes (1305–10) Niketas Konstomoiros (1320–40)	Michael Boubalas (1328–33) Michael Asemas (1330)

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Table 12 Fields of the Prodromos monastery in Asomatos, 1321–9<sup>a</sup>

	Name of former proprietor	Means of acquisition <sup>b</sup>	Area in <i>modioi</i>
1		Sale	8
2	Sakoulas(?)	?	4
3			1
4			1
5	Skyloïoannes	Sale/donation	3
6	Koukouras	<i>Emphyteusis</i>	6 <sup>c</sup>
7	Kontos, priest	<i>Emphyteusis</i>	4
8	Z.bena	Sale	4
9	Konops		2.5
10	Xenos Pseustos	(ex.)	4
11	Widow Moschonina	Sale/donation	3
12	. . . lakou	Sale/donation	5
13	Berges	Sale/donation	3
14	<i>Papas</i> Stephanos	Sale	6
15	Ioannes . . . lirimos	Sale/donation	3
16	Paphla[gon?]	Sale/donation	2
17	Diasorine	Sale/donation	7
18	Modokephalos	Sale/donation	9
19	Blandymerina, Mamantzina, Phlebares	Sale/donation	13
20	Phakitzes	Sale	4
21	Basilo	Sale/donation	6
22	Komprektes, Rountes	Sale/donation	4
23	Pleuris	Sale/donation	2
24	Pleuris	Sale/donation	5
25	Pankalos	Sale/donation	3
26	protopapas	Sale/donation	1
27	Babylas	Sale/donation	2.5 <sup>c</sup>
28	Babylas	Sale/donation	— <sup>c</sup>
29	Skyloïoannes	Sale/donation	4
30			38 <sup>d</sup>
31	[Kera?]motas, Peratos	half sold, half donated	35
32	Armenes	Sale/donation	28
33	Armenes	Donation	11
34	From the <i>stasis</i> of . . .	Sale/donation	20
35	From the <i>stasis</i> of . . .	Sale/donation	25
36	Dratzobitzinos, Zabarnas	Sale/donation	72
37	Demetrios Perdikaes, Philomates	Sale/donation	15
38	Soterichos, Aaron	Sale/donation	16



	Name of former proprietor	Means of acquisition <sup>b</sup>	Area in <i>modioi</i>
39	Pharmakes	Sale/donation	20
40	Chalma	Sale/donation	6
41	Euphemia Megalomatisa	Sale/donation	23
42	Euphemia of Goumperas	Sale/donation	11
43	Keramotos	Sale/donation	
44	Dratzobitzinos	Sale	18 <sup>e</sup>
45	Koukouras	Sale/donation	9
46			20
47	Marquis Theodoros (Palaiologos) and empress (Eirene-Yolanda)	Donation	700
48	Perdikares	Sale	6
49	Theodoros Boulgares	Sale	3
50	Arete of Philomates	Sale/donation	3
51	Syr Guillaume Kaballarios and his adopted girl	Sale/donation	9
52	Phrankopoulos	Donation	10 <sup>f</sup>
53	Alamanos, Radenos	Sale/donation	
54	Pankalos, Kamateros, Mogabares, Godeles, <i>repherendarios</i> Rantilas, and the (son of the?) <i>Epi tēs eutaxias</i>	Sale/donation	?g
55	Phrankopoulos in Aedonitzin	Sale/donation	6
56	Mamenos(?) Perdikares	Sale	6
57	Maroulina	Donation	7
58	Syr Guillaume Gazes	Sale	3? <sup>c</sup>
59	Georgios Kodopates	Sale	6
60		Sale	
61	Ioannes Lipsakes	Sale	5 <sup>h</sup>
62	<i>Papas . . .</i>	Sale	4
63		Exchange	11
64	Ioseph, <i>oikonomos</i>	Exchange	7
65	Martha of Melissenos, her sister-in-law and Koprektos	Sale	6
66	Kopribas	Sale	3
67	Melissenos Perdikares	Sale	8
68	Kasimas (initially bought from Basilitzes)	Sale	?
69	Ioannes Perdikares	Sale/donation	3
70	Konstantinos Zibares	Sale/donation	3
71	Basileios Katharos	Donation	4
72	<i>Sebastos</i> Achyraites	Donation	3 <sup>i</sup>

(Continued)

	Name of former proprietor	Means of acquisition <sup>b</sup>	Area in <i>modioi</i>
73	Kamateros	Sale/donation	4
74			3 <sup>i</sup>
75	Th . . .	Sale/donation	9
76	Gia . . .	Donation	5
77	Alexios Gribozenos	Sale/donation	4
78	Portarea	Sale/donation	4
79	Maroulina	Sale/donation	5
80	<i>Ieromonachos</i> , Pountitzes	Sale/donation	9
81	Steiriones and the 'other' Steiriones	Sale/donation	4
82	<i>Papas</i> Kopsenos	Exchange	2
83	Arabantenos	Exchange	4
84	Theotokes Koudoupates	Donation	14
85	Strateges	Donation	3
86	Akindynos	Sale/donation	5
87	<i>Papas</i> Ioustinos, son of Pepelas	Donation	8
88	Saranmpechina	Sale/donation	4
89	Steiriones	(ex.)	6
90	Stratelates	(ex.)	
91	Land of <i>papas kyr</i> Theodoretos		
<b>Total</b>			<b>&gt;1,401</b>

#### Notes

(ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary)

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 197–202 (no. 120). The document was drafted before 1329, since it does not mention fields acquired through sales at that date by two other documents (*Acts Prodromou* (B), nos 90 and 96; also the marquis Theodoros Palaiologos, who died in 1338, is mentioned as still alive), and certainly after 1317, since it mentions as deceased the wife of Andronikos II, Eirene-Yolanda, who had donated a field to that monastery. Moreover, the *metochion* is not mentioned in the detailed chrysobull of Andronikos II (1321); therefore it was acquired after 1321.

<sup>b</sup> 'Sale/donation' means that the means of land acquisition by the monastery is not specified on the document, only the land's former owner.

<sup>c</sup> Addition or correction to Bénou's edition.

<sup>d</sup> 'With Alexios Masgidas (in the edition erroneously as Mangidas). Is Masgidas just a *paroikos*, or a co-owner?

<sup>e</sup> It is uncertain whether Sakoulas occupied it *ametochos* ('ὄπερ κατείχετο ἀμετόχως ἀπὸ τοῦ Σακουλά').

<sup>f</sup> Includes a vineyard that the monastery planted.

<sup>g</sup> Converted to vineyards by the monastery.

<sup>h</sup> There is a large gap that might correspond to another field from someone called Petzes, which would be 5 *modioi*; alternatively, this Petzes is one of the neighbours of the field sold by Lipsakes. I think I may discern the word *μοδ(ίων)* (which would normally finish any entry) in the large gap.

<sup>i</sup> Derived from a certain *paroikos' stasis*.

Table 13 The institution of *adelphaton* in Serres.

Beneficiary (date)	Asset donated	Annual benefit acquired	Source
Symeon Madarites (1305)	400 m. land plus one mill site	2 <i>adelphata</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 61
Demetrios Nomikos (1320)	House, 66 m. land [53.5 m. <i>in fact</i> ] of which 2 m. vineyard	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 248–9
Kourtikes Skoutariotes (1323)	Large yard including a church and several houses; 5 m. vineyards plus a larger one after his death	3 <i>adelphata</i> = [36 litres of olive oil (24 litres for the 2 <i>adelphata</i> )]	Acts Vátopedi I, 330–2
Theodoros Sarakenos (1329)	House, 2 vineyards (one is 3 m.), 5 m. [Bénou: 3 m.] <i>aulotopion</i>	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 164–5
Stephanos Patrikios (1330)	Share in Prelea	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 77
Ioannes Sarakenos (1336) [Bénou: 1321]	<i>Zeugélateion</i> , other land, pair of oxen, horse	1 <i>adelphaton</i> at home and 2 later as he joins the monastery	Acts Prodromou (B), 122–3
Hypomone Mourmouraina (1339)	Monastery of St Georgios Kryonerites	12 <i>basilika kalathia</i> of grain, 60 <i>metra</i> of wine, 12 <i>metra</i> of olive oil, 1.5 <i>kalathion</i> of legumes, 40 litres of cheese, 10 litres of butter, 12 <i>gomaria</i> of wood, 1 <i>gomarion</i> of torch wood, 0.5 <i>kalathion</i> of olives, 0.25 <i>kalathion</i> of salt, 2 <i>kalathia</i> of walnuts <sup>a</sup>	Acts Prodromou (B), 282–3
Ioannes Margarites (after 1342)	Peasants' <i>staseis</i>	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 245
Alexios Xiphias (1343)	Part of a house = 42 nom.	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 137
Boilas Kardames (1347)	Bakery and houses (one is a two-storeyhouse)	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 149–150
Magdalene Kardamina (1347)	Moveable property (equal to Boilas' houses)	1 <i>adelphaton</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 150–1
Maria Basilike (1349)	4 <i>aulotopia</i> , two small fields, 2 vineyards	18 <i>mouzouria</i> of grain, 24 <i>mouzouria</i> of wine, 1 <i>litra</i> of oil, 1 <i>zygē</i> of shoes, 3 <i>kontia</i> of salt and 8 <i>gomaria</i> of wood <sup>b</sup>	Acts Prodromou (B), 304–6
Konstantinos Trypommates (1349)	Half a vineyard and a hostel	1 <i>adelphaton</i> (when he becomes a monk)	Acts Prodromou (B), 156
Iakobos Mpalaes (1353)	Two monasteries and 200 m. land	1 <i>adelphaton</i> (heritable)	Acts Prodromou (B), 269–70 and 275–7

(Continued)

Beneficiary (date)	Asset donated	Annual benefit acquired	Source
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos (1353)	Houses, bakery, mill, land	2 <i>adelphata</i> = 36 <i>mouzouria</i> of grain, 36 <i>metra</i> of wine, 6 <i>kontia</i> of salt, 8 <i>litres</i> of olive oil, 12 <i>gomaria</i> of wood, 6 <i>mouzouria</i> of legumes, 18 <i>litres</i> of cheese, 2 <i>mouzouria</i> of olives, 2 <i>mouzouria</i> of walnuts, the income from the mill <sup>c</sup>	Acts Prodromou (B), 288–9
Eirene Choumaina Palaiologina (1355?)	781 m. land and 11 <i>staseis</i> of <i>paroi kai</i> (= half village)	160 nom. plus 2 heritable <i>adelphata</i>	Acts Prodromou (B), 311–13 and 315–16
Konstantinos Cholebiars (1367/1382)	One monastery	2 <i>adelphata</i> = 8 <i>litres</i> of oil, 1 <i>mouzourion</i> of olives, 8 m. <i>koutzin</i> , 1 <i>mouzourion</i> legumes	Acts Prodromou (B), 299–300

*Notes*

bef.: before

*litres*: a transliteration of λίτρος, a measurement of liquids; different from modern litres.

m.: *modioi*

nom.: *nomismata*

*oikotopia*: terrain for building

*taphiatikoi*: in return for this donation the householder probably acquired the right to be buried in the monastery.

The generic term ἐργαστήριον ('shop', 'workshop') employed in the documentary sources without further specification (such as μαγειρικὸν ἐργαστήριον ('bakery'), μπερικκὸν ἐργαστήριον ('perfumery'), καμπλικὸν ἐργαστήριον ('tavern')), has been translated here simply as shop.

<sup>a</sup> In metric measurements:

922 kg grain (2.5 kg per day)  
615 l wine (1.7 l per day)  
109.2 l olive oil (299 ml per day)  
115 kg legumes (0.32 kg per day)  
300 kg cheese (0.82 kg per day)  
75 kg butter (205 g per day)

<sup>b</sup> In metric measurements:

230 kg grain (0.63 kg per day)  
410 l wine (1.12 l per day)  
9.1 l oil (25 ml per day)  
76.8 kg legumes (0.21 kg per day)  
135 kg cheese (0.37 kg per day)

<sup>c</sup> In metric measurements:

461 kg grain (1.27 kg per day)  
369 l wine (1 l per day)  
72.8 l oil (199 ml per day)

1,152 kg wood

96 kg torch wood

38 kg olives (105 g per day)

19 kg salt (5.3 g per day)

115 kg walnuts (0.32 kg per day)

1,152 kg wood

25.6 kg olives (70 g per day)

25.6 kg walnuts (70 g per day)

Table 14 Lay real estate owners and transactions in Serres.

First owner	Recipient	Value	Building type	Neighbour of	Date
Manuel Lygaras	mon. Esphigmenou	14 nom.	Two-storey wooden house with an attached shop	Nikolaos Maronites	1301
Kakodioikes	mon. Prodromos		<i>Oikotopia</i>		bef. 1303
Daughter of Phokas	mon. Prodromos		<i>Oikotopia</i>	Kordistina/Eirene of <i>primmikērios</i> /Kamatzenos	1303
mon. Prodromos	Georgios Phokas		<i>Oikotopia</i>	Zapares/Theodoros Thessalonikeus/Ramboulas	1303
Theodosina, granddaughter of Xiphias	Akindynos Philommates	33 nom.		Konstantinos Melias/Alexios Xiphias	
Kabianos	Leon Ramboulas		Shop		bef. 1310
Kale Ramboulaina (Leon Ramboulas) (bought from Kabianos)	Andronikos Lypenares	36 nom.	Shop		1310
Ioannes Thryses	mon. Prodromos	40 nom.	Shop	Theodoros Zerbos/Mabelina	1314
Theodoros Zerbos				Ioannes Thryses	1314
Nikephoros Amaxas	mon. Chilandar		House		c. 1321
Kourtikes Skoutariotes	mon. Vatopedi	3 <i>adelph.</i>	Large yard including two-storey houses and sub-storey houses		1323
Michael Komnenos Pelargos	mon. Chilandar	190 nom.	Sub-storey houses, with yard and door	Pyrouses Klonares/Alexios Soperos	1325
Pyrouses Klonares					1325
Alexios Soperos					1325

(Continued)

First owner	Recipient	Value	Building type	Neighbour of	Date
Stamatike of Paraiouannes	mon. Chilandar	40 nom.	Sub-storey house within another one		1326
Melanchrine	mon. Chilandar		Large house complex		bef. 1326
Kentarchos	mon. Vatopedi	Donation	House		bef. 1329
Theodoros Sarakenos	mon. Prodromos	<i>Adelphaton</i>	House	Leon, cousin of Sarakenos	1329
Michael Petzes	mon. Prodromos	4 nom.	One-third of a house	Demetrios Nomikos (†)	1329
Alexios Angelos	mon. Prodromos	Donation	House		1329
Leon Gobenos	mon. Prodromos	20 nom.	Part of a house belonging to Alexios Angelos	Zampitlibas/Maurophoros	1329
Kamatere	mon. Prodromos	Donation	<i>Oikotopia</i>	Kaballarios/Myres	1329
Adrianoupolites	mon. Prodromos	Donation	<i>Oikotopia</i>	Chenatos/Exkoukistos	1329
Mauros son of Theochares	mon. Prodromos	Donation	<i>Oikotopia</i>	St Anastasia	1329
Maria Mabelina/Anna (sister)/Ioannes Thryses	mon. Prodromos	60 nom.	Shop	Alexios Kouperes/mon. Prodromos	1330
Alexios Kouperes			Shop	Maria Mabelina	1330
Kale Chrysokladarea	Manuel Sanianos		Half a house	Kommene Kardamina	bef. 1333
Manuel Sanianos	Georgios Hierakitzes	42 nom.	Half a house	Kommene Kardamina	1333
Ioannes Sarakenos	mon. Prodromos		House		1336
Kalos	mon. Prodromos		<i>Oikotopia</i>		bef. 1338
Kokine	mon. Prodromos	Donation	House		c. 1338

First owner	Recipient	Value	Building type	Neighbour of	Date
Georgios Zapates			House	<i>Metochion</i> of St Georgios Tzeperes	c. 1338
Makarios Kozeakos	mon. St Anastasia	Donation	House		1338
Xenos Mourmouras		Exchange	House		1339
Eirene Komneene Kardamina/ sons	mon. Prodroomos	28 nom.	Shop	Krikelas/mon. Prodroomos/ Alexios Palaiologos	1340
Krikelas			Shop	Komnene Kardamina	1340
Alexios Palaiologos				Krikelas/mon. Prodroomos/ Komnene Kardamina	1340
Nikolaos Doukas Synadenos	mon. Prodroomos	Annulled	<i>Oikotopia</i>		bef. 1341
Konstantinos and Athanasios Georgilas	mon. Prodroomos	65 nom.	House (two doors, roofed with tiles and planks)	mon. Prodroomos/Manuel Asanes	1343
Manuel Asanes			House	Georgilas	1343
Alexios Xipheas	mon. Prodroomos	100 nom.	Shop		1343
Maria Philomatina	Michael Synadenos	30 nom.	Two-storey house and one sub-store	Michael Synadenos/ Konstantinos of Maroulina	1347
Konstantinos of Maroulina			House	Maria Philomatina	1347
Michael Synadenos			House	Maria Philomatina	1347
Georgios Phokopoulos	mon. Vatopedi	Donation	Houses		bef. 1348
Boilas Kardames	mon. Prodroomos	<i>Adelphaton</i>	House complex (yard, arch, bakery, houses)		1347
Markos Angelos	mon. Vatopedi	Donation	Houses		

(Continued)

First owner	Recipient	Value	Building type	Neighbour of	Date
Alexios Asanes/Maria Asanina	mon. Prodromos	Donation	Shop		1348
Melanchrinos				Alexios Asanes	1348
priest Archistrategites				Alexios Asanes	1348
Konstantinos Trypommates	mon. Prodromos	<i>Taphiatikon</i>	House		1349
Konstantinos Trypommates	mon. Prodromos	Donation	Hostel		1349
Radilas	Iakobos Mpalaes		House		bef. 1353
Eudokia Atramitine	Iakobos Mpalaes		<i>Oikotopia</i>		bef. 1353
Zerbos <i>sakelliou</i>	mon. Prodromos	Donation	Shop		bef. 1353
Son-in-law of Toxaras	mon. Prodromos		Shop		bef. 1353
Alexios Kouperes	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Shop		bef. 1353
Kardames	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Shop		bef. 1353
Krikelas	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Shop		bef. 1353
Ierakitzes	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Shop		bef. 1353
Abrampakes	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Shop		bef. 1353
Glykeus	mon. Prodromos	Sale	Two shops		bef. 1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Kale, daughter-in-law	Testament	House		1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Kale, daughter-in-law	Testament	<i>Oikotopia</i>		1353
Iakobos Mpalaes	Maria, his servant	Testament	<i>Oikotopia</i>		1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/ Anna Angelina	mon. Prodromos	<i>Adelphaton</i>	House	Paloukes	1353



First owner	Recipient	Value	Building type	Neighbour of	Date
Paloukes			House	Batatzes Phokopoulos	1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/ Anna Angelina	mon. Prodrornos	<i>Adelphaton</i>	Bakery		1353
Georgios Batatzes Phokopoulos/ Anna Angelina	mon. Prodrornos	<i>Adelphaton</i>	Mill building		1353
Tarchaneiotēs			House		1353
Theotokēs Koudoupates	mon. Chilandar	Part for <i>adelphaton</i>	Old house, two-storey		1355
Eugenia Abrampakina Tātadena	mon. Prodrornos	50 nom.	Two-storey shop	Krikelas/Komnenos Abrampakes/mon. Prodrornos	1355
Laskarina	mon. Lavra	Donation	Houses and a bakery		bef. 1377

#### Notes

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Figure 11 The cathedral of Sts Theodoroi, Serres.



Figure 12 St Georgios Kryonerites.

### **The Monasteries and Local Society**

Monasteries and churches played a major role in the local society and economy. They owned a significant part of the countryside, and their success in extracting privileges and tax immunities from the state made their



Figure 13 The monastery of St Ioannes Prodromos.

position even more powerful. The major monastic complexes (for the late Byzantine period, especially the Athonite monasteries and the large monasteries of Thessalonike and Constantinople) managed to increase their property greatly until the middle of the fourteenth century. These monastic complexes were also in a far more privileged position, enabling them to absorb smaller local monasteries and transform them into *metochia*. *Metochia*, while remaining local institutions, were protected by the power of the larger monasteries to which they belonged and, by virtue of being local, allowed the larger monasteries to exert direct influence on local society.<sup>160</sup>

Such was the case with the monastery of Latomou founded by Lypenares, which was already attached to Koutloumousion during the lifetime of the founder, becoming one of its *metochia*. Around 1287, Manuel Komnenos Pelargos sold his orchard in Serres to Latomou for a low price (20 *nomismata*) for the benefit of his soul.<sup>161</sup> Later, problems arose and a man named Koreses appropriated the said orchard on the grounds that it had been given to his mother as compensation for her spent dowry. The field was returned to the monastery of Koutloumousion in 1341 by a decision of the *katholikos kritēs* Matarangos,<sup>162</sup> but

<sup>160</sup> On the social and economic importance of the *metochia*, see Kondyli, 'Ενάντια στην κρίση'.

<sup>161</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 43 (no. 4: 1287).

<sup>162</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 89 (no. 19: 1341).

seems to have suffered again at the hands of Koreses. Decades later, in 1375, the grandson Palaiologos Lypenares, a monk of Koutloumousion, was sent to Serres to support the monastery in this affair. As such, the ties between the family and the monastery of Koutloumousion continued and Koutloumousion expected help in a local affair from someone who originated from the local society.<sup>163</sup>

Theodosios Melissenos founded the monastery of St Nikolaos in Kamenikeia near Serres, which soon became a *metochion* of Chilandar,<sup>164</sup> while the property of the *prōtopapas* Modenos was acquired by the monastery of Chilandar from his inheritors.<sup>165</sup> However, most of Chilandar's land in the Strymon area had been acquired by imperial donation or from members of the higher aristocracy of the empire and the Serbians. Among the monastery's properties in the region, the village Kastrin was donated in 1271 by the despot Ioannes Palaiologos and again in 1300 by the Serbian king Milutin;<sup>166</sup> the village of Mountzianis was donated by Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Petraliphas; the villages of Malouka, Eunouchou and Leipsochorion, donated by the emperor Andronikos II; and land in the villages of Zdrabikion, Koutzin and Georgelas (of unknown origin, but Zdrabikion probably originating from the *prōtopapas* Modenos).<sup>167</sup> Similar is the situation for the monastery of Lavra, which also obtained substantial property in Serres, including the villages of Doxompo, Besaina and Dimylia, near Zichna.<sup>168</sup> From individual members of the local society, Lavra made only two acquisitions: the 200 *modioi* of land sold by the two brothers Dishypatoi in Bernarou and some buildings and orchards from the mother of Konstantinos Laskaris.<sup>169</sup> The monastery of Vatopedi found some benefactors in the local aristocracy (Maurophoros, Dryinos, Phokopoulos), but again the higher elite and the emperor proved the major benefactors.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>163</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 128 (no. 33: 1375).

<sup>164</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 150–1 (no. 64: 1321).

<sup>165</sup> As this volume, p. 324–5.

<sup>166</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 127–8 (no. 8: 1271) and 177–80 (nos 19–20: 1300).

<sup>167</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 252 (no. 39: 1318), 256–7 (no. 40: 1318), 287–8 (Appendix I: 1227); *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 293 (no. 138: 1351).

<sup>168</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 118–19 (no. 92: 1300 or 1315); *Acts Lavra* III, 6 (no. 118: 1329). On the property of Lavra in southeastern Macedonia, see Nicolas Svoronos in *Acts Lavra* IV, 112–20.

<sup>169</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 111 (no. 148: 1377, the buildings had been donated long before 1377). Lavra owned a significant part of the village of Bernarou: *Acts Lavra* III, 89–92 (nos 142–3: 1365). The village was divided among the fisc, the monastery of Docheiriou and the monastery of Prodomos: see *Acts Lavra* IV, 120 note 403.

<sup>170</sup> See the chrysobull: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 261–2 (no. 108: 1356).

The largest local monastery was undoubtedly that of St Prodomos (see Figure 13). Kostis Smyrlis calculated that its landed property amounted to much more than 27,577 *modioi* of land.<sup>171</sup> The monastery's possessions before 1320s were rather modest, but the patronage of the Serbian king and especially of the bishop of Zichna ensured it several acquisitions. The Serbian royal family, as with other Athonite monasteries (particularly the monastery of Chilandar), took care to ask the Byzantine emperor for the confirmation of the monastery's immunity and property. At times they asked him to add more property, such as in 1317, when the estate of Monospeton was taken from the soldier Martinos and given to the monastery of Prodomos.<sup>172</sup> In 1329, the support given by the bishop of Zichna to Andronikos III during the civil war resulted in the addition of significant property to the monastery: the estate of Gastilengous of 4,400 *modioi* was given to the monastery and in 1332/3 two minor taxes that the monastery paid were cancelled altogether.<sup>173</sup> But the *ephoreia* of the *meegas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos did not yield any recorded acquisition by means of a donation from the state; Kantakouzenos, the most powerful person in government after the emperor, did not cater then so much for this monastery but preferred to be a benefactor of the larger monasteries and the higher aristocracy. Whether this indifference to the local society contributed to the change of tide of the locals in favour of the regency and against Kantakouzenos in the second civil war after 1341 cannot be said with certainty.

The stability, prosperity and continuity of the monastery of Prodomos were not owed so much to any powerful patrons but rather to its connections with local society. Many members of local society gave part of their properties toward the purchase of *adelphata* or donated them for the commemoration and the salvation of their souls (Table 13). In general, properties donated for the commemoration of someone's soul did not involve large plots of land, especially when the donor was not a wealthy aristocrat. Dermokaites, having fallen ill, gave 24 *modioi* of his land and a mill to the monastery of Prodomos for the commemoration of himself, his brother and parents.<sup>174</sup> The catalogue of the fields of the *metochion* Asomatos of the monastery of Prodomos reveals several of these acquisitions; donations could be as small as three *modioi* of land (Table 12).<sup>175</sup> Special deals

<sup>171</sup> Smyrlis, *Fortune*, 91–5.

<sup>172</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 372–3 (no. 189).

<sup>173</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 383 (no. 192) and 416 (no. 214).

<sup>174</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 79 (no. 33).

<sup>175</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 201 (no. 120).

could be struck: Ioannes Adam donated half of a field of 130 *modioi* to the monastery of Prodomos for the salvation of the souls of himself, his parents and his wife, and sold the other half for the very low price of 7 *nomismata*.<sup>176</sup>

Although these small donations contributed little by little to the augmentation of the monastery's property, it was the large donations of the local elite that ensured the prosperity of the monastery. The benefactors of the monastery included the *kastrophylax* of Zichna, Alexios Angelos, who donated a house in 1329;<sup>177</sup> Kakodikēs, who donated some houses worth much more than 40 *hyperpyra*;<sup>178</sup> Alexios Raoul, who donated an estate;<sup>179</sup> and Alexios Asanes and Maria Asanina, who donated their house in Serres.<sup>180</sup>

As was the case with Lypenares and the monastery of Koutloumoussion, so in the case of the monastery of Prodomos, there were families that maintained traditional links with it, such as the Patrikioi. The first Patrikios donated 300 *modioi* of land to be allowed to be buried in the monastery. Later his sons exchanged this plot of land for another and in addition transformed their monastery of Theotokos Eleousa into a *metochion* of the monastery of Prodomos. Still later, one of the latter's sons, Stephanos Patrikios, gave his own share of the estate in Ptelea in exchange for an *adelphaton* in the monastery.<sup>181</sup>

Relations between the monastery and local society were often reciprocal. We learn that shortly before 1305 the *apographeus* Kounales had seized the *zeugēlateion* of Esphagmenou from Madarites, but the intervention of the monastery of Prodomos in favour of Madarites ended in a reconfirmation of his rights on the land.<sup>182</sup> Symeon Madarites subsequently donated 200 *modioi* of land for the care of his soul and another 400 *modioi* of land and a mill in exchange for two *adelphata* in the monastery. A few years later he sold the remaining parts of the Esphagmenou estate (c. 4,000 *modioi*)

<sup>176</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 49–50 (no. 16). Obviously he needed to take at least some money, but he still wanted it to count as a donation.

<sup>177</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 168–9 (no. 92).

<sup>178</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 151–3 (no. 78). His son tried to appropriate the houses and actually sold some of them; he regretted it and the monks gave him a non-representative price of 40 *hyperpyra* to help him buy back those he had sold.

<sup>179</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 207–8 (no. 124). We do not know the exact extent of the estate, but since it included abandoned lands from *paroikoi* it must have been sizeable.

<sup>180</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 128 (no. 63).

<sup>181</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 73–77 (nos 27–31).

<sup>182</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 60 (no. 20: reference to the help of the monastery for Madarites) and 387–8 (no. 194: the imperial *prostagma* confirming his possessions).

for 200 *nomismata* to the monastery.<sup>183</sup> Madarites' son-in-law, Mamenos, had appropriated some of Madarites' land for several years and retained it even after the latter's death. His widow Eudokia resorted not to a lay court, as would be expected, but directly to the ecclesiastical court of the metropolitan Ioakeim of Zichna, who had been the *ktētōr* of the monastery of Prodrimos during the previous transactions, in order to reclaim the land.<sup>184</sup>

One of the major roles of the monastery in Byzantine society was as refuge for the elderly, a medieval form of an old age home. Nevertheless, monasteries could not accept individuals easily, allowing them to be a burden on the monastery's resources. Therefore, the tradition of the *adelphaton* was established. Every individual who felt the need to assure their future old age or was about to enter monastic life would donate some resources (mostly land), and in exchange would receive certain fixed amounts of food and other necessities (such as firewood) as a living allowance for the rest of their life. Even people with modest financial status were keen to secure for themselves an *adelphaton* for their old age. The *adelphaton* was commonly heritable and sometimes even purchasable, and did not always require the commitment of the recipient to actual monastic life. This is obvious in the case of Eirene Chournaina Palaiologina. She donated land of 1,249 *modioi* for two *adelphata*, one for her and one for a person that she would designate. As a woman, she could never enter the monastery of Prodrimos, but was still able to receive the *adelphaton* for herself, and a clause stipulated that in case she departed for Constantinople, the other designated person would continue to receive their share.<sup>185</sup>

## Urban Economic Activities and the Middle Class

The evidence for the existence of a middle class in the city of Serres is meagre. Serres, an inland city, did not have access to the main trade routes in the late medieval Mediterranean. Still, though, its size and its situation in a large valley of high agricultural production must have allowed for a degree of artisanal activity and trade. It is known, for instance, that Kasandrenos' uncle, Manuel Prebezianos, traded wool from Serres to Thessalonike around the

<sup>183</sup> *Acts Prodrimou* (B), 55–61 (nos 19–20; p. 56 remembering this donation; on l. 22: the correct reading is χ' not λ' μόδιοι).

<sup>184</sup> *Acts Prodrimou* (B), 66–69 (no. 23).

<sup>185</sup> *Acts Prodrimou* (B), 311–16 (nos 175–7). See also Table 13 with all the *adelphata* in Serres, along with the quantities of goods offered (where the information is available from our source), and the donated properties. For the institution of the *adelphaton*, see Oikonomides, in *Acts Dionysiou*, 59; Talbot, 'Old age', 275–8; Živojinović, 'Аделфати у Византији'.

middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>186</sup> Late Byzantine Serres is also known as an important manufacturing centre of glazed ceramic pottery; ceramic vessels coming from Serres have been originated in many parts of Macedonia and Epirus.<sup>187</sup>

In nearby Zichna, there was a Jewish community made up of around forty to fifty *oikoi*. Their taxes were granted to the monastery of Prodromos by Andronikos III and the list of the taxpayers has been preserved, albeit incompletely. The economic condition of the Jews was weak; the average tax is just about half a *hyperpyron*, comparable only to the lowest tax rate paid by agricultural communities. Only half of the Jews owned a shop but all of them had a house. Besides, around half of them owned small vineyards (of 2 to 5 *modioi*).<sup>188</sup> Given these facts, their presence in the town does not rule out the possibility that they were occupied with agriculture and not only with trade or artisanal activities. Thereof, the case of Zichna calls into question the assumption that attested Jewish communities could be connected to only the urban economy and trade, as happened in Western Europe.<sup>189</sup>

The greatest part of the urban space was owned by the monasteries and the elite, who rented the houses and shops to the common people. In a property inventory drafted around 1353–5 the monastery of Prodromos owned two taverns, fourteen shops and more than five houses and house complexes in the city of Serres, two of which included a bakery, while Koutloumousion owned more than four houses and three shops around the marketplace of the city.<sup>190</sup> Even some members of the elite were obliged to build their houses on monastic soil and pay an annual rent.<sup>191</sup>

There is no evidence of social segregation into specific neighbourhoods in Serres. The house of the uncle of the emperor, Manuel Asanes, a leading figure of the city, was joined to the houses of the brothers Konstantinos and Athanasios Georgilas, who had no apparent distinction. These were located

<sup>186</sup> Schreiner, *Texte*, 3:84–5.

<sup>187</sup> Papanikola-Bakirtzis et al., *Ceramic art*.

<sup>188</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 208–9 (no. 125). The number of the Jewish *oikoi* is my rough estimation, because of the lacunae in the text. There are listed thirteen *oikoi* with a total tax of around 6 *nomismata*. Given the fact that their total tax is known to have been 20 *hyperpyra* (*Acts Prodromou* (B), 268, no. 154) we should more than triple the number of *oikoi*.

<sup>189</sup> Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*; Charanis, 'Jews in Byzantine Empire', 75–7; Jacoby, 'Jews in Byzantine economy', who stressed the importance of agriculture for the Jewish communities in the Balkans.

<sup>190</sup> *Acts Koutloumousiou*, 86 (no. 18: 1338).

<sup>191</sup> For example, the *oikeios* of the emperor Georgios Phokas and of the *prôtallagatôr* Konstantinos Trypommatas: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 145–6 (no. 73) and 155–6 (no. 80).



by the main street of the city (βασιλική ὁδός), close to the Imperial Gate or the Gate of the Forum (βασιλική πόρτα, τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Φόρου), where most of the shops that we know of in Serres were also located and, consequently, which must have been the busiest part of the city.<sup>192</sup> Alexios Palaiologos too was living just opposite some shops.<sup>193</sup>

Although we have some evidence of existing artisanal activity in Serres, we are unable to define its nature and degree, since occupations are rarely indicated in the documents. There is only one reference to a Konstantinos Batatzes as a goldsmith.<sup>194</sup> Among the shops mentioned we find some bakeries, taverns and hostels, which every single town would normally possess, but no other reference to a specific shop.<sup>195</sup> Nevertheless, the Ottoman registers of the mid-fifteenth century, which are more precise, suggest for Serres a picture of a city with high diversity in profession and increased artisanal activity and 113 different professions, the most common being priests (36 individuals), weavers (17 individuals), tailors (28 individuals), veil makers/sellers (34 individuals) and shoe makers (19 individuals). In 1478/9 a total of about 15 per cent of the city dwellers were engaged with the textile industry and another 10 per cent with the leather industry, while about 18 per cent were occupied with food-related jobs.<sup>196</sup>

Many of the surnames of the shop owners, who cannot be categorised among the elite, may indicate a substantial middle-class community in Serres. Among these we may categorise Boilas Kardames. In 1347, Boilas and his wife decided to become monastics and thence they separated their property into two equal parts in exchange for two *adelphata*. The first part consisted of immovable property: a large house complex which included a yard and an arch, a bakery and another two-storey house. The second part was made up of moveable property ('other things').<sup>197</sup> Maria Mabelina and

<sup>192</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 129–30 (for the house of Georgilas) and 128–46 (for other buildings and transactions located in the same area). They had taken, however, his permission to sell their house to the monastery of Prodromos, which they stated twice on the sale document. That the house of Georgilas was located next to the Imperial Gate is confirmed by a later inventory document: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 292 (no. 166). They are designated there simply as 'the sons of Georgilas'.

<sup>193</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 138–9 (no. 69).

<sup>194</sup> See p. 308.

<sup>195</sup> The monastery of Prodromos also owned an oil press (τῦμιλαρεῖον), which it demolished and instead built some houses to rent: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 295 (no. 167).

<sup>196</sup> For 1478/9 we know the occupations of almost the 75 per cent of the inhabitants, while for 1454/5 this is reduced to less than 25 per cent, so the numbers mentioned in the first census are definitely larger. See Lowry, *Ottoman Balkans*, 189–206; Moustakas, 'Transition', 320–3.

<sup>197</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 149–51 (no. 76).

her son-in-law Ioannes Thryses owned at least two shops, which they sold for 60 ounces of ducats (= 60 *hyperpyra*) and 34 *hyperpyra* respectively, and a vineyard of 1 *stremma* worth 6 *nomismata*.<sup>198</sup> Other shop owners were Alexios Xiphias,<sup>199</sup> Leon Ramboulas,<sup>200</sup> Toxaras, Alexios Kouperes, Krikelas, Hierakitzes and Glykeus.<sup>201</sup> There were people in the city who owned their houses, like Konstantinos Georgilas and his brother Athanasios until they sold it to the monastery of Prodromos for 65 *nomismata* (see Table 14, with all the attested real estate owners in Serres).<sup>202</sup> Certainly these cases are not proof of the existence of a middle class in Serres and Zichna, but they may be indicative.

The case of Serres strengthens the view of the Byzantine town as firmly connected with the countryside. We know, for example that in the nearby village of Monospeton some inhabitants of Serres rented vineyards from the Prodromos monastery.<sup>203</sup> But the Byzantine town did not serve as a refuge for those of servile status, as happened in some areas of Western Europe. In fact, some of the *paroikoi* of the monastery of Prodromos resided in Zichna. In 1339, at least two inhabitants are listed as *paroikoi* of the monastery. They both owned vineyards, and one of them additionally owned some trees, while another two of the monastery's *paroikoi*, enlisted in two nearby villages, also had houses within Zichna's walls. Another two *paroikoi* of the monastery were inhabitants of Serres; one had only a vineyard of 4 *modioi* in his possession and the other owned one vineyard and three houses.<sup>204</sup> There is another list of 11 *paroikoi* of the monastery, probably from Zichna. The *paroikoi* here owned not only large vineyards but also some livestock (oxen, mules) and houses (one of which is described as including a yard and another as built by the *paroikos* himself), while one of them owned a field of 10 *modioi*.<sup>205</sup> But we now move outside the city walls and examine the rich and diverse conditions prevalent in the countryside of the lower Strymon River.

<sup>198</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 131–2 (no. 65: 1330) and 135–6 (no. 67: 1314).

<sup>199</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 137–8 (no. 68: 1343). There is a *stratiôtês* ('soldier'), Niketas Xiphias, in 1303 but we cannot establish any connection between them.

<sup>200</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 133–4 (no. 66: 1310).

<sup>201</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 292–4 (nos 166–7).

<sup>202</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 129–30 (no. 64).

<sup>203</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 345 (no. 180).

<sup>204</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 352–3 (no. 181).

<sup>205</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 296 (no. 167). Smyrlis, *Fortune*, 266 (table) expresses the hypothesis that the list concerns Zichna, although this is not entirely clear, since the place name is missing from the list due to lacunae in the text.

## Social Relations in the Countryside of the Lower Strymon

The evidence from the countryside of Serres suggests a picture resembling the social conditions prevailing in the rest of the Palaiologan empire. The social elite and the larger monasteries owned land that they had acquired through purchase, or imperial and private donations. Most of the peasants were *paroikoi*, dependent peasants, of either the monasteries or the great landlords.<sup>206</sup>

One of the most striking factors that we should consider is the fragmentation of land ownership. The cases of mixed ownership villages are likely more numerous than those where villages are owned exclusively by a single landlord. In contrast to large, unified estates of hundreds or even thousands of *modioi* of land, in many villages one encounters extremely fragmented ownership. The evidence for the holdings of the Asomatos *metochion* is telling (Table 12); its landed property was made up of 91 different plots of land with a total area of more than 1,401 *modioi*. Excluding the largest single donation of 700 *modioi*, the average size of the fields is a little under 8 *modioi*.<sup>207</sup> Once we move from the large estates to the private properties of the peasants, we obtain a similar picture of land fragmentation. Indicative are the few detailed descriptions of peasants' landed properties of the *metochion* of Trilission: 7 individuals held fields with a total area of 227 *modioi*, i.e. an average of around 32 *modioi* for each peasant. These 227 *modioi* of land were made up of 32 different fields, the largest of which was 20 *modioi*, thus making an average of around 7 *modioi* for each field.<sup>208</sup> Occasionally, the reverse can be observed: the unification of small neighbouring plots of land into a large estate, as in the previously mentioned case of Theodora Kantakouzene in 1337/8: she bought 110 neighbouring plots of land with a total area of 1,366 *modioi*; excluding a field of 700 *modioi*, the average size of the rest was around 6 *modioi*.<sup>209</sup> The topography cannot explain this fragmentation, since the region under discussion is predominantly a plain and not mountainous (excluding the mountainous and forest area around the monastery of Prodromos and the mountain of Menoikeion). The prevailing land fragmentation is also an argument against the regular redistribution of arable land by the landlords to the peasants. If there was a distribution of land, this would obviously be made as coherent parcels of land. The kind of fragmentation observed is more likely the result of generations of 'private' peasant ownership.

<sup>206</sup> For the location of the villages mentioned here, see Map 3 at the end of this chapter.

<sup>207</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 200 (no. 120).

<sup>208</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 241–3 (no. 141).

<sup>209</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 99–148 (no. 80: 1337–8).

There are several communities in the Strymon area for which we have sufficient evidence of the financial situation of the peasants. The picture they give us is far from a unified one; the financial situation and property ownership of the peasants diverged. Among the factors that contributed to these divergences could well be the location of the village (on a mountain or a plain), but also the way in which the village had been acquired by the landlord.

Beginning with the village community of Kato Ouska (Table 18), we can observe that before 1341 at least 5 large proprietors are attested in the village: the *hetaireiarchēs* (Ioannes Margarites), the *prōtasēkrētis* (probably Leon Bardales),<sup>210</sup> Zarides (who owned some *paroikoi* households),<sup>211</sup> the monastery of Prodromos, and the *oikeios* of Stefan Dušan, Demetrios Bastralites, who in 1353 donated to the monastery all his land in Kato Ouska.<sup>212</sup> The *praktikon* drafted after 1342 enumerated 23 *staseis* of *paroikoi* in Kato Ouska, six of which were declared abandoned. The total tax was 43.65 *hyperpyra* (an average of 2 *hyperpyra* for each peasant), the *paroikoi* collectively owned land of 1,326 *modioi* (an average of around 55 *modioi*), vineyards of 65.82 *modioi* (almost 3 *modioi* each), 17 oxen, 13 cows, 5 mules and 25 pigs.<sup>213</sup> It was, then, a village where the *paroikoi* had sizeable private properties.

<sup>210</sup> Attested as a neighbour in some peasants' fields: *Acts Prodromou* (B), 251, l.26 and 253, l.40 (no. 146).

<sup>211</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 245 (no. 142). His *staseis* were given to Ioannes Margarites after his death. Margarites donated them, apart from one, to the monastery of Prodromos.

<sup>212</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 245–6 (no. 143).

<sup>213</sup> There are four lists and *praktika* for Kato Ouska in *Acts Prodromou* (B). The first list (the latest) no. 142 was drafted after 1345 since it mentions the purchase of 7 *staseis* (the *staseis* of Basileios Mauros, Paloukes, Tzasaris, Mountounis, Aphratas, his brother Petrokatalytes and the widow Katzibelia) and the donation of others by the then monk Ioannes (Ioasaph) Margarites; Margarites was granted the right to transmit and sell his property by Ioannes V in 1342 (*ibid.*, pp. 400–1) but he did not become a monk before 1345. The second list is a *praktikon* of the *paroikoi* of Kato Ouska (no. 186) drafted before the purchase of the 7 *staseis* (since none of them is encountered), but certainly not long before 1339–41, when the third act (no. 181), a *praktikon*, was drafted, including only 6 of the 23 *staseis* (or the 18 if we exclude the 5 abandoned ones) of *praktikon* no. 186 (all 6 *paroikoi* own almost identical property between the two *praktika* and so act no. 181 cannot have been significantly older). The fourth act (no. 146) poses some problems regarding its chronology; it is a list of the fields of the monastery's *paroikoi* in Kato Ouska and of its private fields but it is not dated. It must be the earliest of all, yet not very much earlier. It includes 15 *staseis* of *paroikoi*, 9 of whom can be identified with the *praktikon* no. 181. However, the *stasis* of Pyros is not mentioned here as *exaleimmatikē*, unlike *praktikon* no. 181 and the list no. 142; the *stasis* of Tzangarina is listed in *praktikon* no. 181 under her son-in-law Rosos. Nonetheless, on the other hand, there is mention of the abandoned *stasis* of Katzibelia, which (if it is identical) was donated after 1342 by Margarites. But act no. 146 cannot have been drafted after act no. 142, because none of the other *staseis* purchased by Margarites is mentioned.

Somewhat different is the situation in Monospeton of a corresponding population size (24 households, 3 of which were abandoned) (Table 19). In contrast to Kato Ouska the peasants here own significantly less arable land (an average of around 20 *modioi*), but this is counterbalanced by a remarkably large number of vineyards (more than double those in Kato Ouska), the possession of 187 goats, 44 beehives and thrice as many cows as Kato Ouska. These differences must be related to the position of Monospeton, on the slopes of Menoikeion Mountain. As such there was less arable land and the peasants needed fewer oxen to cultivate it: they owned only 8 oxen (in contrast to 17 in Kato Ouska), although they were able to profit from some trees and orchards.<sup>214</sup> The economy was even more dependent on livestock in Politzos/Topoltzos (Table 20): the 17 *staseis* of peasants paid only 14.66 *hyperpyra* in total (less than 1 *hyperpyron* of tax on average on each *stasis*). The *paroikoi* own no land and even fewer oxen; but this is counterbalanced to an extent by the possession of 260 sheep (the largest flock being 80 sheep strong).<sup>215</sup> The village of Doxompo by the lake of Achinos was a very rich village (Table 16). The 3,000 *modioi* of demesne land (the peasants owned no land apart from vineyards) would not be sufficient for the 121 families (i.e. around 25 *modioi* for each one), but they profited from their fishing rights in the lake. As a result, most of the peasants owned fishing boats (*karabia*) and nets (*bibaria*), and more than half of the income of the monastery of Lavra derived from taxes on fishing and the trade from it (350 of the total of 653 *hyperpyra*).<sup>216</sup>

The village communities of Lakkoi and Keranitza (or Geranitza elsewhere) were included in the boundaries of the Prodromos monastery itself. The peculiarity of these villages is that the peasants were designated as 'poor' and without land both in the chrysobull of 1309 and in the *praktikon* of 1339.<sup>217</sup> Most of the peasants owned no property, and those that did possessed only a few animals and small vineyards. As a result, the highest tax recorded is 1 *nomisma* and the average was in fact below half a *nomisma*, since most of them paid around a third.<sup>218</sup> However, the 'poverty' of the

<sup>214</sup> Monospeton can perhaps be identified as modern Agio Pneuma, 12 km east of Serres. There are three lists of the peasants in Monospeton. The first was drafted by the *prōtokynēgos* Ioannes Batatzes in 1339 (*Acts Prodromou* (B), 337–9). The other two are identical (*ibid.*, 343–5 and 348–50), and were drafted shortly afterwards since they are very similar to the *praktikon* of Batatzes.

<sup>215</sup> I have included the sole *stasis* from the village community of Maurobounion, since it is included in the *praktikon* and might be a neighbour to Politzos.

<sup>216</sup> *Acts Lavra* II, 163–71.

<sup>217</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 370 and 340–1, respectively.

<sup>218</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 355–7. It has, however, many lacunae and is perhaps incomplete. Nonetheless most *staseis* are recorded since we also have a list of their names in the *praktikon* no. 181 (p. 341) of 1341 (again with some lacunae).

inhabitants is not only a result of the ownership of all land by the nearby monastery. Both villages (see Figure 14) are located on the mountain ridge and are built on rocky terrain that can only grow bushes and some trees and is not suitable for cultivation. The village of Lakkoi is abandoned today.

In the village of Eunouchou (modern Maurothalassa) (Table 17), even though the village was situated on a fertile plateau, the peasants owned no arable land. However, they possessed vineyards and gardens, which may have been acquired through an *emphyteusis* contract. They also owned many oxen: Eunouchou has the highest attested rate of oxen possession in comparison to all other villages. However, other animals, especially sheep, were unequally distributed (a 90 per cent degree of inequality); just one peasant owned two-thirds (120 in number) of the sheep in the village.<sup>219</sup> Elsewhere, the landlord allocated land to the peasants. In Chotolibos the monastery of Vatopedi had provided some peasants with arable land that is specifically described as 'land from attribution' (*paradosis*) (Table 14). Seven *oikoi* shared this land, the total area of which was 150 *modioi*, and were not taxed on it: they all paid proportionally less tax than the other peasants, who owned personal arable land. A different contract may have been in effect at this stage, such as that the land had until recently been abandoned and the monastery had given it to these peasants in order to return it to cultivation, but until this was achieved it would remain untaxed.<sup>220</sup>



Figure 14 The village of Lakkoi.

<sup>219</sup> *Acts Chilandar* I, 257–8 and 268.

<sup>220</sup> See also Lefort in *Acts Vatopedi* I, 62, who speculates that this attributed land must have been abandoned before.

The village of Semaltos had also some peculiarities, which were not connected either with the way the monastery acquired the village or its localisation, but rather with local family customs (Table 21). The *praktikon* of c. 1322–6, which survives only partially, enumerates sixteen nuclear families, each with a house of its own, but most of them are grouped into larger tax units composed of two or three related families. A few families, although related, are not grouped in this way.<sup>221</sup> If we divide the possessions according to the number of the taxpaying units, which number only nine, then we arrive at a much larger average *oikos*: 44 *modioi* of land, 6.56 *modioi* of vineyard, 1.2 oxen and just above 1.3 cows, paying on average 2.72 *hyperpyra*. However, since the number of the members of each taxpaying unit was almost double, the results when compared to the other villages, show a rather modest if not poor village.<sup>222</sup> About twenty years later the elders of Semaltos are referred to in a document.<sup>223</sup> Of the eleven elders, six are identifiably related to the families mentioned in the *praktikon*. Each of these six elders represents all the families known from the *praktikon*, with a single exception: the widower Stephanos, son of Tekmos, with two daughters, who owned the most mediocre property in the village and had no relation to any other household. Semaltos then constituted one of the largest degrees of demographic continuity attested in the Macedonian villages. Thus, despite the modesty of the peasants' possessions, the cooperative economy of the village may have prevented emigration.

The situation in Serres differed from that in Chalkidike, where the *praktika* of the Athonite monasteries for most of the villages record no land for the peasants.<sup>224</sup> In most of the villages near Serres, the peasants owned some land, the collective total area of which could be even larger than that of the

<sup>221</sup> For example, one entry reads: 'Tomprikas the son of Theodoros has wife Anna, mother Theodora, sisters Maria and Zoe, 1 ox, 2 cows; together with him, his brother Basileios has wife Zoe, sister Maria, a house, 1 ox, together with them, Michael Tzankares the son-in-law of the widow Kyrismia has wife Maria, son Xenos, house, and all (?) of them have 2/3 of their paternal *stasis*: vineyard of 6.5 *modioi* and land of 55 *modioi*, tax 3 *hyperpyra*'. Not only are brothers, parents and sisters included, but also another former (?) *oikos*. For this phenomenon, see Lefort, 'Transmission des biens', 163–5.

<sup>222</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 66.

<sup>223</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 229.

<sup>224</sup> Of the 32 village communities analysed by Laiou (Laiou, *Peasant society*, Table II-2), only in nine are there peasants' land, always amounting to much less than the private land of the landlord (mostly the Athonite monasteries); of these nine communities, one is situated in Thrace (Mamitzon) and three are in the Strymon area. Since Laiou's study, many other *praktika* have been published that were not available to her (Doxompo, Semaltos, Zabarnikeia, Chotolibos, among others).

land owned by the landlord, as in Kato Ouska. The prosperity of a peasant can be only a matter of speculation. Tax is not a safe indication, since it is certain that not all the peasants' property was taxed and there might be a different tax rate in each village. For example, in Politzos the poll tax was only one-sixth of a *hyperpyron* (see the *staseis* nos 6–8 and 13–16) whereas in Prebista it was half of a *hyperpyron* (see the *staseis* nos 8, 52, 58 and 63). Lefort has calculated that in Radolibos, apart from a hearth tax, only land and vineyards were taxed.<sup>225</sup> But in Politzos it is certain that sheep were taxed and perhaps cows and mules too (see nos 11 and 17, which include no other property). Moreover, the tax was not levied at the same rate; unknown factors might play a role. By way of illustration, we cannot know why in Prebista *stasis* no. 4 (Ioannes Pelekanos) paid the same tax as *stasis* no. 5 (Konstantinos Serbos), although his property was significantly smaller (0.67 to 6.5 *modioi* of vineyards, 50 to 100 *modioi* of land, 3 to 8 pigs and 15 to 25 sheep). Besides, *stasis* no. 5 was among the richest 10 per cent in the village (see Table 4).

But, for most of the householders, arable land was not sufficient. Lefort has calculated that a peasant with 80 *modioi* of land and one pair of oxen would have a surplus of 4.6 *hyperpyra*, enough to buy sufficient other commodities (such as clothes, wine, meat) for his family.<sup>226</sup> But this size of holding is rarely observable in Serres. Most of the peasants would have had to rent land from a landlord or work for a wage in the fields. Yet there were some who far exceeded this minimum, as in Prebista, where at least 10 of the 63 *staseis* exceeded Lefort's figure.<sup>227</sup> But Prebista, Kato Ouska and Monospeton, were exceptional in terms of peasants' property. In all other villages the holdings of the peasants were comparatively modest.

Most villages in the Strymon valley profited from viticulture, the average holding usually being more than 3 *modioi* and in some villages reaching up to 6 *modioi* (except in mountainous Politzos and Trilission). This holding could prove an important contribution to the income of a peasant, as we saw in the previous chapter, and this is further corroborated by the fact that most of the households (and sometimes all of them) owned a smaller or larger vineyard, thus making inequality on this asset relatively low (see Table 24). Unlike the vineyards, other assets, such as arable land and livestock were less equally distributed. The coefficient grows, especially regarding the possession of sheep

<sup>225</sup> Lefort in *Acts Vatopedi* II, 152. See also Laiou, *Peasant society*, 176–81.

<sup>226</sup> Lefort, 'Rural economy', 299–303. This figure is for land half-first, half-second quality and, after tax, the grain consumption of the family, assuming that only five-eighths of the total land was cultivated and that part of the harvest was reserved as the following year's seed.

<sup>227</sup> Including of course all their other property: goats, sheep, cows, oxen and vineyards, which increased their income.



and goats (76 per cent). However, it decreases again in tax on the households (40 per cent), a reflection of the aforementioned discrepancies in tax rates and of the modesty of the peasants' holdings.

The Strymon area provides some evidence regarding the right of the *paroikoi* to sell their fields freely. In Kato Ouska we have the advantage of knowing exactly which *paroikoi* were owned by the monastery of Prodromos at a particular time, and which were not. The field list of the *paroikoi*, drafted some time before 1341, includes 15 *staseis* of *paroikoi*, most of whom are identifiable with those mentioned in the *praktikon* of post-1342. In many *staseis*, the fraction that had been acquired through purchase by the peasant forms a significant part: in the *stasis* of Momtzilas out of the 222 *modioi*, 86 were acquired by purchase. The interesting observation though is that most of the vendors are never attested as *paroikoi* of the monastery.<sup>228</sup> Some *paroikoi* of the monastery had bought land from *staseis* that the monastery acquired much later, when Margarites sold them to the monastery; so at the time they sold these pieces of land, they were still Margarites' *paroikoi*. At the same time, some of the purchases were made by peasants who were neither Margarites' nor the monastery's *paroikoi*, such as the land that Momtzilas purchased from Aphratas, or the vineyard Niketas Schoinas held as dowry from a certain Mauros: neither Aphratas nor Mauros were *paroikoi* of Margarites or of the monastery.<sup>229</sup>

It is improbable that a landlord could sufficiently oversee each of the transactions of his *paroikoi* and provide his consent, especially since the observed purchases are only a small fraction of the total transactions (transactions between peasants are extremely rarely attested in our sources). Dowry was the most common way of transmitting property between the *paroikoi* of different landlords, especially when the whole village was not in the possession of a single landlord, as in Kato Ouska. Even though the whole village of Radolibos had belonged to the monastery of Iveron since the eleventh century, a *paroikos* named Ioannes Makres from Semaltos had a vineyard in Radolibos for which he was now paying the tax to Vatopedi, which controlled the village of Semaltos.<sup>230</sup> The two monasteries may have

<sup>228</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 250–5: Momtzilas (l. 1–13), Tourkos (l. 4), Nikoulitzas (l. 4), Marinos (l. 5), Syrmpinos (l. 6,9,11), Rousinos (l. 9,22), Diakos (l. 11), the '*paroikos* Amnon' (or the '*paroikos* of Amnon') (l. 10), Stephanitzes (l. 48), Kokkinos (l. 51).

<sup>229</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 363 (l. 16).

<sup>230</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 66 (l. 62–3). See also the case of the village Sarantarea in Chalkidike, owned by the monastery of Chilandar, in which many of the *paroikoi* owned vineyards, either through dowry or through purchases, and were paying tax to other lords: *Acts Lavra* II, 223–76, while the *paroikoi* of the monastery had sold some of their vineyards to 'certain Thessalonians'; these Thessalonians would now pay the *paroikiko telos*, i.e. the tax of a *paroikos*.

had an agreement, but it seems improbable that they could closely supervise or veto each transaction, especially in villages owned by different landlords, such as Maurobounion, where the monastery of Prodomos owned a single *paroikos*.

Free peasantry existed in the Strymon area too. In 1333 in the village of Gastilengous, Manuel Maroules sold his 500 *modioi* of land, all that he owned, to the monastery of Prodomos. Its value was estimated at 107 *nomismata* and it was thus too large to have belonged to a simple *paroikos*.<sup>231</sup> Theodoros Berroiotes sold some fallow land to Georgios Komnenos Patrikios. The lower social status of Berroiotes can be confirmed by the fact that he calls Patrikios 'most noble'. Patrikios, however, was not the lord of Berroiotes; he is just a neighbouring landowner among others (Amaseianos, Kontobrades and Stephanos the *paroikos* of Komnenos Laskaris).<sup>232</sup> It would have been clarified in the document if the purchase had been made from a *paroikos* of another lord. Thus, when Philippos Arabantenos drafted his testament, he stated that he had bought a certain vineyard 'from his sister and from one of her *paroikoi*':<sup>233</sup> This means that either that he paid money to both for the vineyard or that his sister simply gave her consent for this sale.

In March 1340 Makarios Kozeakos, shortly before his death, drafted his testament, converting the small monastery that he had founded in the vicinity of Zichna into a *metochion* of the monastery of St Anastasia of Iakobos Mpalaës. The property that he gave to the monastery consisted of two-thirds of a vineyard that he had planted with his brother (to whom the remaining third was left), an orchard and a field that he had bought from a man named Solaris. The only other property that he had at the time of his testament were three beehives, his house and 20 *modioi* of seed, which he left to his wife. No children are mentioned. What happened next is of particular importance: as soon as Theodoros Kaballarios Ntekalabrias learned about the act, he seized the vineyard back. His objection was that he had given Kozeakos the surrounding fields, including the land for the vineyard and the orchard, in order to build the monastery. Mpalaës, the abbot of St Anastasia, tried to convince him to give back the vineyard. In the end, Ntekalabrias and the monastery reached an agreement by letting the brother of Kozeakos have the one-third, while Ntekalabrias donated another third to St Anastasia

<sup>231</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 78–9. In Thessalonike and in Constantinople, Maroules was a family of the lesser elite, but the relative frequency of the surname (and its agricultural connotations, being derived from 'lettuce') in Smyrna, Kephallenia, Constantinople and elsewhere, does not allow any kind of identification: see PLP, nos 17128–63.

<sup>232</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 95–7.

<sup>233</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 124.

and sold the final third to the same monastery.<sup>234</sup> Therefore, with this act it was acknowledged that Ntekalabrias had legal rights to the vineyard; he had neither sold nor donated it to Kozeakos. It is possible that Kozeakos, given his modest means, had been a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias and that the latter had the right to annul his testament. But most probably at the core of this case was a leased contract (*emphyteusis*) of the vineyard, and on this contract Ntekalabrias had based his claims. An emphyteutic lease gave rights *in rem* on the field to the cultivator, and as explained previously, one of the ways that *paroikoi* in Byzantium acquired private land in the long term was through these types of contracts. However, Makarios Kozeakos needed the consent of the landlord, Ntekalabrias, to be able to sell or donate it, since the latter retained bare ownership. Consequently, it is most likely that Kozeakos was a free peasant.<sup>235</sup>

Similarly, a certain Petros, identifying himself as the son-in-law of Tzernes Karbounas, built a church in the vicinity of Loukobikeia to which he attached 103 *modioi* of land, a vineyard and an irrigated garden, subsequently converting the church into a *metochion* of the monastery of Zographou. These fields explicitly belonged to his patrimonial property (*gonikē hypostasis*) and his children and further descendants were not allowed to claim them back. Michael and Nikolaos (son of Tzernes) Karbounas, obviously Petros' in-laws, sold some modest plots of land to the monastery. None of them was literate and they obviously inhabited the village in which the *metochion* was built. Presumably, Petros must have owned much more property to allow for his children's inheritance or for his own sustenance, but his manifestly low social status (his way of self-identification, his surname and even the first name Tzernes, the mediocre size of the land and his residency in a village and not in the town, where the elite almost exclusively lived) cannot classify him as among the elite but rather as a propertied independent peasant.<sup>236</sup>

We are able to identify other free smallholders who sold their fields and do not appear to have been *paroikoi*. Laiou claims that most of the peasants who appeared to sell plots of land ultimately turned out to be *paroikoi* of

<sup>234</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 262–5.

<sup>235</sup> See p. 177. Even if he was a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias, it is interesting that he had the right to buy land from Solaris, who was not in turn, a *paroikos* of Ntekalabrias (since Ntekalabrias did not claim this field) and that a *paroikos* could build a monastery.

<sup>236</sup> *Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 272–6 (= *Acts Zographou* (Regel), 43–4). *Hypostasis* signifies the property and does not apply necessarily only to peasants but also to the property of the privileged class, as for example in the case of the *hypostasis* of the *prôtallagatōr* Basilikos (see this chapter, note 102). If he was a *paroikos* it would be designated as παροικική ὑπόστασις.

the monastery, although it is never stated whether the vendor is a *paroikos* or not, and all of them claimed to hold the land by inheritance and in full possession.<sup>237</sup> Nevertheless this cannot always have been the case and we do have some evidence to the contrary: when in 1298 the Prodomos monastery's landed property was limited to a few holdings and only a small number of poor *paroikoi* near the monastery,<sup>238</sup> Leon Tzankaropoulos donated his field of 40 *modioi* for the care of his own, his parents' and his wife's souls. The field was owned by him through hereditary possession and was situated between state land and the land of Pelargos, so it is unlikely to have been the land of a *paroikos*. In fact, Leon could not afford to simply donate the whole field; he received 9 *nomismata* for half of the field 'because he was poor', and thus he is unlikely to have been a member of the elite.<sup>239</sup>

In 1321 the monastery of Prodomos acquired the *metochion* of St Michael Asomatos near the village Zelichova. According to the detailed chrysobull of the same year this *metochion* owned only three mills and another church there. It is thus difficult to suppose that it actually had *paroikoi* in the village. Within a few years (1321–32) the monastery acquired, through purchases and donations, a large area of land (more than 1,391 *modioi*). In the field list we possess it seems to have acquired its fields through small individual sales and donations from landowners (Table 12). Some of them belonged to the elite, like the *sebastos* (Konstantinos) Achyraïtes. But most of them are completely unknown to us. Some may have been *paroikoi* of other landlords of the area but equally well they may have been free landowners. More obviously, in cases where the donation was made by a landlord, it was specifically stated that the field came from the '*stasis* of . . .'.<sup>240</sup>

## Late Byzantine Provincial Society

Society in Serres, then, does not appear to differ greatly from society in the rest of the empire, even though local traits can be identified. In the

<sup>237</sup> Laiou, *Peasant society*, 183–4.

<sup>238</sup> In the *chrysobull* of 1309 (*Acts Prodomou* (B), 369–71) it owns the *paroikoi* of Lakkoi and Geranitza, 7 mills, 3 shops, 30 *modioi* of vineyards, 2 *modioi* of orchard and another 2 *modioi* of garden in and around Serres, 1,400 *modioi* of land in Kosna, Neochorion and Kisterna and some churches here and there. No other estates are mentioned.

<sup>239</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 48–9.

<sup>240</sup> A fraction of these sale acts has been preserved in the archives of Codex B of the monastery of Prodomos (pp. 157–89), the vast majority come from the year 1329.

countryside the analysis of social relations makes it possible to observe a picture that resembles the rest of the empire, notably that most peasants had the status of *paroikoi* and most land was owned by the grand landowners. Nevertheless, the publication of more *praktika* and the comparison with different or even neighbouring villages shows that the situation was far from uniform. In many villages, peasants did own some land and some of them were prosperous, at least compared to the majority of the *paroikoi*: they possessed land of more than 100 *modioi*. Be that as it may, wealth inequality is apparent in these small village societies, even if the peasants equally shared the status of a *paroikos*. Finally, peasant society was not made up only of *paroikoi*, but a small segment of the population can be identified as free peasantry.

There were three categories of the elite in Strymon valley: the higher aristocracy of the empire, which owned estates but mostly did not reside in the area; the local military elite, which owned large estates too, but not comparable in size to those of the higher aristocracy, and, finally, the local civil elite, which in essence was an ecclesiastical elite, since the few relevant posts of a secular nature, such as tax collection/assessment, were usually reserved for the civil elite of Constantinople and Thessalonike. This local elite, regardless of its military or civil tradition of service, maintained both urban and rural properties in the area and succeeded in concentrating most of the financial capital in its hands, thus corresponding to the social conditions prevalent in the rest of the empire.

The example of Serres shows that a Byzantine provincial city cannot be compared in its development during the late period to the rising Western European cities, especially of the Italian type. There is no evidence whatsoever of civic institutions. Serres and the nearby Zichna were administered by a governor, who evidently played a crucial role in determining the allegiance of 'his' city between the two camps in the first and the second civil wars.

The local elite does not seem to have entered a conflict with the central state authority. It was not involved in the game of power in the empire, nor did it acquire significant titles or offices. It was sustained on the one hand by the small individual privileges it was acquiring and, on the other, by a few higher aristocratic families, which must have exerted substantial influence on local politics and were established in the area at some point (such as the families of Laskaris and Tornikes). Very few local families accomplished an ascent to this higher elite, the notable exception being the TzAMPLAKON family (though these originated from nearby Drama and some of them were established in Thessalonike).

The local elite developed with the flow of time independently from the state, acquiring local network connections, locally based wealth and local prestige. This can also be observed in the evolution of the power and the property of the largest local monastery, the monastery of Prodomos. Its growth did not owe so much to imperial or higher aristocratic patronage and support, as the large Athonite monasteries, but more to the support of local society. During the second civil war, both Kantakouzenos and the regency in Constantinople had more pressing concerns than to sustain garrisons far from the main theatres of war. This allowed the development of a faction that favoured the surrender of the city to the Serbians, nurtured by decades of resentment of the privileges and offices that the higher aristocracy were acquiring both locally and empire-wide, by the destruction caused to the elite's possessions by the Serbian attacks in the countryside, and by Dušan's promises of better treatment. This faction was led by Manuel Asanes, a member of the higher elite, who was established in the city and probably intermarried with the local elite, preferring thus to identify himself with its interests. The change of the city's allegiance from the regency to Kantakouzenos in 1344 only shortly postponed this surrender.<sup>241</sup> Both the regency and Kantakouzenos failed to support the pro-Byzantine faction by sending troops. Subsequently, the higher elite that was the backbone of the pro-Byzantine faction abandoned the area.

The different religion of the Turks who became established in the area in the 1380s made things more complex; there was sometimes awkwardness or a fear to resort to the justice of the local Ottoman authorities, at least among the ecclesiastics.<sup>242</sup> Still the incorporation was mostly successful, as can be shown by the example of the *timar*-holder, Laskaris, shortly after the Ottoman conquest,<sup>243</sup> or by the cases where one party would resort to the Ottoman justice in order to achieve a more favourable outcome against an ecclesiastical party.<sup>244</sup> Altogether a significant degree of continuity can be observed following the Ottoman conquest. Among the inhabitants of Serres in the first surviving tax census in 1454/5, one can identify a Doukas Monomachos, Tornikes Agallon, Synadenos Basilikos, many Synadenoï, a Demos Modenos, Georgios Papyllas, Georgios Gerilas (*Yorg veled-i Gerilo*), Demetrios Kalligopoulos (?) (*Dimitri Kalligo*), Angelos Kouropalates, Doukas Kourtikes, Ioannes Toxaras (*Yani Dokşara*), Michael Pankalos (*Mihal Pangalo*), Ioannes Maurophoros and

<sup>241</sup> Kant., 2:468–73, 535–6 and 551.

<sup>242</sup> For example, *Acts Vatopedi* III, 164 (where eventually the two parties sought compromise), 198 and explicitly on p. 313.

<sup>243</sup> Moustakas, 'Pronoia of Laskaris'.

<sup>244</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* III, 164 and 211.

Mauroidoukas (*Mavri Duka*), among others.<sup>245</sup> Branches of the Palaiologoi or the Tornikioi still inhabited the city, while one encounters Turkish-influenced names, such as Monomachos Almegas.<sup>246</sup>

The failure of the government to understand this evolution, the decentralisation process, which was also a social and not only a political process, proved a severe blow to the state. But this was not a failure of the local society. The incorporation into the Serbian realm came with ease and local society actually profited from it, occupying governmental posts that the Byzantine emperor had only seldom given to them and acquiring more of the economic capital that had been released. This ability of Serres to accommodate Serbian and Turkish rule, and even to thrive under it, was a sign of the strength and adaptability of local society but also of the weakness of the remnants of the Byzantine empire itself, which was unable to offer compelling advantages to local elites and thus commanded a correspondingly weak hold on their loyalty. Serres is only one example, but for all we know, the situation was not significantly different in other parts of the empire.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>245</sup> *TTD*-3, 163–73 (data from Moustakas, ‘Transition’, 356–65).

<sup>246</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* III, 313 (1438), 439 (1482).

<sup>247</sup> For example, such dissatisfaction was probably the main cause for the collapse of Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century. However, the unfavourable treatment of the local society in Asia Minor by the state during the reign of Michael VIII was more deliberate and the resulting dissatisfaction grew more intense, resulting in local revolts.



Map 3: Map of the region of Strymon. Source: K. Moustakas, 'The transition from Late Byzantine to early Ottoman Southeastern Macedonia (14th–15th centuries): a socioeconomic and demographic study', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2001.



Table 15 Chotolibos.

H #	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>			Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Other	Fields	Vineyards	Gardens			
1	3	2	5	2	3	1 mule/4 pigs	22	6		4		
2	3	2	5	2	2	1 mule/6 pigs	6	?	1	1		
3	2	1	3	1	2		? <sup>a</sup>	3	1	1.5		
4	3	2	5	2	2	1 mule	? <sup>b</sup>	4	?	2.5		
5	2	2	4					1		0.66		
6	1	2	3	2	2		100	4.5	0.5	4		
7	2	2	4	2	2	4 pigs	100	4.5		3		
8	4	2	6 <sup>c</sup>	1	2		20	2		1		
9	1	1	2	1			?	?		2		
10	2	1	3	2			35	8.5	5	3.33		
11	2	1	3	1	4							
12						(ex.)		1		0.25		
13	3	1	4	2	2	1 mule	30 <sup>d</sup>	3		2		
14	2	1	3	1			20 <sup>d</sup>	1.5		0.5		
15	4	2	6	1			12 <sup>d</sup>	3.5		1		
16	1	2	3	2	2	1 mule	28 <sup>d</sup>	3.66		1.5		
17						(ex.)		2.5		0.5		
18	5		5	1	1		20 <sup>d</sup>			0.5		

(Continued)

H #	Family members				Animals			Land in <i>modioi</i>			Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T		Oxen	Cows	Other	Fields	Vineyards	Gardens	
19	1	1	2		1	1		10 <sup>d</sup>	1.5	3 <sup>e</sup>	0.5
20	2	1	3		1		1 mule	30 <sup>d</sup>	2		1
21	2	2	4		1	1			0.66		0.5
22	1	1	2								0.33
<b>T</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>75</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>6 mules/14 pigs</b>	<b>&gt;433 (c. 500)</b>	<b>53.82</b>	<b>&lt;10.5</b>	<b>31.57</b>
A	2.3	1.5	3.8		1.3	1.3	0.3 mules/0.7 pigs	23.81	2.56	0.5	1.44
G					25%	47%		68%	47%		54%

Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total (ex.): *exaleimna* (see Glossary) T: Total Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> An estimation on the basis of the tax paid would yield land of probably 20 *modioi* (see also that no. 13, which has almost the same kind of property, pays 2 *hyperpyra* (= *nomisima*) and owns 30 *modioi* of land).

<sup>b</sup> An estimation on the basis of the tax paid would yield land of probably 30–40 *modioi*.

<sup>c</sup> In a large gap in the manuscript of around 17 characters, I have preferred to identify no more than two additional members of the family, one male and one female.

<sup>d</sup> The land was given to the householder (ἀπὸ παραδόσεως), presumably by the monastery.

<sup>e</sup> This is *autolepton*.

Table 16 Doxompo.<sup>a</sup>

H #	Family members				Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modiol</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>			
1	0	3	3			2?	b	0.5			3.66	1.5
2	2	1	3			2					1	0.5
3	1	2	3					1	6		10.66	3
4	2	3	5	2	2		b	1	15		20	5
5	1	0	1								1.66	0.5
6	1	2	3			2	b	1	8		4	1.33
7	2	2	4	2	3	2	b	1	12		7	2.5
8	1	1	2								?	0.5
9	0	2	2								1	0.25
10	2	1	3								3	?
11	3	2	5					0.5			3	1
12	3	1	4					1			3	1 <sup>e</sup>
13	1	2	3					0.5			1.5	1 <sup>e</sup>
14	1	3	4			2		0.5			3.66	2 <sup>e</sup>
15	1	2	3								2 m. <i>chers.</i>	0.25
16	1	1	2								4.66	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
17	2	2	4	1	2	2	b	1			3.5/1 m. <i>chers.</i>	2 <sup>e</sup>
18	2	1	3		2	2		0.5			3	1.33 <sup>e</sup>
19	2	2	4	1	2	3	b	1			1.33	0.5 <sup>e</sup>

(Continued)

H #	Family members				Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modiot</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T		Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>		
20	3	1	4					b	1		3	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
21	2	1	3	1		2		b	0.5	12	4.5	1.66 <sup>e</sup>
22	2	2	4					b	1		0.5	1.66 <sup>e</sup>
23	1	2	3			2			0.5		3	1.25 <sup>e</sup>
24	1	0	1	2	1		1 mule/1 horse <sup>b</sup>				3/1 m. new/1 m. <i>chers.</i>	2
25	3	1	4			2			0.5		3.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
26	1	1	2						0.5	3	1.5	0.66 <sup>e</sup>
27	2	1	3	1	1	2		b	0.5	8	4	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
28	2	1	3						0.5		2	1 <sup>e</sup>
29	2	2	4			2			1		1.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
30	2	1	3						0.5		4	1.5
31	2	2	4	1	2	3		b	1	25	7.5/2 m. <i>chers.</i>	4 <sup>e</sup>
32	1	1	2								1.5	0.66
33	1	1	2								2	0.5
34	2	3	5					b,c			5	2.5
35	2	3	5	1		2		b	1	20	1	2.5
36	1	1	2						0.5	6		0.33 <sup>e</sup>
37	1	2	3			2				4	2	0.5
38	3	2	5			2			0.5	6	5	2 <sup>e</sup>

H #	Family members				Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modioi</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>			
39	2	1	3	1					0.33 <sup>g</sup>		4	1.5 <sup>h</sup>
40	1	2	3	1	1				0.33 <sup>g</sup>		4	1.5 <sup>h</sup>
41	2	1	3		1				0.33 <sup>g</sup>	5	4	2 <sup>h</sup>
42	1	2	3	2		2	b		0.5		4.66	2
43	3	1	4			2			0.5		3	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
44	1	1	2			2			0.5	8	2	1 <sup>e</sup>
45	2	2	4	1		2			1	8	5.5	2 <sup>e</sup>
46	3	1	4			3	b		1	8	5.5/1 m. new	2 <sup>e</sup>
47	2 <sup>i</sup>	2	4	2		3			0.5	10	3	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
48	3	2	5			2			1	5	2	1
49	2		2			2			1		4	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
50	3	1	4			2			1		2	1.33
51	2	1	3	1					0.5	8	5.5	2
52	2	1	3			2			0.5		1.5	0.66
53	2	3	5	2	2	4	1 mule <sup>b,j</sup>		1	30	15	5 <sup>e</sup>
54	3	1	4	1		3			1	20	3	3 <sup>e</sup>
55	3	1	4			3			1	15	3.5	3 <sup>e</sup>
56	2	3	5			2			0.5			0.33 <sup>e</sup>
57	2	2	4							2	1.5	1
58	3		3			2			1		3	1.5

(Continued)

H #	Family members				Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modiot</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T		Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>		
59	1	2	3				2				2.5	1
60	1	2	3						0.5		3.5	1.33
61	1	2	3				2		0.5	8	6.5	2.33
62	2	1	3				3	2 mules <sup>b</sup>			4.5	2
63	3	1	4				2		0.5			0.66 <sup>e</sup>
64	2	1	3						1		2	1 <sup>e</sup>
65	2	1	3		1		3	b	0.5	4	2.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
66	1	1	2		1		3		0.5		2.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
67	4	1	5		2		4		1		11.5	3 <sup>e</sup>
68	4	2	6		2		3	b	1	10	7.66	3 <sup>e</sup>
69	1	3	4		1		3		1	15	6	3 <sup>e</sup>
70	3	1	4		1		3		0.5	4	2	2 <sup>e</sup>
71	2	1	3				3		0.5	4	2.66	1.5
72	3	1	4				3		0.5	10	3.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
73	2	1	3				3		1		3	1.33 <sup>e</sup>
74	2	1	3				3		1	15	4.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
75	2	1	3				3		0.5	8	7.5	2 <sup>e</sup>
76	2	1	3				2		1		3.5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
77	1	2	3								3	1
78	3	2	5				2		1	5	4	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
79	2	3	5		2		3		0.5		7.5	2 <sup>e</sup>

H #	Family members				Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modiol</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>			
80	1	1	2								1.5	0.5
81	1	1	2					0.5			1.5	1 <sup>e</sup>
82	2	2	4	2		3		0.5			2	1 <sup>e</sup>
83	2	1	3			2					3	1
84	1	3	4			2						0.25
85	1	2	3			4		1		4	6.5	2 <sup>e</sup>
86	4	4	8					1		6	2	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
87	1	1	2								3	1
88	3	2	5	1				0.5		7	1.5	1.5
89	3	1	4				1 mule	0.5			5	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
90	1	1	2								2.5	0.66
91	2	3	5								1	0.5
92	4	2	6			2		0.5				0.5 <sup>e</sup>
93	3	1	4			3	1 mule/1 horse				4.5	1.5
94	2	2	4	1	1	3	1 mule	0.5		12	6	2 <sup>e</sup>
95	1	2	3			3	1 mule					0.33
96	2	1	3					0.5			1.66	1.5 <sup>e</sup>
97	2	2	4			2		0.5				0.5 <sup>e</sup>
98	2	1	3	2				0.5			2.5	2
99	2	1	3			2						0.5

(Continued)





H #	Family members			Animals				Fishing		Vineyards (in <i>modioi</i> )	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other	Ships	<i>Bibaria</i>		
121	0	1	1							1.5	0.5
<b>T</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>9</b> mules/2 horses	<b>56</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>395.1</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>168.87</b>
A	1.85	1.48	3.33	0.33	0.28	1.44		0.46	3.08	3.26	1.41
G				0.78	0.86	0.51	Additional taxes	0.44	0.78	0.42	0.33
								1	60	80 m. vineyard/4,400 m. land <sup>n</sup>	80

*Notes*

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total A: Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Lavra II*, 163–71.

<sup>b</sup> The household possesses two houses rather than one.

<sup>c</sup> According to the payable tax, this should not have been more than 2 *modioi* of vineyard.

<sup>d</sup> The tax should be around 1 *hyperpyron*, as on the following tax units, which possess an equal number of vineyards.

<sup>e</sup> On the document it is specified that the amount of the tax owed does not include tax on fishing.

<sup>f</sup> These come from the *stasis* of Pothos.

<sup>g</sup> *Grippos*.

<sup>h</sup> Each pays 2.33 *hyperpyra* for the *gripas* they commonly hold.

<sup>i</sup> The householder is a priest.

<sup>j</sup> The householder owns three tiled-roof residences.

<sup>k</sup> The householder is a tailor.

<sup>l</sup> Abandoned/damaged vineyards have been counted as half.

<sup>m</sup> *Aēr and ennomion*: 20 *hyperpyra*; *charagma*: 15 *hyperpyra*; *linobrocheion*: 10 *hyperpyra*; St Nikolaos and Christmas fairs: 10 *hyperpyra*; *tritomoiria* of the ships and *bibaria*: 300 *hyperpyra*; *gomariatikion*, *kommerktion*, *opsōtion*, *katagōgion* (commercial taxes): 50 *hyperpyra*.

<sup>n</sup> Of which only 3,000 *modioi* are cultivable.

Table 17 Eunouchou.

H #	Animals			Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other animals	Vineyards	Gardens		
1	1	1	2		5	1		2
2	4	4	2	120 sheep, 2 horses	10	1		7
3	2	4	12		2	1	1	2.5
4	2	4	6	50 sheep	4	2	3	3
5	4	6	20	2 horses	8	1	3	2
6					2		1	1
7	1	1			1.5	?	1	1
8	2	1			6	?	2	3
9	2	1			10	?		3
10		1		1 mule	2, 1 m. <i>chers.</i>	?	4	1.5
11	1		3		1.5	?	1	1.5
12	3	6	10		8			4
13	3	3	10		8			4
14					2			0.33
15	2	1	20	10 sheep	7	1.5	2	3
16	2		20		4		4	3

H #	Animals			Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Other animals	Vineyards	Gardens		
17	2		10		2.5		1	3
18	2	2	5		6.66	1	6	3
19	2	1	5		4, 2 m. <i>chers.</i>	1	6	3
20	2		2		5	1/1 m. orchard	4	2
21					3.5			0.5
22								
<b>T</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>180 sheep</b>	<b>112.66 plus 4 m. <i>chers.</i></b>	<b>&gt; 15.5</b>	<b>36 trees</b>	<b>53.33</b>
A	1.76	1.76	6.9	8.57	5.46		1.71	2.54
G	39%	39%	60%	90%	31%			29%

Notes

H: Household T: Total A: Average G: Gini index

Table 18 Kato Ouska.

H#	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modtoi</i>			Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Mules	Fields	Vineyards	Other fields		
1	1	1	2					30			0.66	
2	2	1	3	2	2	3	1	120	7		5	
3	1	1	2	1		3			1.5		0.33	
4	3	1	4	1		3					1.5	
5	1	1	2					38	1.66	2.5 <sup>a</sup>		
6	1	1	2					30	3		1	
7							(ex.)	50	3 <sup>b</sup>		?	
8							(ex.)	200	20 <sup>b</sup>		7	
9							(ex.)					
10	1	2	3					125	2		3	
11		2	2						2		0.33	
12	2	1	3	1	1			11	1.5	1.5 <sup>c</sup>	1	
13		1	1					11	4 <sup>d</sup>		1	
14	1	2	3	1				42		2 <sup>a</sup>	1.33	
15	4	2	6	3	3	6	1	70	5	2 <sup>c</sup>	2	
16	4	3	7	2	3		1	162	4.66		5	
17	2	1	3	2	2	4	1	48	3	2 <sup>a</sup>	2.5	

H #	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>			Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pigs	Mules	Fields	Vineyards	Other fields		
18	2	1	3	2	2	4		110	5	3 <sup>a</sup>	4.5	
19	3	2	5	1								
20	2	1	3	1			1	35 <sup>c</sup>	1		1	
21					(ex.)			13			0.33	
22					(ex.)			6	1.5		0.17	
23					(ex.)			35			0.17	
24					(ex.)			190			5.5	
<b>T</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1,326</b>	<b>65.82</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>43.65</b>	
A	1.8	1.4	3.2	1.00	0.76	1.44	0.31	55.25	2.74	0.54	1.9	
G				49%	71%	70%		49%	53%		45%	
								(700)			(17)	

Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total (ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary) A: Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> *Esothyron*.

<sup>b</sup> *Chersampelon* (abandoned).

<sup>c</sup> *Autotopion*.

<sup>d</sup> Two *modioi* of it are *exampelon* (destroyed).

<sup>e</sup> Correction to the edition.

Table 19 Monospeton.

H#	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Goats	Other <sup>a</sup>	Fields	Vineyards	Other fields			
1	2	2	4	1	4	13	1	19	5.5	12 <sup>b</sup>	2	2	
2	1	3	4		1	3		22	5.5			1.5	
3	3	1	4	1	2	5	3	79	12.33	1 <sup>c</sup>	6	3.66	
4	1	2	3		2	5							
5	3	2	5	1	4	20	1	73	8	1.5 <sup>c</sup>	16	3	
6	2	2	4	1	1	3		30	16.66	1 <sup>c</sup>	6	4	
7	3	1	4				1	25			4	1	
8	3	2	5	1	3	30		41	13		4	3.5	
9	1	?	2 <sup>d</sup>			5			2.66			0.33	
10	2	1	3		1	15			4.66		7 <sup>b</sup>	1	
11	3	1	4		3	15		8	11.5		7 <sup>b</sup>	2.5	
12	2	2	4		1	5			4.66		12 <sup>b</sup>	1.5	
13	3	1	4				1		5.5		3 <sup>b</sup>	0.66	
14	2	1	3	1	4	40	1/35	23	13			4.5	
15	1	1	2				1	31		1.33 <sup>c</sup>	10	1.33	
16	2	3	5		2	10	1	4	8	0.5 <sup>c</sup>		1.5	
17	2	1	3		1								
18	3	1	4	1	2	8	1	56	6.33			2 <sup>c</sup>	

H #	Family members			Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Goats	Other <sup>a</sup>	Fields	Vineyards	Other fields		
19	1	2	3	1	3		1/6	46 <sup>f</sup>	14.66	1 <sup>c</sup>	9	4.5
20	2	1	3			10			2.33			0.5
21	1	2	3									<sup>g</sup>
22					(ex.)					6		1
23					(ex.)			20	3.66		2	1
24					(ex.)			6		2 <sup>b</sup>	2	? <sup>h</sup>
<b>T</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>9/44</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>143.5</b>	<b>43<sup>b</sup>/6.5<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>61<sup>i</sup></b>	<b>41.32</b>
A	2	1.6	3.6	0.38	1.62	8.9		20.13	5.98	2.35	2.54	1.72
G				61%	48%	58%		55%	42%		71%	43%

Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total (ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary) A: Average G: Gimi index

<sup>a</sup> Italics in this column are for beehives, while the basic font is for mules.

<sup>b</sup> *Autotopion*.

<sup>c</sup> Orchard.

<sup>d</sup> There is a gap left after the owner's name and 'has', which might have been left due to lack of specific knowledge by the initial author of the document about this *paroikos* family, or by the copyist, who could not read the name(s) on the original document.

<sup>e</sup> 'Because he is poor'.

<sup>f</sup> This is described as an *esothyrochioraphton*, that is a field inside the village.

<sup>g</sup> No tax has been assigned to this Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs, who owns only his house.

<sup>h</sup> It is not certain whether this is the same entry or a second one, since after the name *paroikos* the page stops, and the following page is corroded at the top.

<sup>i</sup> Breakdown: 40 walnut trees, 5 fig trees, 6 almond trees, 4 pear trees and 6 cherry trees.

Table 20 Politzos.<sup>a</sup>

H #	Family members				Animals				Vineyard	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T		Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Mules		
1	1	1	2		1		10	1	1.5 <sup>b</sup>	0.66
2	3	5	8		2	2	40	1		1.87 <sup>c</sup>
3	3	1	4		1			1		0.33
4	1	1	2		1	4	60	1		1.5
5	4	2	6		1	4	80	1		3
6	2	2	4			2		1		0.17
7	3	1	4		2			1		0.17
8		4	4							0.17
9	2	1	3		1	2	10	1		1.66
10	2	1	3		1	3	30	1		1.66
11	1	1	2				15	1		0.5
12	1	1	2				30	1		1.66
13	3	1	4							0.17
14	2		2				10			0.17
15	1	1	2							0.17
16	1	1	2							0.17
17	3		3					1		0.66 <sup>d</sup>



H #	Family members			Animals			Vineyard	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Sheep		
T	33	24	57	6	19	285	1.5	14.66
A	1.9	1.4	3.3	0.35	1.12	16.76		0.86
G				66%	65%	69%		50%

*Notes*

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total A: Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Prodrromou* (B), 350–1 and 353–4. The two lists are the same in terms of contents of the properties and household members of the *paroiikoi*. Yet the first one seems less complete, since it contains fewer entries. Everything else is the same. In fact, a few lacunae in the second list may be filled with the aid of the first.

<sup>b</sup> The householder raised it.

<sup>c</sup> 1 *hyperpyron* and 20 *kokkia* = 1 *hyperpyron* and 20/24.

<sup>d</sup> This last entry is the only one in the nearby village of Maurobounion and is included in the same *praktikon*.

Table 21 Semaltos.<sup>a</sup>

H#	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	U <sup>b</sup>	Oxen	Cows	Sheep/goats	Fields	Vineyards		
1	1	2	3	3	1	1		15	3.5	1	
2	2	2	4		1	1					
3	3	1	4	12	1	1		60	6	3	
4	2	2	4								
5	2	2	4		2	2		50	8	3.5	
6	1	2	3	7			20 sheep				
7	3	3	6			1		30	5 m. and 3 m. <i>chers.</i>	2	
8	1	1	2					40	5	2.5	
9	3	3	6	6	2	2					
10	3	1	4		1	1					
11	3	1	4	11				70	8 m. and 2 m. <i>chers.</i>	5	
12	1	2	3			2	10 sheep				
13	1	2	3	3				15	3.5 and 1.5 m. <i>chers.</i>	1	
14	4	2	6	6	2	1	28 goats	60	7	3.5	
15	1	4	5	8	1			55	6.5	3	
16	2	1	3								

H #	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>		Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	U <sup>b</sup>	Oxen	Cows	Sheep/goats	Fields	Vineyards		
<b>T</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>30 sheep/28 goats</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>52.5 and 6.5 <i>modioi chers.</i></b>	<b>24.5</b>	
A	2.1	1.9	4	7.1	1.22/ 0.69 <sup>c</sup>	1.33/ 0.75 <sup>c</sup>	6.44/ 3.63 <sup>c</sup>	43.89/ 24.69 <sup>c</sup>	6.56/ 3.66 <sup>c</sup>	2.72/ 1.53 <sup>c</sup>	
G					0.59	0.53	0.85	0.21/ 0. <sup>c</sup>	0.18/ 0.16 <sup>c</sup>	0.21/ 0.24 <sup>c</sup>	

*Notes*

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total U: Unit A: Average G: Gimi index

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Vátopedi* II, p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Total of one *oikos*— tax unit.

<sup>c</sup> The first number refers to the tax unit (total divided by 9) and the second number refers to non-extended households (total divided by 16).

Table 22 Trilission

H#	Family members				Animals					Land in <i>modioi</i>		Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pig	Goats/ sheep	Beehives	Fields	Vineyards		
1	2	2	4	2	2	3			38	?	2.25	
2	1	2	3	1		2		a	13	2	0.66	
3	1	1	2		1	2		a	117	2.5	3	
4	1	1	2		1	2					0.25	
5	1	2	3	1	1	2 <sup>b</sup>					0.33	
6	1	1	2	1	1	4		a		1	0.33	
7	2	1	3	2	1			a		1	0.33	
8	1	2	3	2	1	2				3	0.66	
9	2	1	3					a			0.25	
10	2	1	3	2	2	2				3	0.66	
11	2	1	3		1	2		4 <sup>a</sup>		1	0.25	
12	3	1	4				3	a		3	0.66	
13	1	1	2	1	2	2		a	27	3	1	
14	1	1	2			3		a		1.5	0.33	
15	2	2	4	2	2		30	6 <sup>a</sup>	58	2 <sup>c</sup>	3.5	

H #	Family members				Animals				Land in <i>modioi</i>			Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pig	Goats/ sheep	Beehives	Fields	Vineyards		
16	2	1	3	2	2	3	30	5 <sup>a</sup>	8	1 <sup>c</sup>	2.66	
17	1	1	2	2	2	2	15	5 <sup>a</sup>	10		1	
18	1	2	3	2	2	4	24 <sup>d</sup>	12 <sup>a</sup>			1	
19	1	2	3	2	2	4		<sup>a</sup>	16		0.33	
20	1	1	2		1				18	7 <sup>e</sup>	0.5	
21	1	2	3		1		3			6 <sup>e</sup>	0.25	
22	1	2	3		1	3	8	3	7	1	0.5	
23	2	1	3	1	2			<sup>a</sup>			0.25	
24	1										0	
25	1	1	2 <sup>f</sup>		1			<sup>a</sup>	50		1	
26 <sup>g</sup>	2	1	3	2	2		12	<sup>a</sup>	117		?	
27 <sup>g</sup>	1	1	<sup>h</sup>			3		<sup>a</sup>		3	1.5	
28 <sup>g</sup>	2	1	3 <sup>f</sup>	1	2	2					0.25	
29 <sup>g</sup>					(ex.)				25 <sup>i</sup>		0.5	
30 <sup>g</sup>					(ex.)				100		2	

(Continued)

H #	Family members			Animals					Land in <i>modioi</i>		Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Pig	Goats/ sheep	Beehives	Fields	Vineyards	
<b>T</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>113<sup>k</sup></b>	<b>35<sup>l</sup></b>	<b>362</b>	<b>27<sup>m</sup></b>	<b>21.95</b>
A	1.4	1.3	2.7	0.92	1.16	1.68	4.52	1.4	14.5	1.1	0.88
G				48%	34%	46%	83%	83%	77%	57%	50%
	Additional taxes										
	<i>Ennomion</i> and <i>aēr<sup>n</sup></i>										
	1										

#### Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females T: Total (ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary) A: Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> Householder also owns one mule.

<sup>b</sup> Personal addition. Uncertain, it could have been 5.

<sup>c</sup> Householder also owns one mill.

<sup>d</sup> Sheep.

<sup>e</sup> *Autoloption*.

<sup>f</sup> There is a small gap after the mention of ἔχ(ει); it could correspond to the wife's name, and maybe also to a third family member.

<sup>g</sup> These (italic) entries belong to the neighbouring village of Oxea, which also belonged to the *metochion* of Trilission. They have not been counted into the totals/averages since two of the entries are incomplete and another two have been abandoned.

<sup>h</sup> I read: Ἐώργ(ιος) ὁ Βελκάν(ος) ἔχ(ει) Καλιῆν] [(6–8 words)] ὄν(ικόν), χοί(πους) γ', ἀμπ(έ)λ(ιον) μοδ(ίων) γ' καὶ γῆν μοδ(ίων) [.].δ', τέλ(ος) (νόμισμα) α' (ἥμισυ).

<sup>i</sup> I read: Θεόδ(ωρος) ὁ Χρυσός (?) ἔχ(ει) Ἄνναν [. . .], τέλ(ος) (νομίσματος) (τέταρτον).

<sup>j</sup> Personal correction.

<sup>k</sup> Of which 24 are sheep.

<sup>l</sup> Seventeen out of the 25 households own also a mule.

<sup>m</sup> Plus 13 modioi of autoloption.

<sup>n</sup> I read: ὑπὲρ προβατο χοίρο μελισσο [ἐννομίου?] (καὶ) ἀέρος.

Table 23 Zabarnikeia.<sup>a</sup>

H #	Family members			Animals			Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Fields	Vineyards				
1	1	1	2			1 m. garden					0.5
2				(ex.)		68	4 m. <i>chers.</i>		6		1.5
3	4	1	5	1	1	0.5 m. garden	4		1		1
4	3	1	4	2		72	14 <sup>b</sup>		1		4
5	3		3	1		52	6.5		1		2
6	2	1	3	1		47	8				2.5
7	2	1	3								0.33
8	1	2	3			46	8				2
9	3	3	6	1		20	6		1		1.5
10				(ex.)		16	12.5 <sup>c</sup>				2
11	1	3	4	1		50 <sup>d</sup>	4				2
12	3	1	4	1		40	5.5 <sup>e</sup>		1		2
13	4	2	6	2	2	30 <sup>f</sup>	6				3
14				(ex.)			4		3		1
15	4	2	6	2	2 <sup>g</sup>	42	9				3
16	2	2	4	1	1	55	4		5		2.5
17	1	1	2				3.5				0.5

(Continued)

H #	Family members			Animals			Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Fields	Vineyards				
18	1	2	3	1		1 <sup>h</sup>	2.5			1	
19	1	1	2	1		30 <sup>i</sup>	6			2	
20				(ex.)			6			0.5	
21				(ex.)			5			1	
22	4	3	7			40 <sup>j</sup>	9 <sup>k</sup>			2	
23				(ex.)			3			0.5	
24	1	3	4				2		3	0.5	
25	4	1	5				2		3	1	
26	2	1	3				1.5			0.5	
27	1	1	2				3			0.66	
28				(ex.)			3			0.5	
29				(ex.)		4	3 m. <i>chers.</i>			0.17	
30	4	1	5	2	1	58 <sup>l</sup>	6			3	
31				(ex.)			4 <sup>c</sup>			0.5	
32				(ex.)			3		1	0.5	
33				(ex.)			0.5			0.33	
34	2	2	4				2.5			0.66	
35	1	2	3			20	3.5			1	



H #	Family members			Animals		Land in <i>modioi</i>			Trees	Tax (nom.)
	M	F	T	Oxen	Cows	Fields	Vineyards			
T	55	38	93	17	7	690/1.5 m. garden	154.5/9 m. <i>chers.</i>	26 walnut	47.15	
A	2.3	1.6	3.9	0.71	0.29	19.7	4.54		1.35	
G				55%	83%	59%	34%		35%	

#### Notes

H: Household M: Males F: Females m.: *modioi* T: Total (ex.): *exaleimma* (see Glossary) A: Average G: Gini index

<sup>a</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 64–5.

<sup>b</sup> 2 *modioi* of it are termed *chersampelon*, another 2 *modioi* of vineyards are situated in another village.

<sup>c</sup> 2 *modioi* of it are termed *chersampelon*.

<sup>d</sup> The householder's land is 'from Platonares'.

<sup>e</sup> 1.5 *modioi* of it is termed *chersampelon*.

<sup>f</sup> This land is specifically termed as given to the householder (*ἀπὸ παραδόσεως*).

<sup>g</sup> Plus 3 pigs.

<sup>h</sup> This is *autotopion*.

<sup>i</sup> The householder has 30 *modioi* of the 70 of his *gonike* stasis.

<sup>j</sup> The householder has 30 *modioi* of the 80 of his *gonike* stasis.

<sup>k</sup> Six *modioi* of it are *chersampelon*.

<sup>l</sup> The householder's land is 'from Tompros'.

Table 24 Gini indices (%).

Village	Oxen	Cows	Sheep/goats	Pigs	Fields	Vineyards	Tax (nom.)
Chotolibos	25	47			68	47	54
Doxompo	78	86		51		42	33
Eunouchou	39	39	90	60		31	29
Kato Ouska	49	71		70	49	53	45
Monospeton	61	48	58		55	42	43
Politzos	66	65	69				50
Prebista	35	48	81	53	43	33	24
Trilission	48	34	83	46	77	57	50
Zabarnikeia	55	83			59	34	35
<b>Average</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>40</b>

## Late Palaiologan Urban Society: Constantinople at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century

### Byzantine Society on the Eve of Demise: Developments in the Late Fourteenth Century

The second half of the fourteenth century was a destructive period for Byzantium. During the second civil war, the Byzantine empire lost the recently reconquered regions of Thessaly and Epirus, and most of Macedonia, to the Serbians. Thrace itself had been devastated several times during the second civil war and was no longer a secure region, as the Turks captured Kallipolis in 1354 and began expanding into the Balkans. Within twenty years Byzantium had lost all inland Thrace to the Ottoman empire, retaining a feeble hold on its coastal stretches. Accordingly, the financial resources of the empire were largely depleted.

Most affected by these developments were the power and international standing of the Byzantine state. The Byzantine empire lost its ability to act independently on an international scale. Foreign powers, such as Venice, Genoa, Serbia and, above all, the Ottoman empire were no more just factors affecting the Byzantine external policy, but were now often able to define and/or dictate both its external and internal affairs.

The second half of the fourteenth century was also a period during which the Byzantine state, partly because of its depleting sources of revenue, turned its eye on the urban economy. Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos reduced the *kommerkion* paid by the Byzantines from 10 to 2 per cent, and introduced a tax on imported wine. These measures boosted interest in commerce, at least in Constantinople. The subsequent defeat by the Genoese, even if it confirmed the latter's superior position, did not prevent the Byzantines from trading. After 1352 the Byzantines eventually gained access to the markets of the Black Sea, at least as partners of the Genoese, as the treaty stipulated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Medvedev, 'Договор Византии'.

Production of and trade in wine had increased in importance during the late Byzantine period. The empire managed to maintain the new tax on wine, while it somehow curtailed the privileges accorded to the Venetians. Significant quantities of wine were imported by the Venetians from their Aegean possessions into both Constantinople and the Ottoman lands. This proved burdensome to Byzantine production, since Venetians were completely exempted from tax, and as a result their wine was less expensive. Negotiations between Byzantium and Venice regarding imposing restrictions continued for decades and once, in 1375, Ioannes V imposed an embargo on all foreign wine importation. Beginning with the treaty of 1363 by Ioannes V, the Byzantines effectively reduced the number of Venetian taverns in Constantinople to fifteen, in order to protect the evidently important local production. This stipulation was repeated in all later treaties.<sup>2</sup>

However, during this period, the economic position of Constantinople was affected negatively, first by some wider-scale developments, mainly a reduction in the demand for food commodities in Europe owing to the decline in population after the Black Death, the reopening of trade routes in the Levant after decades of prohibition by the papacy due to the Mamluk conquests and, finally, political disturbances to the north of the Black Sea and the hostilities between the Genoese and the Tatars.<sup>3</sup> In the second place, internal factors, mainly the impoverishment of the elite and the serious decline of the Constantinopolitan population (from an estimated 100,000–150,000 inhabitants, to probably less than half that, even before the siege of Bāyezīd), reduced the market demand of the local population, particularly for luxury products. However, Constantinople, along with the nearby Ainos and the coastal towns of the Black Sea under Byzantine rule, for most of this period retained their role as *entrepôts* for the rural produce of their Thracian hinterland (either in Byzantine or Ottoman hands), and also of Bithynia.<sup>4</sup>

As was concluded in the previous chapter, most of the provincial lesser elite found an accommodation with the new rulers, especially in Macedonia during the Serbian regime. In contrast, the higher elite was negatively affected and, having lost most of its landed wealth, migrated mainly to Constantinople. Their financial standing was considerably reduced between the early and the

<sup>2</sup> MM III, 137 (no. 33: 1390), 146 (no. 34: 1406), 165–6 (no. 36: 1423), 179 (no. 39: 1431), 188 (no. 40: 1436), 209 (no. 44: 1442), 217–18 (no. 45: 1447). For the negotiations between Byzantine and Venetian authorities, see Chrysostomides, 'Venetian commercial privileges'.

<sup>3</sup> Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 3–64.

<sup>4</sup> Gerolymatou, 'Κωνσταντινούπολη – Θράκη – Βιθυνία'.

late Palaiologan period.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that this impoverished elite, in order to offset its losses, turned to trade and business activities. However, it is necessary to note that much of our information about Byzantine elite entrepreneurs comes from a unique source, the account book of Giacomo Badoer for the years 1436 to 1438. The early Palaiologan period preserves few relevant sources and the latter material presents an almost certainly misleading picture, since the Genoese, who produced most of our evidence, avoided entering agreements with the Byzantines as part of their attempt to monopolise Black Sea trade. The involvement of the elite in trade is a much earlier phenomenon that becomes more pronounced in the late Palaiologan period at least partly because of the nature and the bulk of our evidence.<sup>6</sup>

Despite these changes, the break between the early and the late Palaiologan period is not so substantial if considered in terms of quality and not quantity. The size of the fortunes of most of the late Palaiologan elite indeed cannot stand comparison to the wealth of the early Palaiologan elite. However, the economic profile of the Byzantine elite was not so markedly different between the two periods. As discussed earlier, land was still a source of status and wealth as late as the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The empire still possessed a hinterland that was sufficient to feed the remaining Byzantine towns and the reduced population of Constantinople (except during the siege of Bāyezīd II, when this hinterland was completely lost to the Ottomans), and also to provide a small surplus that was often commercialised and exported.<sup>8</sup> I have little doubt that most of these lands were supplied by the emperor or anyhow controlled by the elite, even if not on the extravagant scale of the early Palaiologan period. The village of Loroton, which

<sup>5</sup> For the attitudes of this elite in face of the loss of their properties, see Estanguí-Gomez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, 186–201. Many sold their properties in the countryside, or donated them to monasteries, preferring instead to acquire real estate property. See Kiousopoulou, 'Παρουσία μοναστηριών'; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 59–60.

<sup>6</sup> Oikonomides (in *Hommes d'affaires*) expressed the idea that the impoverished elite, in order to offset its losses, turned to trade and business activities. See also Jacoby, 'Byzantine social elite', 67–86; Laiou, 'Greek merchant', 96–132 (especially at p. 105 dating the involvement of the elite in trade to much before the middle fourteenth century); Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 158–75; Stathakopoulos, 'The dialectics of expansion', 101.

<sup>7</sup> Gabriel of Thessalonike, *Homilies*, 2.1, ed. Laourdas, 146; Ioannes Eugenikos, *Oration to Konstantinos XI Palaiologos*, ed. Lampros, 1:129; Ioannes Eugenikos, *Oration to Loukas Notaras*, ed. Lampros, 1:144. Also Demetrios Chrysoloras, *Oration to Manuel II Palaiologos*, 3:229–30, as a source of wealth.

<sup>8</sup> Imperial grain was exported to Genoa (Musso, *Navigazione e commercio genovese*, 162 and 243 ff.) and imperial timber to Egypt (Mazaris, 46).

had belonged to the monastery of the Lavra since the Laskarid period, was later (before 1378) divided between members of the elite. In 1409, after an exchange with the state, the Lavra regained the village, which by then had been abandoned.<sup>9</sup> The confiscation of monastic lands in the 1370s and again in the early fifteenth century maintained a military elite that at times was successful in defending the remaining Byzantine lands, at least when not faced with a determined enemy campaign.<sup>10</sup>

The source material from Thrace in this period is regrettably almost non-existent. We happen to know that the *epi tēs trapezēs* Stephanos Radenos possessed a privileged estate in the fortress Enneakosia near Constantinople, which produced much more than 50 *nomismata* annually.<sup>11</sup> The elite seems to have profited from the recapture of the coastal towns of the Black Sea region from the Bulgarians in 1366/7. In a veiled criticism, Demetrios Kydones says that Ioannes V preferred to distribute the wealth acquired to 'his men' rather than to tax them.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, for some time the state still donated lands and villages to its supporters, such as when Andronikos IV donated the whole village of Loroton in Chalkidike to Manuel Tarchaneiotes.<sup>13</sup> The Byzantine elite, when discussing the surrender of Kallipolis back to the Ottomans in the 1370s, was apparently more concerned about losing that year's crop than the interruption of the trade routes that would result from the loss of a city that controlled the entry into Propontis and the main maritime passage of the Ottomans from Asia to Europe.<sup>14</sup> A segment of the Byzantine elite followed emperor Manuel II to Thessalonike and, after the recapture of eastern Macedonia, reinstated the old proprietorship *status quo* in the region. There was still potential for significant profit even in less safe

<sup>9</sup> Michael VIII confirms its possession: *Acts Lavra* II, 10 (no. 71: 1259); III, 115–16 (no. 149: 1378) (before 1378 it was assigned to Georgios TzAMPLAKON, his brother, and Manuel Raoul Koustogiannes, and in 1378 it assigned in its entirety to Manuel Tarchaneiotes) and 156–7 (no. 161: 1409).

<sup>10</sup> The Ottoman advance in Thrace was partially halted in the 1370s by this army, in combination obviously with the treaties with the Sultan, while in Thessalonike despot Manuel was able to reoccupy Serres and the surrounding region. In the 1410s the Ottoman attacks in Constantinople and Thessalonike failed, while the Byzantines were able even to counter-attack.

<sup>11</sup> Stephanos Radenos donated the estate to the monastery of Vatopedi, stipulating that 50 *nomismata* from its income should be spent on the hospital of the monastery: *Acts Vatopedi* II, 328–30 (no. 126: 1366).

<sup>12</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, no. 89, ed. Loenertz, 1:123.

<sup>13</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 115–16 (no. 149: 1378).

<sup>14</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Advisory address about Kallipolis*, PG 154, 1028–9. Kydones had to remind them of this latter fact.

regions, such as Macedonia; Konstantinos Masgidas sold (and subsequently donated) produce (*genēma*) worth 400 *hyperpyra* to the monastery of Lavra.<sup>15</sup> Those landlords seeking more security, especially the Athonite monasteries, sought to expand their properties in safer areas, such as Lemnos. Land then remained an important asset, at least for some members of the elite.

### Economic and Social Life in Constantinople during the Siege of Bāyezīd I (1394–1402)

The prolonged siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd I, which lasted for eight years, is a unique case for the evolution of social relations in Constantinople. First, we happen to possess significant documentary evidence because of the increased number of documents preserved from the *Patriarchal Register*. Second, relations with the outer world were interrupted to a large degree and the economic situation was harsh; therefore, it becomes possible to examine how certain social groups were affected and how they responded to such a period of crisis. Third, it is possible to observe how social relations and stratification were affected by the political fortunes of the empire.

The economic situation of the besieged Constantinople has been dealt with in other studies:<sup>16</sup> the harsh economic conditions affected social life in Constantinople. Both literary and documentary sources confirm the poverty and famine that had befallen the city.<sup>17</sup> The rise in food prices was a major cause of the general poverty. The normal price of wheat per *politikos modios* (about 324 kg) in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century

<sup>15</sup> *Acts Lavra* III, 99 (no. 145: 1374). His son, the *oikeios* of the emperor Alexios Komnenos Masgidas, attempted, regardless of the testament, to reclaim this produce, but in vain. Masgidas was a family of traditional large landowners (see *Acts Saint Panteleemon*, 99 (no. 11: 1353)). Obviously, the produce must have been the surplus produced by Masgidas' peasants. Laiou has calculated that the annual revenues of the monastery of Lavra represented between 13 and 15 per cent of the value of the monastic land. Calculating the 400 *hyperpyra* of produce according to the average price of land in Macedonia in the early Palaiologan period (although it must have been cheaper in the late Palaiologan period owing to the reduced population and insecurity) of 0.33 *hyperpyra* per *modios* and assuming that it was rented out to peasants, it may have been the product of around 8,000 to 10,000 *modioi*, that is, the total arable land of three to four average-sized villages.

<sup>16</sup> Bernirolas and Hatzopoulos D., 'First siege of Constantinople'; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 149–80; eadem, 'Economic conditions'; Papagianni, 'Ἐμπορικές επιχειρήσεις'; eadem, 'Ἡ αγορά των ακινήτων'.

<sup>17</sup> Among the literary sources, see Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, nos 17.18–24, 23.3–8, 48.4–29, ed. Loenertz, 190, 197, 235.

was about 5 to 6 *hyperpyra*.<sup>18</sup> During the siege, prices rose significantly: in 1400 a *modios* cost 22.5 *hyperpyra*,<sup>19</sup> and in 1401 the *oikeios* of the emperor and former *mesazōn* Georgios Goudeles sold one *modios* for 31 *hyperpyra*, clearly a black market price.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, at the same time in Caffa, wheat cost about 5 *hyperpyra* per *modios*, a normal price, and only a few months after the siege, wheat in Constantinople returned to a relatively normal price again, at about 7 to 8 *hyperpyra* per *modios*. This would remain the normal price until the fall of Constantinople.<sup>21</sup>

With such inflated prices the poverty of the populace was an almost certain outcome. People asked for a reduction on the rents that they paid,<sup>22</sup> and had problems repaying their debts.<sup>23</sup> Besides, one of the effects of the siege was the increased interest rate demanded for new loans. In Harmenopoulos' law book, the *Hexabiblos*, interest was set at 6 per cent per year for personal loans, 8 per cent for business loans and 12 per cent for maritime loans.<sup>24</sup> But during the siege, the two instances that we have suggest an interest rate of 15 per cent for a business loan<sup>25</sup> and 26.67 per cent for a personal loan.<sup>26</sup>

There is evidence of houses being sold in order to purchase the necessities of life.<sup>27</sup> Unsurprisingly, the siege had a negative effect on the price of the houses. The most straightforward comment comes from a certain merchant, Prokopios Psilianos, who had bought a house from a woman named Chrysokephalina but was unable to pay the full sum at that time. Therefore, he promised to pay the rest as soon as he returned from his trade trip a few months later, but stated that he was afraid that after the end of the siege the price of the house might rise, and asked that no re-evaluation of the house price should take place later, as Chrysokephalina was asking.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, there were many houses that were left unattended and almost ruined. People preferred to cultivate the land rather than to own

<sup>18</sup> Morrisson and Cheynet, 'Prices and wages', 826–7.

<sup>19</sup> MM II, 474 and 482.

<sup>20</sup> See Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 758.

<sup>21</sup> See Morrisson and Cheynet, 'Prices and wages', 827–8.

<sup>22</sup> MM II, 301–3 (no. 526: 1399) and 370 (no. 560: 1400).

<sup>23</sup> MM II, 313–14 (no. 530: 1399), 341 (no. 543: 1400) and 412–13 (no. 587: 1400).

<sup>24</sup> Konstantinos Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, ed. Pitsakis, 199–204.

<sup>25</sup> MM II, 380 (no. 568: 1400); 45 *hyperpyra* interest on a 300 *hyperpyra* loan.

<sup>26</sup> MM II, 313. Although the document states that the interest of 3 *hyperpyra* for five months was on the 27 *hyperpyra* that Manuel Katzas still owed, even if the interest was in fact applied to the first principal of 45 *hyperpyra* (and not the remaining 27) it would still be high, on the scale of 16 per cent.

<sup>27</sup> MM II, 447–8 (no. 613: 1400).

<sup>28</sup> MM II, 461–2 (no. 623: 1401).



or maintain unused houses. So the monk Makarios, having land and some houses from the small monastic establishment (*kathisma*) of Theologites, demolished the houses and instead planted a vineyard.<sup>29</sup>

The fall in house prices is directly related to the fall in the Constantinopolitan population. There is plenty of evidence for the abandonment of Constantinople and the flight of its inhabitants. Although we do not possess exact numerical data, the flight must have been significant. Manuel Kalekas talks about an almost empty Constantinople.<sup>30</sup> A whole neighbourhood, the area around the Hippodrome, has been documented as completely deserted.<sup>31</sup> But the flight of the populace was not a phenomenon reserved only for the lower social groups; we hear about many aristocrats who had deserted or planned to desert Constantinople.<sup>32</sup>

The commercial routes that supplied Constantinople with commodities were still open, since the Ottomans did not achieve complete maritime domination. Nonetheless, relatively few were able to profit from this. Alexios Koumouses, we learn, lost 300 *hyperpyra* in a trading trip that he had made.<sup>33</sup> Konstantinos Angelos, who had received money from various people to trade goods, although travelling with an armed ship, was captured by the Turks and the whole venture failed.<sup>34</sup> But some of the elite proved more successful. Georgios Goudeles, the man who had sold a *modios* of wheat at the inflated price of 31 *hyperpyra*, undertook another partnership with a certain Theodora Palaiologina that proved fruitful as well.<sup>35</sup> The family of Goudeles had at least two more active members in trade: Georgios' son Ioannes and the latter's brother, Philippos Goudeles. However, not even aristocrats were able to avoid the risk of failure. In a partnership between Koreses and Georgios Goudeles with a large capital (3,600 *hyperpyra*), Koreses, who had been trading goods in the Black Sea, failed and lost much of the capital.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the most successful entrepreneur in trade was none other than the emperor Ioannes VII himself. Having as his agent

<sup>29</sup> MM II, 551 (no. 677: 1401).

<sup>30</sup> Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, no. 17.18–21, ed. Loenertz, 190. Kalekas himself had abandoned Constantinople for Pera (for politico-religious reasons), and then left for Crete.

<sup>31</sup> MM II, 496 (no. 648: 1402).

<sup>32</sup> For more cases, see MM II, 257, 341, 392, 421, 443–4, 497, 513–15 and 563–4.

<sup>33</sup> MM II, 377–8 (no. 566: 1400).

<sup>34</sup> MM II, 560–1 (no. 680: 1401).

<sup>35</sup> MM II, 511 (no. 656: 1401). Theodora Palaiologina had also mortgaged 400 *hyperpyra* from her daughter's dowry in another commercial enterprise a year earlier. See MM II, 399 (no. 580: 1400).

<sup>36</sup> MM II, 546–50 (no. 675: 1401).

a certain Leontarios, he cooperated with another two Genoese merchants, bought grain in Pera and resold it in Constantinople at an evidently much higher price. They all made a huge profit of 11,000 *hyperpyra*.<sup>37</sup>

There is little evidence of investments in Constantinople; any that are attested mostly concerned the plantation of new vineyards or orchards and their improvement.<sup>38</sup> The patriarchal court recognised the indispensable need for new plantations that would eventually help the provisioning of the city and the general economic situation. Thus, in a lawsuit concerning the Church of Theotokos Amolyntos, which was jointly held by Eirene Palaiologina, her brother Andronikos Palaiologos and her uncle David Palaiologos as *ktētores*, David had planted vines around the church, which obstructed entrance to it. The court decided that a new entrance should be built so as not to destroy the plantations.<sup>39</sup>

### The Fortunes of the Higher and of the 'Military' Elite

According to the analysis in Chapter 3, the Byzantine elite was divided primarily in terms of power into higher and lesser elite and, in terms of tradition, into military and civil. The latter primarily concerned mostly the lesser elite and was often not exclusive, since some families had members in both domains. The designation 'military' for the elite of Constantinople may by this point seem problematic. This elite, restricted to Constantinople without a provincial component, cannot be considered military at face value, even though most of them were still responsible for defending the remnants of the empire and what was left of state land was surely distributed as *pronoiai* to them. The designation remains useful more for distinguishing those who clearly belonged, socially and economically, to the lesser elite from those members of the same tier who still visibly held civil offices (secretaries, judges, financial officials, ecclesiastics) that were not of a military tradition. The identification of this 'military' elite and its differentiation from the higher elite cannot therefore be certain, especially

<sup>37</sup> Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 758; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 160. Leontarios is identified by Necipoğlu as either Bryennios Leontares, governor in Selymbria, or more probably as Demetrios Laskaris Leontares, advisor of Ioannes VII in Thessalonike after 1403.

<sup>38</sup> See for example MM II, 499–501 (no. 650: 1401): two brothers undertook the restoration and cultivation of a vineyard, which belonged to the monastery of Holy Mother Pausolype, under an *emphyteusis* contract (they would receive half of the income). The vineyard previously provided to the nuns an annual income of 20 *hyperpyra*, but they managed to raise it to 100 *hyperpyra*.

<sup>39</sup> MM II, 455–8 (no. 621: 1401). For a similar case, see also pp. 395–9 (no. 579: 1400).

owing to the lack of information on their *pronoiai* or their 'military' titles and offices. Some of them might have had a function that we do not know. Their surnames and, therefore, their family tradition are not always the safest criteria, especially since the family name Palaiologos had diffused widely among the upper classes. Finally, thanks to impoverishment, their properties cannot have been substantial.

The siege certainly did not leave this segment of Byzantine society unaffected. These families must have had property outside the walls, but the occupation of these lands by Bāyezīd would have posed a major problem for them. There are many indications from documentary evidence that they were negatively affected. We learn that a certain Palaiologos, whose wife Anna Asanina Palaiologina was an aunt to the emperor, had sold his wife's entire dowry owing to his financial difficulties. She tried to reclaim a vineyard that had been legally sold to her brother Goudeles, but she failed.<sup>40</sup> Theodora Palaiologina was not able to fulfil her obligation of a 400 *hyperpyra* dowry to her son-in-law Trichas, and had to ask her brother to mortgage his vineyard for the debt. A year later we learn that Trichas himself and his wife had left Constantinople leaving their children with Theodora. Trychadaina, the mother of Trichas, who was to receive the children after a period, refused to take them since she could obviously not cope with the expenses of their upbringing.<sup>41</sup>

Another branch of the Palaiologoi, which included the sons of a *syr*, Perios Lampadenos, experienced economic difficulties as well. His sons, Michael Raoul, Gabriel Palaiologos and Ioannes Palaiologos, all *oikeioi* of the emperor, decided to divide the three buildings, two houses and a shop (evaluated at 330 *hyperpyra*), which they owned jointly as patrimonial inheritance, with the intention of selling some of them to pay off their debts.<sup>42</sup> This Michael Raoul must have been identical with a certain Michael Palaiologos, who was experiencing a severe shortage of cash and in November 1401 sought to sell a vineyard to fund the basic provisions for his wife and child. The patriarchal court took the precautions that the lost dowry of his wife first be reconstituted (the lost part of the dowry amounted to 250 *hyperpyra*), before he could sell the vineyard. When his brother, Gabriel Palaiologos, heard about the intended sale, he hurried to purchase the vineyard, lest someone outside the family buy it. But, as was

<sup>40</sup> MM II, 361–6 (no. 557: 1400).

<sup>41</sup> MM II, 399–400 (no. 579: 1400), 511–2 (no. 656: 1401) and 550–1 (no. 676: 1401). Theodora Palaiologina had been active in trade twice. We learn that the second time she made a profit.

<sup>42</sup> MM II, 355–8 (no. 554: 1400).

the case in general in besieged Constantinople, he was also short of cash and had to mortgage part of his own wife's dowry.<sup>43</sup>

Another member of the elite affected by the harsh economic situation was Manuel Palaiologos Raoul, *oikeios* of the emperor and married to a daughter of Makrodoukas. He was planning to abandon Constantinople and for that reason wanted to sell the field of 44 *modioi* that he owned. Eventually, he sold it for 800 *hyperpyra* to the monastery of St Mamas, whose *ephoros* was *kyr* Nikolaos Sophianos. However, the emperor learned about his intentions and prevented Manuel from leaving the capital. After this turn of events, Manuel tried to take back the field and return the money, but Sophianos declined. The emperor intervened once more and ordered that the money should stay with Makrodoukas, his father-in-law, and the latter should provide Manuel with a monthly amount to sustain him and his family.<sup>44</sup> The emperor was clearly trying to restrain the constant outflow from Constantinople, especially by higher members of society like Manuel, who held responsibility for fighting the Ottomans.

Demetrios Palaiologos Kallistos, whose father had founded rights in the monastery of Euergetis tes Sebastokratorisses, tried to claim an *adelphaton*, which his mother had sold back to the nuns of the monastery. Although he did not have sufficient evidence for his claim, we learn that as a concession to his poor financial condition, the patriarch decided that he could receive three *metra* of wine from that monastery.<sup>45</sup> The last instance is that of the *oikeios* of the emperor, Manuel Bouzenos, who was married to a Theodora Philanthropene. He had fallen into such a state of misery that he had sold all his property, and only the further sale of his wife's dowry (some houses worth 270 *hyperpyra*) would help him avoid destitution.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> MM II, 557–9 (no. 678: 1401). The editors of PLP do not identify Michael Palaiologos with Michael Raoul (PLP nos 24135 and 21531; *sic*: two entries by mistake) but with another Michael Palaiologos, an *archontopoulos* (MM II, 382–4, no. 569; PLP no. 21523). The similarities between the *archontopoulos* and the second Michael Palaiologos are indubitably many: the *archontopoulos* had financial problems as well, he owed money and he did not have enough to sustain his family, he was married with an under-aged wife, he owned a vineyard and part of his wife's dowry was spent. But there is no mention of a Gabriel Palaiologos as a brother of the *archontopoulos*, he was under-aged (whereas the first Michael Palaiologos was not under-aged), and in April 1400 he had already sold his own vineyard to his creditor. Besides, I do not know how many Gabriel Palaiologoi, *oikeioi* of the emperor, would have a Michael Raoul (Palaiologos) as a brother during the years 1400–1 in Constantinople. This identification brings to consideration another matter: the fluid nature of the attribution of surnames, about which we must be cautious.

<sup>44</sup> MM II, 304–12 (no. 528: 1399).

<sup>45</sup> MM II, 430–1 (no. 601: 1400), that is c. 31 l of wine (enough for three months).

<sup>46</sup> MM II, 492–4 (no. 646: 1401).

Despite the apparent nobility of the surnames of these people, in the face of their financial misfortunes and the diffusion of these surnames throughout the entire elite, and in the absence of any evident connection to the imperial family or a leading office, it is hard to include them in the higher, governing elite. All the same, that higher elite suffered analogous hardship in many cases. Komnenos Branas and his wife, the aunt of the emperor Anna Palaiologina, were political supporters of Ioannes VII and had followed him to his appanage in Selymbria after the pact of 1391. These movements caused major misfortunes and disharmony within the family. Documents, among them Anna's marriage contract, were lost, and so was probably a good part of the family's wealth. Still, despite her relation to the imperial family, Anna's dowry was not as immense; it initially (long before 1391) amounted to 3,000 *hyperpyra*, the price of a rather modest-sized village. The only properties that remained in their hands at the time of the siege of Constantinople were some houses and three vineyards in the area of Constantinople, one of which measured only 4 *mouzouria* (i.e. 4 *modioi*). All of them were given to their son-in-law, Michael Synadenos Astras, so that he could look after them when they left for Selymbria. Sometime before 1399 Komnenos Branas died and Anna, who wanted to marry off her other daughter, was in a state of economic misery. Therefore, it fell to Ioannes VII and his wife, the empress Eirene, to dower their cousin, acting both as patrons of their political supporters and as co-members of the extended family. The only things that Anna could contribute to her daughter's dowry were the houses and vineyards. This act, however, caused further disharmony in family relations. As soon as Ioannes VII returned as co-emperor to Constantinople in 1399, Anna Palaiologina was ready to give the promised property to her daughter. Her three sons opposed this act, since they were apparently left stripped of patrimonial property, and she resorted to the patriarchal court to obtain a ruling that would allow the property to be given as a dowry. The court decided in her favour and the three sons were left with nothing.<sup>47</sup>

The documented financial problems of the elite also provide testimony of the changing nature of their wealth. Apart from the financial difficulties, another striking phenomenon is the relatively small number of properties that they owned. Whereas in the early Palaiologan period, their fortunes could be counted in thousands of *hyperpyra*, now most had properties worth just a few hundreds of *hyperpyra*. For some the siege was the catalyst

<sup>47</sup> MM II, 329–33 (no. 537: 1400). The patriarchal court usually upheld and protected the woman's dowry: see Macrides, 'The transmission of property', 179–88, where the legal aspects of this case are also discussed.

for their reduced circumstances – like for example Anna Asanina Palaiologina – but we cannot claim the same for everyone. Thus, Philanthropene's dowry consisted only of some houses worth 270 *hyperpyra*. Manuel Palaiologos Raoul's property consisted only of a field estimated at a value of 800 *hyperpyra* and this sum was only due to the inflation of land prices during the siege. Theodora Palaiologina provided 400 *hyperpyra* as dowry to her daughter, and a member of the imperial family, Anna Palaiologina, had a dowry of merely 3,000 *hyperpyra*. We cannot securely estimate the fortune of most members of the Byzantine elite; some may have had properties outside the city that were now inaccessible or confiscated by the Ottomans. However, the trend is obvious: the fortunes of elite families had seriously diminished.

Not all elite families experienced difficulties. The family of Goudeles was not impoverished by the siege but rather profited from it. As previously mentioned, Georgios Goudeles was able to invest 2,600 *hyperpyra* in a partnership (*syntrophia*) that he made with a certain Koreses. Although this trip did not prove successful, his son Ioannes undertook at least two successful trading voyages. Another very successful entrepreneur was Nikolaos Notaras. He was involved as an imperial agent in a major commercial grain enterprise with the Genoese around 1390. From 1391 onwards, he was investing money in banking activities. He made several loans to the Genoese state and to many prominent families of Genoa. Much of his money was deposited in the newly founded bank of St Giorgio in Genoa after 1408. As the Genoese register reveals, his capital in 1391 (when we have the first record) was 1,302 *livres*, but by 1420 it had risen to 27,600 *livres*.<sup>48</sup> In fact this constitutes only part of his investment; it is known that he had invested in banks in the Italian colonies of the Black Sea and in Venice.<sup>49</sup> Yet an example of the wealth amassed by a noble Genoese family of Pera in this period demonstrates the financial gap between the rich Genoese and more typical members of the Byzantine elite. According to the testament of Giovanni Demerode, two of his four children received 20,000 *hyperpyra*.<sup>50</sup>

Another development in this period is the low frequency with which we encounter in our sources references to old titles and offices. If the disappearance of many of the older offices can be related to the shrinkage

<sup>48</sup> See for these Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 337 and 347–9. The sum of 27,600 *livres* should equate roughly to 184,000 *hyperpyra*, according to the exchange ratio of this period.

<sup>49</sup> Ganchou, 'Rachat', 162.

<sup>50</sup> Balard, 'Péra au XIVe siècle', 40–2.

of the state apparatus, this cannot have been the case for the titles. Up to the 1380s, titles were frequently attested, as is illustrated by the *megas primmikērios* Andronikos Palaiologos Asanes in 1383.<sup>51</sup> But thereafter there are only some sporadic references. The rarity with which titles are encountered is even more striking in the list of the members of the senate in 1409, where from the twenty members present ('almost all the senate,' according to the document), only one (a certain *megas primmikērios* Kantakouzenos) is designated with a title.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, some titles retained some kind of function even at this late stage, such as the *megas logothetēs* (as head of the administration) and *megas konostaulos* (as head of the mercenaries).<sup>53</sup> Another one, *prōtasēkrētis*, lost the judicial functions that it had acquired in the eleventh century (which were now fulfilled by the *katholikoi kritai*), and became again a higher member of the chancellery.<sup>54</sup>

Titles were certainly distributed until the end of the empire and they must still have retained an important role, at least in terms of social prestige. The testimony of *prōtobestiariētēs* Georgios Sphrantzes reveals that he held the possession of a title in high esteem; undoubtedly other members of the elite were of the same mind. When the emperor Konstantinos XI Palaiologos wanted to reward Sphrantzes for successfully arranging a marriage with a Georgian princess, he offered him a higher title; the choice of which was left to Sphrantzes himself. Sphrantzes, through the mediation of the *megas doux* Loukas Notaras, proposed the title of *megas konostaulos*. He remarked that he wanted a title that no one else then occupied and that would not be occupied in future, expressing his indignation when he learned that in the empire of Trebizond titles were being held by three persons simultaneously. However, the emperor did not want to grant the title of *megas konostaulos* during his reign for sentimental grounds, reasoning that his first father-in-law (the count of Kephallenia, Leonardo I Tocco) had held that title. Instead he proposed the even higher title of *megas logothetēs*

<sup>51</sup> MM II, 51 (no. 361: 1383).

<sup>52</sup> Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 132–4.

<sup>53</sup> Mazaris, 12: Holobolos narrates how he successfully devoted himself to his imperial secretarial duties, hoping thus to a promotion to *megas logothetēs*, and alluding to the fact that this title had retained some of its old important ministerial duties, even if the head of the central administration was now the *mesazōn*; Sphrantzes, 128: τὸν δεύτερον μέγαν κοντόσταβλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ῥογατόρους νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἄρχει, ὅπερ ἐνὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄφικίου.

<sup>54</sup> Ganchou, 'Ultime testament', 352: 'Notarius tabellariorum et princeps a secretis' (i.e. the Latin transcription of *πρωτασηκρήτις*) *notarius Manuel Manikaïtes*. The connection of the office of *notarios* with *prōtasēkrētis* of Manuel Manikaïtes implies a link to secretarial duties.

(fourth in rank in comparison to seventh of *megas konostaulos*). The *megas doux* and *mesazōn* Loukas Notaras then objected that Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, who had the title of *megas stratopedarchēs* (fifth in rank) and was then the *kephalē* of Constantinople, would be furious if Sphrantzes was promoted over him; Notaras counter-proposed the title of *megas primmikērios*, which was, however, held by someone else. Sphrantzes, of course, declined and was ready to depart from Constantinople to Peloponnesos. But then he encountered the emperor in the palace, who was furious and swearing at Loukas Notaras, since the latter had just asked through a priest Antonios (pejoratively referred to as τὴν προβατῖναν τὸν παπᾶν Ἀντώνιον, ‘the ewe, papa Antonios’), for his (Notaras’) two sons (pejoratively τὰ μουσκαράκιά του, ‘his calves’, meaning metaphorically the ‘spoiled kids’), the offices of *megas logothetēs* and *megas konostaulos*. The emperor eventually granted Sphrantzes the office of *megas logothetēs* – though he asked him to keep it secret for some time.<sup>55</sup>

Sphrantzes’ account reveals that there were several unoccupied high-ranking titles, which confirms the impression that some titles must have disappeared or been significantly demoted. The list of the seven highest titles as presented by Sphrantzes is: *megas doux*, *megas domestikos* (?), *prōtostratōr*, *megas logothetēs*, *megas stratopedarchēs*, *megas primmikērios*, *megas konostaulos*.<sup>56</sup> There is no reference to a *kaisaras*, a *panhypersebastos* or a *prōtobestiarios*; they are not attested during the fifteenth century in the empire proper, and might have fallen into oblivion or been discarded. The titles of *megas logothetēs* and *megas konostaulos* were unoccupied at that time.

In contrast, we can observe both that the designation of *oikeios* of the emperor had become even more common, and that the affinity of an individual to the emperor (son-in-law, uncle, aunt of the emperor, etc.) continued to be an important distinguishing mark. We could then hypothesise that owing to financial restrictions the state had reduced the number of title holders – since a title implied some kind of remuneration as well – or that, as with the honorary dignities (*pansebastos* and so on) that were abandoned earlier in the fourteenth century, people ceased to be designated with them, emphasising instead their relationship to the emperor (as *oikeios* or family), which obviously seemed proof enough of higher status.

<sup>55</sup> Sphrantzes, 124–30.

<sup>56</sup> The place of the *megas domestikos* is inferred. Sphrantzes does not mention which title occupied the second rank, but it is likely to have been *megas domestikos*, which was occupied at that time by Andronikos Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and was definitely one of the highest titles.



The sources allow us to reconstruct at least one aristocratic network during this period. Most of them were supporters of Ioannes VII, and had followed him to Selymbria. For many of them it is obvious that they had close commercial relations with Pera and the Genoese. Thus Bryennios Leontares, who had served as *kephalē* of Selymbria in 1399,<sup>57</sup> was the agent of Ioannes VII in his above-mentioned commercial enterprises with the Genoese. Worth noting is that the patrician family of the de Draperiis in Pera was related to the Palaiologoi. Luchino de Draperiis had married a certain Palaiologina, daughter of Ioannes Libadarios, and had received a dowry worth 2,500 *hyperpyra*. The fortune of Luchino's son, Jane, was considerable: he owned a ship worth 7,000 *hyperpyra* and on one occasion was able to lend 34,838 *livres* to the Genoese state. He was engaged in the administration of the Genoese colony and in 1390 served as the colony's ambassador to Bāyezīd I, with whom he concluded a treaty.<sup>58</sup> Jane de Draperiis married Theodora, the daughter of Georgios Goudeles, and created a partnership with his brother-in-law, Ioannes Goudeles, who was also related to the Palaiologoi through his wife, whose brother Trichas had married a daughter of Theodora Palaiologina.<sup>59</sup> The Trichas family is otherwise unknown and we cannot be certain why two aristocratic and (at least in the case of Goudeles) wealthy families would have concluded a marriage with them. But since both Theodora Palaiologina and the family of Goudeles were engaged in trade, it is possible that the Trichas family was also engaged in commercial activities.<sup>60</sup>

Theodora Palaiologina's brother Petros Palaiologos was married to Anna (Aspietissa) Palaiologina, whose uncle was Michael Synadenos Astras.<sup>61</sup> Michael, son of the *meγas stratopedarchēs* Georgios Synadenos Astras,<sup>62</sup> was married to the daughter of Anna Palaiologina, an aunt of the emperor Ioannes VII. As mentioned above, Anna Palaiologina had moved to Selymbria with

<sup>57</sup> MM II, 401 (no. 582: 1400).

<sup>58</sup> Balard, *Romanie génoise*, 342; idem, 'Péra au XIVe siècle', 33–6. See also Ganchou, 'Autonomie locale', who identifies her father as Limpidarios, the ruler of Ainos; he had led a successful revolt against the *panhypersebastos* Nikephoros (appointed by Kantakouzenos) in 1356, until the city was later added to the appanage of the (also Genoese) Gattilusio.

<sup>59</sup> MM II, 399 (no. 580: 1400).

<sup>60</sup> Besides, we learn that Trychadaina, the mother of Trichas, had agreed to mortgage dowry items for the second commercial trip in which Theodora Palaiologina invested money (MM II, 511, no. 656). We learn only of a Trichas, *apographeus* in Lemnos (already deceased) some time before 1387 (*Acts Philotheou* (K), 311).

<sup>61</sup> MM II, 399–400 (no. 580: 1400). 'Aspietissa' because her brother was Alexios Aspietes.

<sup>62</sup> PLP, no. 1598. He had served as governor in Ainos, Lemnos, Thessalonike and had been friends with Demetrios Kydones.

her husband and it was the emperor himself who helped to dower her second daughter, who married Philippos Tzykandeles.<sup>63</sup> The family of Tzykandeles cannot be considered illustrious. Several Tzykandelai were businessmen in Macedonia. We know of a Tzykandeles food merchant in Thessalonike around 1356 and another one active in Crimea in c. 1400.<sup>64</sup> Several years later, in 1436, a merchant Ioannes Tzykandeles from Serres was trading goods in Constantinople.<sup>65</sup> A Manuel Tzykandeles is known to have been a secretary of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos and a scribe of some codices.<sup>66</sup> The family was also connected to pro-unionist and Latin-friendly circles. A certain Niketas Tzykandeles, who was a palace servant during the reign of Michael VIII, had been a pro-unionist;<sup>67</sup> Manuel Tzykandeles had copied the translations of Thomas Aquinas for Demetrios Kydones;<sup>68</sup> and we learn that Philippos Tzykandeles had accompanied the emperor Ioannes V on his trip in Rome in 1369,<sup>69</sup> when the emperor made his declaration of Catholic faith. Later, however, Philippos served Ioannes VII for the few months in 1390 when he was emperor.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps this connection to Ioannes VII and the financial difficulties of Anna Palaiologina assured him of a marriage into the extended imperial family. All these elements show that Byzantine society continued to function as before. Economic cooperation, social ascent, marriage and political allegiance were all interconnected, one element resulting from or being the outcome of another, and all continued to serve as means of social ascent, preserving social capital and ensuring the continued functioning of the Byzantine aristocratic tradition. It is also evident that both a part of the older elite and the 'new' commercial elite were supporters of Ioannes VII. The political camps, once more, were divided not between two different economic interests, but between two factions.

What is also evident in this period is the emergence of 'new families' or, more precisely, their social ascent. The example of the Goudeles family is perhaps the most pertinent. Before the siege we know only a certain Goudeles,

<sup>63</sup> MM II, 329 (no. 537: 1400).

<sup>64</sup> Schreiner, *Texte*, 67.4.

<sup>65</sup> Badoer, 27, 32 and 58 (*Caloiani Zicandili*). In the Ottoman cadaster of Serres in TTD-3 of 1454/5 there is mention of a certain Ioannes Tzykandeles (*Yani veled-i Çikandil*) inhabiting the city.

<sup>66</sup> Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, 150, 153, 162 and 165.

<sup>67</sup> Pach., 3:393: ὁ τοῦ παλατιοῦ ἐλάχιστος.

<sup>68</sup> See Halecki, *Un empereur*, 193. Halecki identifies him as Philippos Tzykandeles but this is not the case, as the editors of PLP note: no. 28129 (Manuel Tzykandeles).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 193 and 196.

<sup>70</sup> He translated into Latin the treaty of Ioannes VII with Venice, wherein he is designated as his *oikeios*: MM III, 143 (no. 33: 1390).

who was the 'cup-bearer' (*oinochoos*) of the empress Anna Palaiologina during the second civil war and was given the governorship of Polystylon in Thrace.<sup>71</sup> One cause of the social ascent of the family was certainly their marriage alliances. Georgios Goudeles had already taken a first wife from the family of Raoul in the 1360s. But the marriage alliances must have been mostly a consequence of the family's financial standing in commercial enterprises and money lending.<sup>72</sup> Georgios Goudeles was the first who invested in the Genoese state debt, in 1378. By 1402 this sum had reached 11,200 *livres*, which produced an annual income of 600 *hyperpyra* in interest. By 1382 he was already considered worthy of acting as witness in the peace treaty between the emperors Ioannes V and Andronikos IV, arbitrated by Genoa.<sup>73</sup> Just a few years later in 1386, Georgios, a businessman, was appointed for the first time as *mesazōn*, a position that had usually been held by esteemed members of the civil elite, including many intellectuals, since the reign of Michael VIII. As one might expect, the previous *mesazōn*, Demetrios Kydones, was more than upset that such an important office went to 'uneducated people' and 'tax collectors.'<sup>74</sup> Despite his connections, Georgios did not manage to prevent Ioannes VII from occupying the throne shortly in 1390 with the help of Genoa. After the death of Ioannes V and the advent of Manuel II, he did not retain the office of *mesazōn*.<sup>75</sup> Yet the fortune of the family rose even further; Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles was a cousin of the emperor Manuel II and uncle of the emperor Ioannes VIII (r. 1425–48), who served as *mesazōn* about 1416, and was a member of the senate.<sup>76</sup> His contemporary Manuel Goudeles was a cloth merchant active in Constantinople who died c. 1438/9.<sup>77</sup> The family continued to be prominent and active even after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when some of its members moved to Italy.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Kant., 2:277.

<sup>72</sup> We know that Georgios Goudeles had lent money to the wife of a certain Aramonites: MM II, 400–1 (no. 581: 1400).

<sup>73</sup> Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti', no. XXVI (p. 139).

<sup>74</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Letters*, nos 239 and 372, ed. Loenertz, 2:142 and 320.

<sup>75</sup> Much of this evidence is drawn from his newly published testament. For the career and life of Georgios Goudeles and the text of his testament, see Ganchou, 'L'ultime testament' (text and French translation at 346–53).

<sup>76</sup> Demetrios Palaiologos Goudeles must have had the same connections with Latin merchants since, along with Georgios Goudeles, he attended to witness the verification of the commercial privileges that the Latins regularly obtained from the Byzantine emperor: MM III, 152–3 (no. 34: 1406), 162 (no. 35: 1418) and 172 (no. 36: 1423).

<sup>77</sup> Badoer, 120–1 (Manoli Cutela).

<sup>78</sup> Harris, 'Goudelis family', 168–79.

Like his grandfather, Georgios,<sup>79</sup> and his father, Nikolaos, the *meγas doux* Loukas Notaras served also as *diermēneutēs* and succeeded his father as *mesazōn* for a long period (1423–53). Recently, however, Loukas Notaras' traditional portrait as a businessman has been reappraised by Thierry Ganchou. The large sums (32,339 *livres*) that his children found waiting for them in Italy after 1453 had all been created by their grandfather Nikolaos; Loukas had not touched or augmented them. Regardless, he was still so immensely rich that he dowered each of his three daughters with 20,000 *hyperpyra*, a sum even early Palaiologan aristocrats would have envied.<sup>80</sup> But the fortunes of the family were linked not only with trade activities and the government, but also to the military. Nikolaos' other son, the *epitēs trapezēs* Ioannes Notaras, was killed in battle against the Ottomans in 1411/12. He was already considered noble through his parents and had achieved marriage to a bride of imperial descent.<sup>81</sup> Besides, we learn that a son of Loukas Notaras oversaw the mercenaries just before 1453<sup>82</sup> and that a Demetrios Notaras was involved in the financial domain, as the commercial tax collector (*comerchier*) in Constantinople in the 1430s.<sup>83</sup>

The families of Goudeles and Notaras are two exceptional cases of 'new' families that were incorporated into the higher aristocracy. At the same time, other families emerged with connections to trade, although they did not reach the highest echelons of society. The first recorded member of the Sophianos family was a certain *archōn* of Monembasia, known only by his surname as one of those Greek *archontes* who delivered Monembasia to the Franks in 1248.<sup>84</sup> The connection of the Sophianoι with Monembasia continued in the early fourteenth century if we are to judge from a reference by Manuel Philes in his epigram on the tomb of a young Sophianos.<sup>85</sup> In the same period we learn of Michael Kaballarios Sophianos, *oikeios* of the emperor and *kritēs tou phossatou* in Peloponnesos in 1321, who owed 4,207

<sup>79</sup> Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, 486–7. The designation *dermonophiti* for the father of Nikolaos in the document is probably the corruption of *diermēneutēs* and not of the surname Dermokaïtes, as the editor supposes.

<sup>80</sup> For Loukas Notaras, see Ganchou, 'Rachat'; Kiousopoulou, 'Λουκάς Νοταράς'; Matschke, 'Notaras family'.

<sup>81</sup> Doukas, 129; Ioasaph, *Verses*, ed. Acconcia Longo, 274–9.

<sup>82</sup> Sphrantzes, 128: ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦς ῥογατόρους νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἄρχει.

<sup>83</sup> Badoer, 19, 59, 91, 108–9, 354 and *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, 196.

<sup>85</sup> Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, no. 2.84, ed. Martini, 121, v. 4. He refers to him as hailing from the 'land of the Dorians', i.e. Laconia, where Monembasia is located. The young age of Sophianos is inferred from the fact that Philes mentions him as having not yet achieved marriage and as 'beloved to both his parents and teachers'. He was presumably sent to Constantinople in order to receive higher education, as was common.

*hyperpyra* to the Venetian nobleman Tomaso de Medio.<sup>86</sup> Next the Sophianoï moved to Constantinople. During the siege, the *oikeios* of the emperor Ioannes Sophianos also undertook trade ventures and acted as *defensor* at court.<sup>87</sup> He married twice. Neither of his wives, though, appears to have come from a higher aristocratic family. His first wife was from a family called Pepagomenos,<sup>88</sup> while his second wife was the daughter of a Theodora Archontissa, who seems to have been wealthy.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps he was the same Sophianos who was involved in the trade of timber to Alexandria on behalf of the emperor sometime before 1414 and who undertook the administration of salt pans.<sup>90</sup> Ioannes' relative Nikolaos Sophianos is attested as a member of the senate in 1409, held the *ephoreia* of the monastery of St Mamas in Constantinople and invested in real estate, having bought certain shops for the sum of 200 *hyperpyra*.<sup>91</sup> Another Ioannes Sophianos is mentioned in the account book of Badoer in 1436/7, and was a banker. He was quite active and had transactions with Venetians, Turks and Greeks.<sup>92</sup> The family was related to the Notaras too: a Nikolaos Sophianos is mentioned as a nephew of Loukas Notaras.<sup>93</sup> But the Sophianoï were also allied to non-merchant families: Theodoros Scholarios Sophianos was nephew to the Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios and died young as a monk at the monastery of Vatopedi shortly after his release from captivity by the Ottomans in 1456.<sup>94</sup> Once more, family traditions are evidently not exclusive.

The Argyropouloi are another family that slowly emerges in this period. During the siege, Andreas Argyropoulos, an *oikeios* of the emperor and *archōn* of the *politeia*, was an active merchant in the Danube area trading furs. He had created partnerships with local and Constantinopolitan (Ioannes Memales) merchants. In addition, we know that he was also a

<sup>86</sup> MM III, 102–3 (no. 34: 1324).

<sup>87</sup> MM II, 385–6 (no. 570: 1400) and 421 (no. 593: 1400).

<sup>88</sup> Many Pepagomenoi held church posts during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and we know of some writers and doctors, while another was the treasury's cashier (ταμίας τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων) and an *oikeios* of the emperor: Kant., 2:99; MM I, 568–9 (no. 311: 1334); PLP, no. 22358 (Georgios Pepagomenos).

<sup>89</sup> Archontissa was probably her surname and not an honorary epithet, as Darrouzès (*Regestes*, 6:400) argues. Her other daughter's dowry, married to a certain Demetrios Skoutariotes, was much more than 830 *hyperpyra*: MM II, 437–8 (no. 606: 1400).

<sup>90</sup> Mazaris, 46. Sophianos actually had to undergo a kind of a trial for this incident, for a reason unknown to us.

<sup>91</sup> MM II, 304–12 (no. 528: 1399), 358–9 (no. 555: 1400) and 463 (no. 625: 1401).

<sup>92</sup> Badoer, 4, 6 and *passim*.

<sup>93</sup> Badoer, 784.

<sup>94</sup> Gennadios Scholarios, eds Jugie, Petit and Siderides, vol. 1, 277–83 and vol. 4, 380.

singer (*aoidos*).<sup>95</sup> His occupation was in fact common in his family tradition. At least five Argyropouloi were *melographoi* (composers)<sup>96</sup> and one member of the family was the famous humanist Ioannes Argyropoulos, attested as senator and judge during the reign of Ioannes VIII Palaiologos, before he fled to Italy where he became a teacher of Greek.<sup>97</sup> He was in a position to boast, just a few years before the end of the empire, over his possession of the traditional qualities of social distinction: valour, wealth, a distinguished living standard, and offices, titles and renown in Macedonia and the whole of Greece, although he still seems to have faced complaints about the 'social obscurity' of his family background, if we are to judge by the accusations of his rival Katablattas.<sup>98</sup> The Argyropouloi must have come originally from Thessalonike, as implied by the mention of Macedonia and Greece, although Ioannes Argyropoulos makes it clear that he was born in Constantinople. Regardless, a branch of the family still resided in Thessalonike, where they are attested in the 1420s, investing considerable money in some gardens of the monastery of Iveron (around 14,000 *aspra*, or 1,214 *hyperpyra*) and as official *archontes* in the city.<sup>99</sup> They can still be found as members of the ecclesiastical elite in early Ottoman times.<sup>100</sup>

Beside these families we should place the Eudaimonoïoannes family from Monembasia. Michael Eudaimonoïoannes (*Micali de Monoioani*) was a very active merchant. To support the Genoese colonies in Crimea threatened by the Tatars in 1389, he transported grain and millet from Pera to Caffa on a Genoese ship and then to Tana on the emperor's ship.<sup>101</sup> The family became connected in marriage with the imperial house since we learn that Nikolaos Eudaimonoïoannes was a *sympentheros* to the emperor Manuel II, whose ambassador he was in the Catholic Council of Constance in 1416/17.<sup>102</sup>

Similar is the case of the family of Mamales. The first attested member of this family is Konstantinos Mamales, a grain merchant active in Caffa in 1360 and a shipowner.<sup>103</sup> During the siege we hear of an Ioannes Mamales,

<sup>95</sup> MM II, 374–5 (no. 564: 1400); Mazaris, 38 and 50.

<sup>96</sup> Lavriotes and Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος κωδίκων*, 157, 447, 450, 454; PLP, nos 1259, 1264, 1265, 1270.

<sup>97</sup> PLP, no. 1267. For the circumstances of his flight, see Angold, 'Political arts,' 96–101.

<sup>98</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 33.

<sup>99</sup> *Acts Iveron* IV, 158–62 (no. 97: 1421); Mertzios, *Μνημεία*, 48. On the case, see the analysis by Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara*, 159–74.

<sup>100</sup> Zachariadou, *Δέκα τουρκικά έγγραφα*, 102–3 and 165.

<sup>101</sup> Balard, 'Pera au XIVE siècle,' 39–40; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 176.

<sup>102</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, 479 (c. 1419–20); Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 104–10; PLP, no. 6223; Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft*, 172–6.

<sup>103</sup> He had bought 60 *modioi* of grain for 6 *sommi d'argent* there: Balard, 'Un document génois,' 235–8.

who was the trading partner of Andreas Argyropoulos shortly before his death; they both had traded furs from Wallachia costing 587 *hyperpyra*. Ioannes Mamales' brother, Theodoros, was an *oikeios* of the emperor.<sup>104</sup> Another branch of the family during the siege was represented by the brothers Konstantinos, Nikolaos, Georgios and Andreas Doukas Mamales (the last two designated as *oikeioi* of the emperor), and their sister, Mama-lina Archontissa.<sup>105</sup> Nikolaos Mamales travelled frequently for trade purposes to Crete during the siege, and in 1406 was sent as ambassador to the Cretan authorities in order to negotiate the terms of trade for Byzantine merchants on the island.<sup>106</sup> The family was related to other aristocratic families, as testified by both the sister's marriage with the Archon family and the case of Laskaris Mamales, whom Syropoulos mentions as the emperor's ambassador to the Ottoman governor of Kallipolis in 1440.<sup>107</sup> Mamales was the *archōn* who recognised the dead emperor Konstantinos XI Palaiologos after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>108</sup>

But if the rise of new families is a well attested phenomenon, we cannot say that the older high aristocratic families generally maintained their position. Certainly, several families continued functioning as before, holding titles and offices and large fortunes. But owing to the change in conditions, those that proved unable to adapt, or at least did not have strong connections to the imperial family, became impoverished and subsequently disappeared. Although we do meet some Tarchaneiotali in the fifteenth century their prominence has diminished, since they had lost their estates in Macedonia to the Serbs and the Turks, as had the Tornikioi as well.<sup>109</sup> The

<sup>104</sup> MM II, 374–5 (no. 564: 1400).

<sup>105</sup> MM II, 543–6 (no. 674: 1401). I believe that Archontissa is her husband's name and not a designation, since she was not present at court, nor she is referred by name: τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον πέμπτον τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῶν εἶπεν εἶναι, Μαμαλίνης τῆς Ἀρχοντίσσης ('the other fifth belongs to their sister, Mamalina Archontissa') and τὸ μὲν πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος καθίσματος λήψει ἡ Ἀρχόντισσα, ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἠνωμένον τοῖς οἰκῆμασιν αὐτῆς ('the one, near the small monastic establishment of Holy Trinity, will be received by his sister, Archontissa, since it is united to her houses'). In PLP, no. 16551 *archontissa* is mentioned as designation (i.e. the feminine of *archōn*). Besides, we know of a Michael Archon, official of the Patriarchate in July 1401: MM II, 529 (no. 667: 1401).

<sup>106</sup> Ganchou, 'Giacomo Badoer', 65.

<sup>107</sup> Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 544.

<sup>108</sup> *Brief chronicle*, 35, ed. Philippides, 52.

<sup>109</sup> The only Tarchaneiotali in Constantinople in the fifteenth century were mostly learned monks or church officials: PLP, nos 27483, 27489 and 27506. One more in Thessalonike, Heptabolos Tarchaneiotes was an *oikeios* of the emperor: *Acts Vato-pedi* III, 249, l. 18 (no. 204: 1414).

only attested Angelos in our archival material, Konstantinos Angelos, was a middling merchant whose business capital consisted of contributions from many people, while he travelled in a ship that he did not own.<sup>110</sup> Certainly, he belongs to the middle class and not to the elite.

## The Civil Elite

The *Patriarchal Register* offers a rich insight into the families and the careers of the ecclesiastical officials (Table 25). One of the most significant families of the ecclesiastical aristocracy is that of Balsamon. Since the famous canonist Theodoros Balsamon in the twelfth century, many Balsamones had occupied civil administration posts.<sup>111</sup> From the middle of the fourteenth century they appeared again in church posts, starting with Michael Balsamon. He served as one of the exarchs in 1357 charged with supervising the appropriate behaviour of the Constantinopolitan priests, until then only an *ekdikos* (i.e. a lesser ecclesiastical judge), and in 1380, as *megas chartophylax*, was sent as an envoy to Russia.<sup>112</sup> During the siege the family was represented by three members: Demetrios Balsamon, who climbed up to the office of *megas sakellarios*, which he held until his death in April 1400;<sup>113</sup> Michael Balsamon, who reached the office of *megas chartophylax*,<sup>114</sup> was called a *rhētōr* and taught in the patriarchal school;<sup>115</sup> and Manuel Balsamon who was a *prōtonotarios*.<sup>116</sup> The family continued in church service until the end of the empire, represented by the then anti-unionist *megas chartophylax* Michael Balsamon, who had taken part in the Council of Florence in 1438/9.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>110</sup> See p. 397.

<sup>111</sup> See for example Vranousi, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα Πάτριου*, 1:311 (no. 42: 1290) and 314 (no. 43: 1321).

<sup>112</sup> PR III, 284 (no. 222) and 398 (no. 242). MM II, 16 (no. 337: 1380).

<sup>113</sup> MM II, 272, 291, 327, 348, 354, 363, 369, 375, 377, 383.

<sup>114</sup> MM II, 206, 275, 327, 369, 376, 383, 385, 391, 396, 409, 438, 453, 485, 498, 512, 557; Hunger, 'Zu den restlichen Inedita', 61 (no. 2: 1402) and 67 (no. 7: 1402). There is some confusion over the post of *megas chartophylax* during the summer of 1400, because while Michael Balsamon appears already to be the *megas chartophylax* continuously from June 1400 (p. 391) until January 1402, in one document of August 1400 Ioannes Syropoulos appears to hold the post (no. 597) and in another document in June 1401 it is Georgios Eugenikos who holds it (no. 654). This is probably a mistake of the copyist.

<sup>115</sup> MM II, 142–7 (no. 417: 1390); cf. Hunger, in Ioannes Chortasmenos, *Letters*, 15 note 20; PLP, no. 91429.

<sup>116</sup> MM II, 355, 385, 403, 456, 503.

<sup>117</sup> Gill, 'Profession of faith'.



The Syropoulos family was from one of administrative and ecclesiastical tradition. Ioannes Syropoulos, who reached the office of *megas skeuophylax*, served, in addition, as a *katholikos kritēs*.<sup>118</sup> Ioannes Syropoulos may well be related to Sylvestros Syropoulos, who served as *katholikos kritēs* during the reign of Ioannes VIII, participated in the Union Council of 1438/9 and wrote his *Memoirs* of that trip to the West and, after the fall of Constantinople, briefly served as patriarch (1463–4).<sup>119</sup>

Sometimes these posts were the prelude to a bishopric or even the patriarchal throne. This was the case with Ioannes Holobolos. Ioannes started his career as a patriarchal notary (by 1367) and had been promoted to *megas chartophylax* by 1389, a position he would retain until 1399 when he was elected metropolitan of Gotthia (i.e. Mangup in Crimea) until his death in 1403.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, a physician, Manuel Holobolos, served from 1395 to 1399 as vice-secretary at the imperial court and accompanied emperor Manuel II on his trip to the West. He remained in this position until 1409, when he fell from grace.<sup>121</sup> Later we find the Holobolos family connected to another family of ecclesiastical and administrative tradition, the Chrysokephaloi.<sup>122</sup> A Chrysokephalos assumed the office of *katholikos kritēs* around 1400, during the siege of Bāyezid.<sup>123</sup> The continuity of family tradition is again striking, since the metropolitan of Philadelpheia Makarios Chrysokephalos (served 1336–82) had also been a *katholikos kritēs*.<sup>124</sup> This is also the case with the *katholikos kritēs* Georgios Oinaiotes during the siege and his predecessor, Andronikos Oinaiotes, attested in 1369.<sup>125</sup>

The family of Eugenikos appears as new in our sources; during the siege Georgios Eugenikos was the first attested ecclesiastical official from this family.<sup>126</sup> Both his sons, Ioannes Eugenikos and Markos Eugenikos, became

<sup>118</sup> MM II, 272, 292, 348, 354, 358, 367, 424, 428, 485.

<sup>119</sup> PLP, no. 27217. See also <http://www.syropoulos.co.uk/>, created by the students of the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham (2008).

<sup>120</sup> MM II, 132, 292, 304, 327, 348, 377; *Chronica Breviora*, 1:144. For his career, see Estangüi Gómez, 'Pour une étude'.

<sup>121</sup> Mazaris, *passim*; he is the second protagonist of this satire. PLP, no. 21046.

<sup>122</sup> A certain Ioannes Holobolos Chrysokephalos was *hypomnēmatographos*: Sylvestros Syropoulos, *Memoirs*, ed. Laurent, 194; PLP, no. 31137.

<sup>123</sup> MM II, 424 (no. 597: 1400).

<sup>124</sup> *Synodal Tomos against Barlaam and Akindynos*, PG 151, 762. There were only up to four *katholikai kritai* simultaneously and these mostly served for long periods. So their total number was not high and family continuity was then noteworthy.

<sup>125</sup> For this family, see p. 145.

<sup>126</sup> MM II, 326, 385, 388, 427, 429, 440, 453, 456, 463, 485, 507, 512, 528, 534, 553, 557; PLP, no. 6188.

famous ecclesiastics too, the latter as metropolitan of Ephesos (1437–45) and leader of the anti-unionist party until his death in 1445.<sup>127</sup> Other families of ecclesiastical officials include the Kallistoi<sup>128</sup> and also those represented by officials in the list (Table 25) such as Akindynos Perdikes,<sup>129</sup> Georgios Kallistos, Manuel Chrysokokkes<sup>130</sup> and Nikolaos Kinnamos.<sup>131</sup>

Another family of the civil elite was the Chrysolorades. Two brothers Chrysolorades were administrators of the imperial salt pans earlier in the fourteenth century,<sup>132</sup> while another Chrysoloras had been a *praitōr tou dēmou* in 1347.<sup>133</sup> During the siege of Bāyezīd, Manuel Chrysoloras was active as the first salaried professor of Greek in Italy and a Byzantine ambassador in the West. Manuel was a friend of Demetrios Kydones and both were pro-unionists and soon Catholics. Shortly before his death he had deposited the impressive sum of 4,000 florins (or around 1,300 *hyperpyra*) and a number of precious manuscripts with Cosimo de' Medici.<sup>134</sup> Similar was the career of his nephew Ioannes Chrysoloras, who is also referred to in Latin documents as *miles* (soldier/knight) and *comes palatinus*, probably also indicating his imperial service.<sup>135</sup> It is possible to connect them to the earlier *logothētēs tou genikou* Ioannes Chrysoloras, who was an anti-Palamite and died shortly after 1367 in Venice. This family intermarried with another

<sup>127</sup> Mamones, 'Μῦρκος ὁ Εὐγενικός'; Petrides, 'Ἐευρες'; Tsirpanlis, 'Career and political views'; PLP, nos 6193 and 6189 respectively.

<sup>128</sup> Georgios Kallistos: MM II, 151 (no. 420: 1391). He personally signed the document but with many mistakes. Other Kallistoi included a priest, Ioannes Kallistos, during the siege (MM II, 299, no. 522) and Andronikos Kallistos, who after the fall of Constantinople taught Greek in Florence and Bologna and died in London (PLP, no. 10484).

<sup>129</sup> MM II, 224, 358, 361, 409, 425. PLP, no. 22437. During the third quarter of the fourteenth century, three more (Georgios, Theodoros and Nikolaos Perdikes) held priestly offices: PLP, nos 22438–40. Later, a Demetrios Perdikes was *megas sakellarios* and *katholikos kritēs* in 1420: Ganchou, 'L'ultime testament', 352.

<sup>130</sup> MM II, 385 (no. 570: 1400), 388 (no. 572: 1400); PLP, no. 31144. He was actually at the beginning of his career; many years later, during the 1430s, as an old man, he was a *megas sakellarios*, taking part in the Council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438–9 and signing the decree of the Union. For other members of the family, see PLP, nos 31141–5.

<sup>131</sup> MM II, 341 (no. 543: 1400), 356 (no. 554: 1400). A Konstantinos Kinnamos was then a priest (MM II, 299, no. 522) and an Ioannes Kinnamos was bishop in Cyprus in 1387 (PLP, no. 11720).

<sup>132</sup> Gabras, *Letters*, no. 454 (l.1), ed. Fatouros, 695.

<sup>133</sup> *Chronica Breviora*, 1:620.

<sup>134</sup> Dagron, 'Manuel Chrysoloras'; Ganchou, 'L'ultime testament', 268; Thomson, 'Chrysoloras'; PLP, no. 31165.

<sup>135</sup> Ganchou, 'Manuel et Iōannēs Chrysolōras', 283 and 285; PLP, no. 31160.

civil aristocratic family, that of Philes Palaiologos.<sup>136</sup> Yet another Demetrios Chrysoloras is attested as a senator in 1409 and had served as *mesazōn* of Ioannes VII in Thessalonike, when the later assumed its administration after the treaty with the Ottomans in 1402. Demetrios was an anti-unionist and an opponent of Demetrios Kydones.<sup>137</sup> This latter case can serve as an example of the complexity around family connections and the cultural affiliations of the different family members.

As all these examples have shown, there are certain continuities and analogies with previous decades. As many of its members were scholars, the civil elite was often chosen for embassies in the West, and it is therefore no surprise that among them we can find many connections with pro-unionist circles. But a pro-unionist stance was not only a political choice or one of family tradition (as it was for the Tzykandeles family) as the cases of Manuel Kalekas, Demetrios Kydones, Manuel and Demetrios Chrysoloras reveal, but more a choice of cultural background and orientation and related to the closer affinity of these scholars to contemporary Western scholarship and humanism.<sup>138</sup>

These families, who had served previously in the civil administration and in the Church, or were scholars, survived for most of the Palaiologan period. They had ensured that their relatives would be their successors, as, for example, the family occupation of judicial posts with simultaneous ecclesiastical service of the Balsamones showed. At the same time, they intermarried among themselves (Holobolos–Chrysokephalos, Oinaïotes–Syropoulos, Chrysoloras–Philes Palaiologos). But the crisis cannot have left them unaffected. Many financial and administrative posts were lost because of the shrinking imperial territory and, subsequently, of the state apparatus. Consequently, some of these families turned decisively to ecclesiastical administration, as it is evident from the case of the Balsamones.

However, as Table 25 shows, when compared to the situation in Serres (Tables 10–11), the church officials in Constantinople usually had a shorter term of office. Although the death of Demetrios Balsamon in April 1400 was

<sup>136</sup> PLP, no. 31161. See Perria, 'Due documenti', 292–6. The identification is strengthened by the fact that Manuel's uncle was named Ioannes. It was Michael, the brother of the abovementioned Ioannes Chrysoloras, who married into the Palaiologos Philes family.

<sup>137</sup> Treu, 'Demetrios Chrysoloras'; PLP, no. 31156.

<sup>138</sup> Kydones for example composed three treatises defending his and his brother Prochoros' choice to become a Catholic: ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, 359–437. See also Kianka, 'Apology'; idem, 'Demetrios Kydones and Italy'; Nicol, *Church and society*, 76 ff.; Thomson, 'Chrysoloras', 81–2.

one cause of major rearrangements in the hierarchy of posts and promotions, this cannot fully explain the other instances.<sup>139</sup> Perhaps one reason could be the more intense competition, since the ambitions of many families who used to serve in the state machine were now confined to the ecclesiastical domain. A second reason for the short terms of these officials might have been the two centres of power on which their positions depended, the patriarch and the emperor, which may have caused more frequent replacements of officials, as emperors and patriarchs during that period changed more often than the local metropolitans. Besides, some of the Constantinopolitan families would be able to climb even higher, as metropolitans, unlike local clerical staff.<sup>140</sup>

Some traditional civil aristocratic families, which had served in higher administrative posts in the early Palaiologan period, had by now evidently shrunk. The Apokaukoi, for instance, became much less prominent after the death of Alexios Apokaukos. We can still see a Georgios Doukas Apokaukos, who raised a tower in Thessalonike between 1369 and 1373,<sup>141</sup> and Euthymios Apokaukos, who during Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos' reign served as *mezas skeuophylax* of the patriarchate,<sup>142</sup> but later we find two Apokaukoi as simple priests.<sup>143</sup> Another striking absence is the Choumnos family. During the siege, only the priest Michael Doukas (*Doux*) Choumnos is attested; he was still wealthy enough to provide his daughter with a dowry of 600 *hyperpyra* when he married her to a certain Zarachounes from Selymbria.<sup>144</sup>

However, the evidence that we have at our disposal is not sufficient to make a survey of the economic status of the families that had remained in Constantinople and of whether they were economically damaged by the siege or earlier territorial losses. Their service in the administration must

<sup>139</sup> Of course, there are exceptions, such as Theodoros Melitiniotes who served for thirty-three years as *mezas sakellarios*.

<sup>140</sup> Bishops were likely to have come from the local society; however, in the late Byzantine period, bishoprics were in decline in favour of a primarily metropolitan system.

<sup>141</sup> Spieser, 'Inventaires', 176–7. The editor of the inscription has read δού[ξ] as an office. I suggest that we should read Doukas as a second surname, given that this was a traditional second surname of the Apokaukoi and that the office of *doux* disappeared from our sources from the beginning of the fourteenth century. He might have been identical with a Georgios Doukas Apokaukos, *mezas droungarios* in 1342, despite the chronological gap of almost thirty years: MM III, 114 (no. 36: 1342). See PLP, nos 1182–3.

<sup>142</sup> *Synodal Tomos against Barlaam and Akindynos*, in PG 151, 763; PLP, no. 1185.

<sup>143</sup> MM II, 21 (no. 341: 1381). The second one, during the siege, was wealthy enough to buy a house: MM II, 391–3 (no. 576: 1400) and 487–8 (no. 640: 1401).

<sup>144</sup> MM II, 401–4 (no. 582: 1400).

have provided them with revenues that were much more secure than the incomes which the higher elite had previously derived from landed property in the provinces. It was still possible to make a lot of money by serving as a secretary, as demonstrated by Manuel Holobolos, who became wealthy by composing imperial documents.<sup>145</sup> Offices still provided financial advantages. People would be able to undertake public works and enrich themselves, as was allegedly done by a Tarchaneiotes, a Karantzes and a Machtetares.<sup>146</sup> The judge Katadokeinos is alleged to have often collected bribes and, when wandering the markets of Constantinople, to have obtained merchandise while avoiding payment by using tricks and threats.<sup>147</sup> There is evidence that these families also had some connections to trade and similar activities. We discover that the father of Manuel Holobolos was a wine merchant.<sup>148</sup> Both Manuel and Ioannes Chrysoloras had considerable deposits in Italian banks. Finally, they must have possessed some real estate in the Constantinople area, even if just a house, but they do not seem to have profited from entrepreneurial economic activities as much as other members of the non-civil elite did.

The satire of Mazaris, written only few years after the siege, reveals how little had changed in Byzantium and in court society even in the fifteenth century, when much of the central administration was gone. There were still the petty contests for position and imperial favour, and machinations among the officials and their resulting slanders.<sup>149</sup> Although the economic power of the higher aristocracy was reduced during late fourteenth century, the civil elite did not profit socially from this. They remained in the second rank of the social scale until the very fall of the empire. Manuel Holobolos recognised that he was not one of 'noble stock'<sup>150</sup> and Katadokeinos, with his pompous outfit and entourage, strove to appear 'great and noble'. Nonetheless, the members of the civil elite were able to hold these positions and their place in society, something that enabled them to survive after the fall of Constantinople both in the West as scholars and in the Ottoman empire by serving in administrative positions in the Ottoman court and ecumenical patriarchate.

<sup>145</sup> Mazaris, 12.

<sup>146</sup> Mazaris, 36.

<sup>147</sup> Ioannes Argyropoulos, *Comedy of Katablattas*, eds Canivet and Oikonomides, 55–61.

<sup>148</sup> Mazaris, 28.

<sup>149</sup> Angold, 'Political arts'.

<sup>150</sup> Mazaris, 10.

Table 25 Patriarchate dignitaries during the Siege of Bayezid I.

Name	Office	Date attested
Demetrios Gemistos	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> <i>Megas sakellarios</i>	(1386–1393) (1394)
Manuel Chrysokokkes	<i>Repherendarios</i>	(1399–1401)
Ioannes Olobolos	<i>Notarios / kanstrisios</i> <i>Megas chartophylax</i> <i>Metropolitan of Gotthia</i>	(1369) / (1374) (1389–1399) (1399–1403)
Ioannes Syropoulos	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> <i>Sakelliou</i> ( <i>Megas chartophylax?</i> ) <i>Megas skeuophylax</i>	(1396–1397) (October 1397–March 1400) ( <i>August 1400?</i> ) (1400–1401)
Demetrios Balsamon	<i>Megas skeuophylax</i> <i>Megas sakellarios</i>	(1396–1397) (1397–April 1400)
Michael Balsamon	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> <i>Prōtekdikos</i> <i>Megas chartophylax</i>	(1390–1397) (1399–May 1400) (June 1400–1402)
Manuel Balsamon	<i>Logothetēs</i> <i>Prōtonotarios</i>	(1400–1401) (June 1401)
Akindynos Perdikes	<i>Hypomnēmatographos</i> <i>Repherendarios</i>	(1394–1400) (1404–1416)
Michael Aoinares (Asinares)	<i>Logothetēs</i> <i>Megas skeuophylax</i> <i>Megas sakellarios</i>	(1389) (March–April 1400) (June 1400–1402)
Georgios Eugenikos	<i>Primmikērios of the notarioi</i> <i>Logothetēs</i> <i>Prōtonotarios</i> <i>Prōtekdikos</i> <i>Sakelliou</i>	(1389) (1397) (January–May 1400) (October 1400–1401) (1402–1406)
Kanaboutzes	<i>Megas prōtopapas</i>	(1401)
Manuel Chalkeopoulos	<i>Archōn tōn phōtōn</i> <i>Archōn tōn ekklesiōn</i>	(until December 1400) (December 1400– ?)
Theodoros Tychomenos	<i>Hypomimmēskōn</i>	(1400)
Nikolaos Kinnamos	<i>Deutereuōn tōn diakonōn</i>	(1400)

## The Middle Class of Constantinople

The task of identifying the middle class in late Palaiologan Constantinople is not easy. Whereas in the early Palaiologan era, trade and manufacture were the main fields of activity for the middle class, now the diminishing economic power of the Byzantine elite created a new competitor in their activities. While the aristocracy might be identifiable through its titles and

epithets and perhaps its level of wealth, this was not true for the middle class. We cannot exclude the possibility of the enrichment of some of them, which in its turn raises questions over their classification. Yet, since we have set as our criteria not only wealth, but also political power and social prestige, the lack of a title or the absence of an epithet (*kyr*), combined with a non-aristocratic surname and an average level of wealth, would probably indicate a member of the middle class.

As we saw earlier, the title of the *praitōr tou dēmou* was reserved for persons who were not socially distinguished but, even so, it granted access to the senate. This title, already only rarely attested, disappears from the sources after the middle of the fourteenth century. There are still hints, nonetheless, that representatives of the common people had opportunities for political power. The term *politikos archōn* or *archōn* of the *politeia* is attributed to three persons in this period: *kyr* Andreas Argyropoulos, *kyr* Thomas Kalokyres and *kyr* Ioannes Melidones. As we discussed earlier, these *archontes* of the *politeia* may have been leading men of the body of private citizens, although the possibility that they were simply lay *archontes* as opposed to ecclesiastical ones should not be utterly excluded.<sup>151</sup>

Let us then see what the origins of these people were. We have already identified here the family of the Argyropouloi as one of those families that rose socially in this period. The family name Kalokyres is a rather obscure one. A *prōtopapas* 'Calocerus' (Kalokyres?) is attested on Chios in 1349.<sup>152</sup> We know of a priest Kalokyres in Constantinople in 1357,<sup>153</sup> and of a forger in 1372, who was an orphan.<sup>154</sup> For Thomas Kalokyres we know that he had created a partnership with a certain Konstantinos Perdikares, who possessed a coppersmith's workshop. Kalokyres had invested 500 *hyperpyra* in the shop, whereas Perdikares contributed his labour.<sup>155</sup> Kalokyres invested his money in real estate, as we see him buying for 270 *hyperpyra* the house of the poor *oikeios* of the emperor, Manuel Bouzenos.<sup>156</sup> In addition he was a moneylender: he loaned 300 *hyperpyra* to Panopoulos at 15 per cent interest per year (i.e. 45 *hyperpyra* interest). When, a year later, the deadline for the repayment arrived, Panopoulos went to the patriarchal court in order to ask for a reduction in the interest, which was 'usually' granted

<sup>151</sup> See p. pp. 271–2.

<sup>152</sup> Argenti, *The occupation of Chios*, vol. III, 529. But *Calocerus* might originally have been *kalogeros* (a colloquial word for 'monk') or Kalogeras, a surname equally attested in Chios (Nicolaus Calogeras: *ibid.*, 519).

<sup>153</sup> PR III, 310, l. 13 (no. 227).

<sup>154</sup> Registro Vaticano, 366 (no. 14).

<sup>155</sup> MM II, 326–8 (no. 536: 1399) and 372–4 (no. 562: 1400).

<sup>156</sup> MM II, 492–4 (no. 646: 1400–1).

to poor people. But Kalokyres quibbled, resorting instead to the imperial tribunal, where he probably expected support for his cause. Indeed the imperial court confiscated Panopoulos' house and gave it to Kalokyres. The patriarchal court, however, having decided to protect Panopoulos, forced Kalokyres, under threat of excommunication, to return the house to Panopoulos and accept only the 300 *hyperpyra* that Panopoulos owed and had the means to pay.<sup>157</sup>

Regarding Ioannes Melidones, the other *archōn* of the *politeia*, we learn that he undertook to pay for the restoration of a monastery and its main source of wealth, an abandoned neighbourhood behind the Hippodrome, which he transformed into productive fields.<sup>158</sup> Again, the family of Melidones is rarely mentioned: a priest named Symeon appears in 1357 while another, Melidones, who died in 1398, was friend to the scholar Manuel Kalekas.<sup>159</sup>

It is possible to identify other members of this social category who would nowadays best be described as upper middle class. The borders between the upper middle class and the lesser elite are blurred. It is difficult to answer whether the designation *kyr*, *oikeios* of the emperor or service in an embassy are indicators of someone who, because of his wealth, has gained a relatively esteemed position and a title or an office within his generation, or whether we are dealing with a continuity of both wealth and offices. Such was the case with the cloth merchant Koumouses, who had a fortune of 7,030 *hyperpyra* of moveable and immovable wealth. His main source of wealth would have been his cloth shop, from where fabrics worth 700 *hyperpyra* were stolen soon after his death. His family was involved in trade as well, albeit not successfully: his son Alexios undertook a trading trip after the father's death with the consent of the family, but suffered a loss of 300 *hyperpyra*. During the siege the family still possessed a large vineyard estimated at 900 *hyperpyra*, although this lay unproductive for some reason unknown to us; perhaps it was situated outside the walls. He may well be identified as, or a relative of, Theodoros Koumouses, who appears as a member of the senate in 1390 in a treaty with Venice.<sup>160</sup> In fact, with Theodoros Koumouses, we see the rise of a heretofore obscure family.

<sup>157</sup> MM II, 380–2 (no. 568: 1400).

<sup>158</sup> MM II, 495–6 (no. 648: 1402).

<sup>159</sup> PR III, 286 (no. 223); Manuel Kalekas, *Letters*, nos 9.32–9, 43.1–3, ed. Loenertz, 178, 227, and *Consolatory for Melidones*, 325.

<sup>160</sup> MM III, 143 (no. 36: 1342). Perhaps it is not a coincidence that he acts as a witness in the treaty. As a wealthy merchant, he would have connections with other Western merchants in Constantinople.



Two generations later, in 1453, Andronikos Koumouses was treasurer of the emperor and died at the fall of Constantinople.<sup>161</sup>

Another curious case is the Koreses family. Nikolaos Koreses and his son Manuel had a trading partnership with Georgios Goudeles (Manuel's capital was far less than Goudeles': he invested 1,000 *hyperpyra* compared to Goudeles' 2,600). Nikolaos was one of the agents of another merchant, Eudaimonoïoannes, in Tana and had strong connections with the Genoese in Pera.<sup>162</sup> He had at least one more son named Georgios who was married to Euphrosyne, the daughter of a Georgios 'Soromi' and maternally probably related to the Kalligopouloi.<sup>163</sup> Matschke wishes to place the family of Koreses in the new emerging aristocracy of trade.<sup>164</sup> But this is doubtful; otherwise, the family name is unknown. It was indeed a relatively wealthy family of traders. Nikolaos Koreses came from Chios, which at the time was under Genoese rule; it is natural that he would have been able to establish connections with the Genoese owing to his origins, rather than any aristocratic heritage. The marriage connections that the Koreses family established with other families cannot be considered aristocratic either on the evidence of the surnames ('Soromi' and Kalligopoulos), and they are not attested in possession of any offices or titles.

The wealth that these merchants possessed was only one part of the picture. Other middle-class people had more modest means or were more negatively affected by the siege. The deceased wife of Theodoros Barzanes (a Kaloeidina) had a considerable dowry of 2,250 *hyperpyra* when she married. By the time of the siege this dowry had been reduced to 1,503 *hyperpyra*, consisting of a vineyard worth 500 *hyperpyra*, a large newly built house with an internal yard worth 208 *hyperpyra*, a bakery and other shops worth 310 *hyperpyra*, and some other smaller houses, fields and some moveable property.<sup>165</sup> Another Kaloeidas, Ioannes Antiocheites Kaloeidas, held in common with a nun named Chrysokephalina Kaukanina a large perfume shop worth 400 *hyperpyra*. Kaloeidas owed 400 *hyperpyra* from his wife's dowry, and the patriarchal court ruled that he needed to reconstitute her dowry. Therefore, it took some houses and a vineyard from him, together worth 600 *hyperpyra*, from his personal property; all these constituted only a part of his total personal property.<sup>166</sup> Middle-class people

<sup>161</sup> Ganchou, 'Famille Koumoussès', 94.

<sup>162</sup> Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 39–40; MM II, 546–50 (no. 675: 1400). Her uncle and her two brothers were named Kalligopouloi.

<sup>163</sup> Balard, 'Pera au XIVe siècle', 36.

<sup>164</sup> Matschke and Tinnfeld, *Gesellschaft*, 177–8.

<sup>165</sup> MM II, 347–52 (no. 549: 1399).

<sup>166</sup> MM II, 358–9 (no. 555: 1400).

imitated the elite in some of its cultural activities. Hodegetrianos, ‘the son of the rope-maker’, sought and acquired the *ephoreia* and the restoration of a church in Constantinople.<sup>167</sup>

A certain Michael Monembasiotes owned several shops; he had at least a soap-manufacturing workshop, which cost – including its utensils – 100 *hyperpyra*, and a tavern valued at 130 *hyperpyra*, which he gave to his daughter-in-law. His deceased wife’s dowry was claimed to have been more than 1,000 *hyperpyra*. Monembasiotes’ deceased son had more property, which by then belonged to his children. In addition to the house where the family was living, he was in possession of a smaller tavern, a soap-manufacturing workshop and some smaller shops attached to this workshop, in addition to other things. Moreover we learn that his widow, Eirene Gabraina, engaged in handicrafts after her husband’s death and was able to provide sufficiently for her subsistence and that of her children.<sup>168</sup> Another shop-keeper was Stylianos Chalkeopoulos who owned a large tavern worth 225 *hyperpyra* and some smaller shops worth 69 *hyperpyra*. But he owed 300 *hyperpyra* to the emperor’s *oikeios*, Nikolaos Makrodoukas, and to *kyr* Loukas Linardos, and another 100 *hyperpyra* to his niece, and as a result these shops were pawned by decision of the court.<sup>169</sup>

Middle-class Constantinopolitans also engaged in lending activities. The names of the lenders and the sums of these loans are occasionally attested in the *Patriarchal Register*: Anatolikos loaned 50 *hyperpyra*, taking a belt as security;<sup>170</sup> Michael Magistros Pothos loaned 75 *hyperpyra* to the *archontopoulos* Michael Palaiologos;<sup>171</sup> Katakalon loaned 50 *hyperpyra* to a Branas Gounares;<sup>172</sup> *kyr* Ioannes Krites loaned 66 *hyperpyra* to the brother of Ioannes Magistros, taking a few precious items as pawns;<sup>173</sup> *kyr* Georgios Alethinis Chrysoberges loaned 50 *hyperpyra* to a tavern-man

<sup>167</sup> MM II, 467–8 (no. 627: 1399).

<sup>168</sup> MM II, 439–41 (no. 608: 1400).

<sup>169</sup> MM II, 452–4 (no. 617: 1400). We know also of a Manuel Doukas Chalkeopoulos who was active in Pera in 1389: see Balard, ‘Pera au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle’, 36.

<sup>170</sup> MM II, 419–20 (no. 591: 1400).

<sup>171</sup> MM II, 382–4 (no. 569: 1400).

<sup>172</sup> MM II, 455 (no. 618: 1401).

<sup>173</sup> Hunger, ‘Zu den restlichen Inedita’, 60–1 (no. 2: 1402). Judging by the luxury of the items (such as a piece of cloth, *καμουχάς*, worth 55 *nomismata*, and a cup and some spoons worth 10 *nomismata*) the brother of Ioannes Magistros must have belonged to either the lesser elite or the upper middle class. Ioannes Krites, also an *oikeios* of the emperor, had acted as guarantor to the monk Gerontios Proximos, whose ex-wife, the nun Pepagomene, was asking for her dowry back. The surname Krites is not attested elsewhere.

named Astrapyres.<sup>174</sup> Chrysoberges may have been involved also in the grain trade, since we learn that a baker still owed 10 *hyperpyra* for grain.<sup>175</sup>

However, it is difficult to classify these middle-class persons by occupation. As their properties reveal, they owned smaller or larger houses, and various kinds of shops, most commonly bakeries and taverns. Bakeries and taverns must have been a last resort. Constantinople had lost its former importance as a centre of artisanal production. Economic survival for the artisans of Constantinople often required the creation of partnerships through which the capital, the labour and the tools were shared. A freedman Georgios with a foreign background ('from the nations': ὁ ἐξ ἔθνῶν) made a partnership with Ianoulos, the son of Georgios' former slave-owner, Kechortasmene. Ianoulos offered his horse and the bakery, and Georgios offered the capital of 30 *hyperpyra*. The venture, however, was not successful. Ianoulos created a debt, professed that Georgios was his slave and led him into prison for this debt. Once Georgios succeeded in getting out of the prison he claimed back his lost money and also acquired the property that his former mistress had bequeathed him, and had obviously been withheld so far, that is, half of a house with the bakery and part of a large vineyard outside Constantinople.<sup>176</sup> In a more successful case, the orphan Ioannes, raised by his godmother, Maria, wife of Tzelebos, made a partnership with his stepmother in which he contributed only his labour and his stepmother the milk-shop, tools and all other expenses. Eventually a profit of 30 *hyperpyra* was created that was divided equally between the two.<sup>177</sup>

Middle-class individuals were also personally engaged in commercial activities through buying or selling products or commodities, and were sometimes partners in *syntrophiai* ('commercial partnerships'), but usually their role was rather minor. Some of them personally undertook trips with other people's money, like Konstantinos Angelos. They also owned land, vineyards and fields, sometimes substantial, like Koumouses' vineyard, which alone cost 900 *hyperpyra*. During the siege, some of them invested in land and houses, despite (or presumably because of) the continually falling prices, since people were abandoning Constantinople constantly. They were also adversely affected by the difficult conditions during the siege, although the scale of the losses they suffered must have been incommensurately less than the losses of the elite, as they would not normally possess immovable assets, such as land and buildings, outside the city. Several of

<sup>174</sup> MM II, 367–8 (no. 558: 1400).

<sup>175</sup> MM II, 473–4 (no. 631: 1401).

<sup>176</sup> MM II, 481–3 (no. 635: 1401) and 473–4 (no. 631: 1401).

<sup>177</sup> MM II, 475 (no. 632: 1401).

them became much wealthier than some members of the elite. Even the fact that Panopoulos was unable to repay Kalokyres was not due to the siege but to a personal illness or accident. Generally, members of the middle class were able not only to get through the siege with fewer losses than the elite, but sometimes they were able to invest their money in real estate, like Kalokyres. Nevertheless, except for unusually wealthy people like him, the common people had lost any political power and influence they might have attained during the previous decades, and this did not change now. During the reign of Kantakouzenos, the artisans and the merchants of Constantinople were apparently recognised as a special social group and were called to the public assemblies that he summoned. In contrast, at the turn of the fifteenth century there is no evidence that these same social strata were treated as a special professional or social group.

### The Aftermath

Generally, social and economic life was enormously disrupted during the siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd. The population fell significantly, prices rose and people of all social groups were hit by poverty, famine and misery. Economic conditions were harsh and a great part of the populace abandoned Constantinople to avoid poverty. The state and the emperor generally proved unable to restrain this flight from Constantinople. To some degree, the flight of the populace reduced the need to provision the city and may have helped to withstand the siege. The emperor proved more effective in forcing some aristocrats, who could actually fight, to stay, like his *oikeios* Manuel Palaiologos Raoul.

The siege must have generated considerable distress in the city, as Nevra Necipoğlu has argued based on both Ottoman and Byzantine sources. The Byzantine government of Ioannes VII repeatedly tried to reach an agreement with Bāyezīd I, without surrendering the city to him but promising to be a faithful vassal. These attempts obviously failed.<sup>178</sup> There is also Ioannes VII's letter to King Henry IV of England only two months before the battle of Ankyra (28 July 1402), in which Ioannes VII urged him to undertake a rescue mission, since he was by then ready to surrender the city to Bāyezīd.<sup>179</sup> Some later sources also note that the citizens of Constantinople were ready to deliver the city to Bāyezīd. One of the surviving short chronicles reports that some Byzantine *archontes* set off for Kotyaion, in

<sup>178</sup> Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 180–2.

<sup>179</sup> See Barker, *Manuel Palaeologos*, 213–14 and 500–1. But Ioannes VII might have been exaggerating in order to achieve his goal.

order to hand over the keys of Constantinople to Bāyezīd as soon as he emerged victorious against Tamerlan at Ankyra. However, they returned when they learned of Bāyezīd's disastrous defeat.<sup>180</sup> There is some evidence of distress in the city. Patriarch Matthaios was accused by certain people of negotiating privately with Bāyezīd in order to ensure his own security in case the city fell to the Turks. He was forced consequentially to make a public denunciation of these accusations. In the same speech he pledged to the populace that he had threatened the ambassadors who were going to negotiate peace with Bāyezīd with excommunication, to prevent them from promising anything harmful to Constantinople.<sup>181</sup>

Overall there was little change during the passage to the fifteenth century regarding the structures of Byzantine society. All the determinants of social status – wealth, nobility, titles, imperial service, education, lifestyle and so on – still mattered to the same degree, as demonstrated above and discussed previously in Chapter 2. Land was still an important asset, as became clear at the beginning of this chapter, even if on a much smaller scale than in the early Palaiologan period. It was still possible to identify some families of the civil elite as a separate social group, occupying the lesser positions in the palace, justice, finance and the Church, and in fact competing intensely for them. Nevertheless, the financial setbacks for the elite did not reflect a concomitant loss of political power; it still occupied all the important offices. Although we see the elite giving up or losing its properties before and during the siege of Bāyezīd I, most of the land inside the city manifestly still belonged to them or, alternatively, to ecclesiastical or monastic institutions.

What changed, apart from the size of wealth of the elite, is the relation between the sources of economic power of the higher aristocracy. In the early Palaiologan period the higher aristocracy had based its wealth mainly on *oikonomiai* and other privileges that the emperor provided. These privileges still existed in the fifteenth century, as demonstrated by the case of Kontostephanos, who had an 'income of 60 *nomismata* from land' – possibly in the form of an *oikonomia* – on Lemnos and obtained an increase of 20 *nomismata* in the 1430s, which would be taken from the island's state income.<sup>182</sup> Even a church official who fled from Thessalonike because of the

<sup>180</sup> *Chronica Breviora*, 1:184–5. Other sources which say that the Byzantines were ready to surrender the City to Bāyezīd include the *Histories* of Doukas, 85 and Kritoboulos, ed. Reinsch, vol. I, 32–3 and the *Account on the siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd*, ed. Gautier, 110.

<sup>181</sup> MM II, 463–7 (no. 626: 1401).

<sup>182</sup> Laurent, 'Dernier gouverneur', 197–8.

Ottoman siege was granted a monthly salary of 10 *staurata nomismata* from the state income in Koukkometron.<sup>183</sup> But the value of financial privileges was undoubtedly seriously reduced due to the need to maintain an army and to bring some income to the depleted treasury. Many of the higher elite were progressively displaced to the safer Peloponnesos after the middle of the fourteenth century; it offered more prospects to obtain the land, offices and other privileges that the elite had been accustomed to in previous centuries. Representatives of the Raoul, Laskaris, Asanes, Kantakouzenos, Metochites and other families are often encountered there.

Owing to this decline in traditional sources of wealth, people who were occupied with trade and other entrepreneurial activities (such as lending) had better chances of attaining social status, since their level of wealth was now closer to that of the 'landed' or (as many would like to call them) the 'older' elite, and, moreover, the banking activities recently established in the Italian cities (notably including payment of interest on deposits and the purchase of public debt) offered to a few individuals, among them the exceptional cases of the Notaras and Goudeles families, the opportunity to build substantial financial capital. Their financial and social position, however, was not retained only thanks to their successful business endeavours. Their increasing involvement in politics, as representatives of the Byzantine state, and their presence among the most influential political circles in the fifteenth century must have contributed to the creation and maintenance of their connections to Italy and their banking endeavours.

The siege of Constantinople may have contributed to stabilising this section of the elite and, in part, to its enrichment, thanks to the black market and the still open maritime trade routes. Many of these 'new' families had belonged in the past to the provincial elite, such as Notaras and Eudaimonoïoannes who both hailed from Monembasia, a city with a strong tradition in trade. The middle classes did not disappear, nor were they degraded to the lower classes. Some of their members owned considerable property. Individuals of the upper middle stratum retained their chances of achieving some political power as *archontes* of the *politeia*, that is, possibly as representatives of the common citizens. Some of this upper middle stratum came to the fore in exactly this period, around the turn of the fifteenth century. They did not constitute ephemeral cases but, having achieved stability and acceptance into the elite through marriage and the acquisition of offices, in addition to their wealth, they experienced social ascent, as is documented in the cases of the Argyropoulos and Memales

<sup>183</sup> Kugeas, 'Notizbuch', 149–50.

families. This did not change in any event the fact that the common people were not collectively regarded as part of the political system and that they could hardly influence governmental decisions.

The need for a petition to the emperor was undoubtedly reduced, as imperial privileges were *de facto* less important in the fifteenth century. The reduced ability to distribute privileges and the increased importance of urban activities as a source of economic power must have reduced to some extent the imperial power and made the elite more secure and more independent regarding a larger part of their wealth. However, the higher elite, at least, still proved the main supporter of the imperial power. As the civil elite was wrestling for the few lesser offices in whatever remained of the central administration, so too the higher elite still sought to acquire offices, titles and influence on the emperor. They continued to form a large intricate network, and were the backbone of support to every emperor. The preservation of the governmental power, which notably – and unlike in the early Palaiologan period – remained unchallenged, as did the dynastic rule of the Palaiologoi, undeniably served their interests. Most of them remained in Constantinople, supported the emperor in his plans for the Union of the Churches (and his hopes for consequent aid from the West), fought against the Turks and never denounced their identity as Romaioi. They were also, however, smart enough to seek Genoese or Venetian citizenship, both to advance their financial interests and to secure their future, in case the empire was no more. With the fall of Byzantium, those who did not perish left for the West by utilising the financial, political or cultural contacts that they had previously created.

## Conclusion: The Order and the Structures of the Social System

Late Byzantine society was highly stratified. This stratification was not along the lines of estates and orders: social groups based on the specific function(s) that each might offer to the society. Although Byzantium recognised both legal and occupational categories of people, the basis of social stratification lay elsewhere. The Byzantines, as revealed by contemporary sources, perceived their society as divided between essentially two categories: the rich, or *archontes*, and the poor, or *dēmos*. Although this schema might seem rather basic to modern eyes, it reflected to a large degree the material realities of the late empire. The elite maintained direct possession of the most important sources of wealth – land and real estate – or at least maintained indirect control and exploitation of them through the institution of *oikonomia*. The continuous occupation of governmental posts by generations of the same families was ensured by competence (including their disposition, qualifications and the possession of social networks and distinguished ancestry) and by the possession of a basic level of wealth. In turn, these posts not only contributed to higher social status, but were themselves sources of wealth. Precisely the possession of wealth helped them maintain a distinctive way of life, and the possession of offices and titles gave them political power. These two factors, in turn, in addition to specific personal traits (such as education, subtlety, valour, prudence), made the main contributions to their social prestige.

These three elements – economic, political and social – represent the division of society in terms of controlling the sources of wealth, maintaining access to positions of political authority and power and realising a prestigious position in society. All these elements were inextricably tied together and were *necessarily* held by the elite. Status incongruence is not often encountered, though there was usually an intermediate state before the final step of social ascent or descent of a family or an individual.



On the lower end of the social pyramid, the common people – the poor – were characterised by the lack or insufficiency of the three chief elements of social power: political power, economic power and social prestige. Their houses, their shops, their herds and their land were owned by the elite, whom they often laboured for as domestic servants or wage workers. Waged employment did not place someone in a socially superior position to a servant, for they were also treated and regarded as ‘servants’, and felt themselves to be so. Political power was vested upon the different offices, titles and other unofficial positions and these were extremely unlikely to have been held by the common people. By itself, this is nothing extraordinary for most pre-modern European societies. What reinforced its intensity was the lack of any political organisation of the *dēmos*, the body of common citizens, which diminished its potential to function as a socio-political group and exert pressure for its claims. There were no assemblies in which the common people could regularly participate in, and there were no sub-groupings, such as confraternities or guilds, that would address their demands. The *dēmarchoi*, where they even existed (that is, only in Constantinople and Thessalonike), were appointed by the state, had specific administrative functions and served more to keep the population in check than to represent it. Certainly, around the middle of the fourteenth century, particularly at the time of the second civil war, there emerged some trends for greater participation by the middle and the lower social layers. Large popular councils were formed, both in Constantinople and in provincial cities, to deliberate on crucial issues. This was lost altogether soon afterwards, but a few of the prominent private citizens – about whom we know very little – were considered worthy of consultation and participated in broad convocations on several occasions.

In the countryside, most of the peasants were dependent. The landlord did not have any sort of political or judicial authority in his domain, unlike fiefs in most of contemporary Latin Christendom. Furthermore, their social power was reduced by the fact that their domains were scattered in the same region (or in more than one region in the case of large institutions and higher aristocrats), that these domains often did not include any attached peasants, but had to be cultivated by wage work, and that whole villages were divided among different landlords. The dependence of the *paroikoi* was not personal but essentially fiscal. The *paroikos* had fiscal obligations, to pay their taxes and other dues to the landlord: a fixed rent on the produce of the demesne land that they assumed to cultivate, to provide to the landlord corvées on certain days each year (in most cases) and, if the peasant died childless, his property was inherited by the landlord (a privilege otherwise reserved to the state). The status of *paroikos* was

inherited only by those who assumed these responsibilities and, in fact, there was a great degree of geographical mobility, considering that peasants disappear routinely from our records. On top of that, *paroikoi* were in possession of private property, mostly animals, but also land and especially vineyards and orchards, for which they owed a typical basic tax, which in the past they would have owed to the state. Since these resources were unevenly owned, inequality prevailed among the *paroikoi*. The demesne land given out for rent was not usually allocated equally either, albeit some rare occurrences of periodic (re)distribution are attested. Several *paroikoi* were able to achieve a sizeable income, comparable to the income of some of the lesser landlords. The demographic conditions contributed to this. Population rose until the mid-fourteenth century, but not to an unsustainable level, as it did in many parts of Western Europe during this period. This is suggested by the evidence of the mid-fifteenth century Ottoman tax cadasters, which registered on most occasions a larger population for the same settlements than that recorded in early fourteenth-century Byzantine records. Land was often available and this can be inferred also by the rather low prices attested. Nevertheless, the fall in population in the second half of the fourteenth century seemingly contributed to higher living standards, larger peasant properties and less inequality.

The observed continuity of the upper stratum of society throughout the period under consideration allows us to speak safely of the existence of an aristocracy in the late Byzantine period. Opportunities for social ascent into this higher elite were seriously limited. People such as Manuel Tagaris, Alexios Apokaukos and Ioannes Batatzes may have experienced social ascent thanks to their possession of wealth (Apokaukos), or virtues and imperial favour (Tagaris), but their rise was probably not as impressive as it seems; their families may already have belonged to this upper stratum, albeit lower down in the hierarchy. The most effective route for social ascent to the higher elite remained imperial service, into which these people had already entered. An individual would gain economic, political and social power through the acquisition of offices, titles and marriage alliances with the imperial family or other noble families. The late Palaiologan period turned up families such as Goudeles and Notaras, who managed to enrich themselves outside imperial service, thanks to their trading and banking activities. Nonetheless, in these cases too, the strategy they pursued to maintain their position was entry into imperial service, association through marriage with noble families, and the adoption of a similar lifestyle. Even local lords, governing provinces in the periphery autonomously, such as the Gattilusi, still strove to acquire connections with the imperial family and government and used

them as legitimising tools to the local populace. They did not seek alternative sources of social and political power.

The most practical means of obtaining a good position in the official hierarchy was through the support of a socio-political network. Powerful patrons used their position and influence to help promote their trusted followers, who might in turn support their patrons in their political aspirations. There were other routes to social ascent such as education and the service in the Church. The Church was, however, also dominated by elite families, who occupied most of the positions, and was split into different factions that they led, which others needed to join to achieve a successful career. Education was also often regarded by the lesser classes as the prerequisite to enter imperial service, while being an intellectual also implied participation in a literary network that would maintain a man's position among the educated milieu and the social elite, and ensure an income. Only very few achieved social ascent thanks to their education without entering imperial or elite service. A noteworthy such exception was the scholar Ioseph the Philosopher.

Even if Byzantine society remained 'open' to social ascent theoretically, the elite had created effective barriers to safeguard its position. Hierarchy, conceived as derived from divine order, was central to the Byzantine social structure. Hierarchy needed to be preserved: everyone was thought to have their accorded place and should remain in it. Titles in the official hierarchy, honorific epithets, lifestyle, gestures and positioning, snobbery and demands for deference from the socially inferior, were the means by which a closed group was created. For the sake of social harmony two major mechanisms permitted ascent: patronage and social assimilation. Patronage was the primary means for an individual to achieve social ascent and, once this was accomplished, social assimilation, that is, compliance with the rules that generated social prestige – such as the adoption of a specific lifestyle, entry into imperial service, association with other families of the same standing, and the like – was essential to recognition as a peer within the elite.

There were very few voices in the late Byzantine period that stressed the concept of equality, and even fewer that openly resisted this 'divine order'. Yet the ostensible compliance with the rules of hierarchy and the dialectics of deference by social inferiors did not eliminate resistance or the use of these factors as a means to legitimate their claims. Although no peasant social revolts or riots are recorded in late Byzantium, individual peasants and village communities sometimes resisted the demands of their landlords. Although no urban social revolts are recorded either, there was social turmoil among the poor because of its mistreatment by the upper

class, which was converted into a disinclination to fight against enemies. The lesser military elite also felt the same grievance against the higher aristocracy and this was voiced by more popular texts, such as the *Story of Belisarios*. The grievance was recognised by some within the government, as certain actions of Andronikos III demonstrate. Non-elite educated people could produce extraordinary texts denouncing social compliance, such as the *Dialogue between the rich and poor* of Alexios Makrembolites. The most capable could exploit the concept of philanthropy and invert the dialectics of deference to acquire a share of the excess economic or political capital of the elite, as is revealed by letters of lower-born intellectuals such as Michael Gabras and Theodoros Hyrtakenos.

Despite the usefulness of this schema, the division of rich and poor, it does not fully describe the structure of Byzantine society. Numerous social elements existed that did not fit into this binary schema, such as common soldiers, independent peasants or artisans and merchants in the towns. In fact, they formed a middle class, an intermediate category between the elite and the common people. People of this stratum were not dependent, unlike the lower segments of the urban population who were dependent either as servants in the *oikos* of a powerful man or as wage workers earning their daily bread, and unlike the dependent peasants in the countryside, the *paroikoi*. Even if some of them were in the service of the elite, as professional scholars, teachers, financial curators or secretaries, they had a greater degree of financial and social security than the lower layers of society, and many of them could be in the service of multiple elite members. At the same time, however, they did not belong to the privileged elite: they did not assume any significant offices in local or central government, in the army or in the Church. Even if some common soldiers were privileged, in comparison with the *paroikoi*, with the possession of a small *oikonomia* or, even in some extraordinary cases, with a handful of dependent peasants, their level of wealth positioned them closer to the *paroikoi* than to the elite. But it should be recalled that the Byzantines could not easily integrate elements that did not fit their two-fold distinction. For this reason the concept of a middle class was rather alien to Byzantium. The designation *mesoi* is very rare and does not refer to a specific social group. It derives rather from the Aristotelian *mesotēs* and from the Byzantine ideal of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*); on occasion people of the upper strata of society may have been included as well.

The borderlines among these groups are not clear-cut. The upper layers of the middle class in the cities had the opportunity, through their engagement in trade, to achieve substantial wealth. But it was only through their integration into the state hierarchy and through marriages to aristocratic

families that they could maintain a certain degree of family continuity and be considered an integral part of the elite. Koumouses in Constantinople around 1400 may have possessed substantial wealth compared with many contemporary aristocrats, but his family remained obscure after him, in contrast to the Argyropouloi. Some of these people might obtain certain lower offices in the Church or in the state administration. Perhaps this is the reason for the periodic occurrence of otherwise unknown names as notaries, or the great number of people from different families and the lack of continuity that can be observed among the holders of lesser offices among the metropolitan clergy of Serres and Zichna (that is, below the office of *prōtonotarios*). At the same time in the countryside there was always a free peasantry, not tied to the obligations of a dependent peasant, a *paroikos*, but without access to offices and titles in the state or ecclesiastical administrations, lacking distinguished social status (as is evidenced, for example, by the lack of honorary epithets), with insufficient economic strength to desist from cultivating their land personally and make others dependent on them instead. They are hard to track, owing to the scarcity of pertinent information, but they are always present and the vicissitudes of the late Palaiologan period may have favoured an increase in their numbers.

Just as the middle class was composed of different elements, so too the elite was not uniform. First, there are striking differences between the power elite or higher aristocracy (first-tier elite) and the lesser (or second-tier) elite. The higher aristocracy consisted of families – whose members may have numbered a few hundred in total – who monopolised the most important governmental offices and the highest titles. They possessed vast wealth, both moveable and immoveable, and were responsible for the most important political decisions. By constructing and assuming the notion of nobility, they effectively placed themselves far above the ordinary people and the lesser elite. The members of the lesser elite were not considered noble. The distance between these two groups was arguably greater than the distance from the lesser elite to the middle classes.

But there were distinctions beyond the possession of wealth and titles. Family tradition was very strong in Byzantium and this very often had implications for an individual's career. The social capital of the father was used to advance his son(s), and it was transmitted to them exactly like financial capital. This would be most successfully accomplished in the same domain of administration. In extreme cases one can see a son having the same title as his father as if it were part of the latter's inheritance.<sup>1</sup> The analysis has revealed

<sup>1</sup> See for example the title of *meḡas logothetēs*, occupied by Georgios and Konstantinos Akropolites and later by Theodoros and his son Nikephoros Metochites.

that there were two main traditions in the lesser elite: the military and the civil. The civil elite included men identified with service in the domains of state and finance administration, Church administration and justice, and included many scholars. The military elite embraced the officers of the army and military officials while its members commonly held *pronoiai* for their military service. It should be stressed that the differences between these two groups were less in social status, political stance or economic power than in family tradition. This division is hardly applicable to the families of the higher aristocracy, whose members routinely occupied higher offices in both the military and the central civil administration.

This picture does not differ markedly from that presented during previous centuries. Since at least the eleventh century, there were a handful of important families that nearly monopolised power and competed amongst themselves for acquisition of it. The twelfth century, especially, saw the formation of a closed group, a faction, made up of the extended imperial family that exclusively monopolised political power, was immensely wealthy, claimed nobility and had landed possessions extending across the empire's territory, while it was based in Constantinople. In contrast to the twelfth century, however, the power elite of the Palaiologan period did not comprise one clan, it was composed of different factions and families, some of whom could claim nobility without necessarily having any connection to the Palaiologoi; nor did all reside in Constantinople. Consequently, the Palaiologan higher elite was broader and favoured a limited and controlled expansion of its ranks in the provinces, either through the establishment in these provinces of some members of the grand families (for instance the Tornikes and Laskaris families in Serres), or through the incorporation of elements from the local elite, such as the TzAMPLAKONES in eastern Macedonia. These two factors, in addition to the availability of sufficient resources to meet elite expectations, provided social stability in the elite for most of the early Palaiologan period, whereas in the Komnenian period, prominent provincial families had grown in power largely in antagonism to the government and the Constantinopolitan elite.

The late Palaiologan period saw some changes to this system. The vast landed possessions of the elite were lost to new conquerors, yet its members maintained direct possession or control of the remaining sources of wealth. But their financial positions deteriorated significantly in absolute terms. Many of the elite families lost their fortunes and faced economic difficulties. There were, perhaps for the first time since the eleventh century, middle class people who enjoyed comparable wealth. Byzantine society had always remained, albeit to varying degrees, open to the upper middle class, and this openness became accelerated in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

Even if men such as Kantakouzenos and Gregoras could take aim, in the form of *psogos*, at the acquisition of extreme wealth by some of their enemies, such as Apokaukos or Batatzes, the reality was that these people had acquired not only wealth but also high social status; they were treated as equals by the rest of the higher elite, while even their accusers would make use of the very same sources of wealth.

The stability of the elite was also broken during the late Palaiologan period regarding a more important aspect. The presence of members of the higher aristocracy in the provinces and the availability of resources had kept the lesser provincial elite close and faithful to the imperial authority, despite their evident lack of prospects for serious political power. When resources were no longer sufficiently abundant to meet the demands of the provincial and central elites, and as foreign powers arrived in the area, the lesser elite often preferred to join rather than to fight the incomers. The higher aristocracy, which owed its position to and was dependent on the imperial authority, then constituted the bulk of the forces loyal to the imperial authority up to the fall of Constantinople, but eventually it was defeated on the political field on most occasions by the lesser local elite. All this time the lesser local elite had grown in power and formed powerful town councils, which often impeded or had to be seriously considered in local affairs by the imperial authority, as represented by the local governors.

In the end, it was not so much social inequality that was the reason for the collapse of Byzantine society as the underdevelopment of traditional horizontal social groups. Civic or village communities, guilds, confraternities and companies of men-at-arms were of minor importance to the social formation of Byzantium. Even networks of monastic communities, the most prominent example being Mt Athos, demonstrated little consistent cooperation among themselves. The Church itself should not be treated as a unified or cohesive institution. Even if specific families usually monopolised the most important offices of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, their sources of economic power did not differ greatly from those of the other elite members; real estate, land, trade and so on were combined in their incomes from their ecclesiastical duties. Besides, other members of their families were well integrated in the state administration. Given also that ecclesiastical politics was dominated by factionalism and that the emperor was always the supreme authority who chose the patriarch and permitted or directed the election of metropolitans and the highest officials of the patriarchal clergy, the Church could hardly achieve (or even deliberate) a unified stance against the state. Factions of the ecclesiastical administration (maybe including the patriarch) may have held stances opposed to government policy, but this by no means made the ecclesiastical officials a coherent political or social group.

In fact, horizontal and vertical social ties were abundant in Byzantium, but they did not take the strong form of similar social ties in medieval Western Europe. There were no constitutionally formalised vertical ties of dependence, but every aristocratic *oikos* included servants and other dependants, and there was an admirable degree of loyalty in these relationships. Such ties took the form of reciprocal patronage; the clients expected financial security and possibly social ascent; the patrons expected support in return. Loyalties in the second civil war and other conflicts of this period were to a large degree predefined by membership of already established unofficial networks; these were either patronage networks or networks of family relations.

Byzantium lacked neither social status groups nor social classes. In fact, as noted previously, the late Byzantine elite combined in harmony the concepts of both social status and social class. The elite, and especially the higher aristocracy, were aware of their place in society, of their wealth and their political power, while their social inferiors were necessarily also fully aware of them. But the two social mechanisms discussed above – social assimilation and patronage – seriously hindered the development of a social class consciousness in Byzantium. Patronage was commonly accompanied by a belief that the social system was immutable, while by the mere fact that these ties were not institutionalised or compulsory but free and informal, they allowed great flexibility and control for the sake of social peace. Social assimilation, on the other hand, meant that once someone achieved social ascent, they ceased identifying with the interests of their former social group, adopting their new position's interests and culture. Even the elite never evolved into a fully self-conscious social group. Every elite family strove individually to maintain its own status and the welfare of its social network.

The implications of these conditions eventually proved detrimental for Byzantium. Horizontal social ties were consolidated by social networks of families and conserved, for the most part, through marriage strategies and, secondarily, friendship. Social and political solidarities not consolidated by a network of families but maintained only through friendship or common political/social interest were far less stable, more uncertain and ephemeral. The emperor, the Church, the people, the merchants and the elite families were all trapped in this situation. Radical reforms were almost impossible and the government (that is, the network around the emperor as its central node) responded to crisis situations through individual or short-term measures that did not solve the underlying problem. In the West, guilds and merchants, royal authority, towns and feudal lords, the Church and the state, nobles and commoners, contended to achieve power. In fact, all



these elements created social distress; but at least each of these groups had a clear direction for society, the economy and politics. As Michael Angold has remarked, 'the trouble with Byzantium is that change never followed any clear direction.'<sup>2</sup> Having in mind what we have already said, this lack of clear direction can be attributed to the social system of Byzantium. The end of Byzantium was not a failure of the state, but a failure of society.

<sup>2</sup> Angold, 'Review of Harris, *End of Byzantium*'.



# Appendices



Table 26 Officials in the Palaiologan era by title<sup>1</sup>.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
1. Kaisaras			
Alexios Komnenos	1259–1270		26894
<b>Strategopoulos</b>			
Roger de Flor	<b>1305–</b>	G	24386
Ioannes Palaiologos	<b>1325/1326</b>	C	21479
Alexios Angelos	1381–1389		29750
Philanthropenos			
Manuel Angelos Philanthropenos	1392– <b>1394</b>		29771
2. Megas domestikos			
Alexios Philes	1259–1263	G	29809
Michael Palaiologos	1272– <b>1284</b> ↓	N	27505
<b>Tarchaneiotes</b> <sup>2</sup>			
Theodoros Komnenos Angelos	1287	G	196 = 12102 <sup>3</sup>
Ioannes Angelos Senachereim	1296		25150
Alexios Raoul	1303		24109
Ioannes (VI) Angelos	1325– <b>1341</b>	G	10973
<b>Palaiologos Kantakouzenos</b>			
Stephanos Chreles	c. 1340– <b>1342</b>		30989
Alexios Atuemes Laskaris	1355–1369	U	1640=17977 <sup>4</sup>
<b>Metochites</b>			
Alexios Doukas Raoul	1337(?)–1366	U	24111 <sup>5</sup>
(Konstantinos?) Tarchaneiotes	<b>–1355</b>		<b>27468=27494?</b>
Demetrios Palaiologos	1357–1375	C, U	21455
Andronikos Palaiologos	1435– <b>1453</b>	C	10957
<b>Kantakouzenos</b>			

<sup>1</sup> A similar earlier list has been compiled in Kyritses, ‘The Byzantine aristocracy’. Yet the table concerns officials until roughly the middle of the fourteenth century; some then unpublished sources are not included and the author believes that only one office could be held by an individual in any period, which has created many discrepancies between the two lists.

<sup>2</sup> Attested with three titles simultaneously *prōtosebastos*, *prōtobestiarios*, *meegas domestikos*: MM IV, 102 (c. 1283).

<sup>3</sup> Mistakenly the editors of PLP have assigned two different entries for one person: MM IV, 276 and 279.

<sup>4</sup> The uncle of Ioannes V and *meegas domestikos* Alexios Atuemes in 1357 (MM III, 126) should be identified as Alexios Laskaris Metochites. In *Acts Vatopedi* II, 342 he is referred to as an uncle of the emperor, *meegas domestikos* Alexios Atuemes Metochites with a deceased father *meegas logothetēs* (i.e. Theodoros Metochites), and in the next document (*Acts Vatopedi* II, 347), he signs as Alexios Laskaris Metochites without the Atuemes.

<sup>5</sup> The first document mentioning Raoul as *meegas domestikos* is dated either 1337 or 1353, but I am inclined to accept the former. Raoul remained *meegas domestikos* in the Serbian empire.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
3. Panhypersebastos			
Georgios Zagarommates	1259–1261	U	6417
Ioannes Palaiologos	<b>1305–1325/26</b>	C	21479
<b>Nikephoros</b> Doukas Angelos Orsini	1340–1347	G	222
Isaakios Palaiologos <b>Asanes</b>	<b>1341</b> –bef. 1351	U	1494
Andronikos Asanes	1351	N	91369
Leon Kalothetos	1358		10617
Stephanos Kalothetos	1366		10622
TzAMPLAKON	1371		27742
<i>Stephanos Koreses</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>1388–1392/3</i>		<i>13184</i>
Tompros	Long bef. 1401		29067 <sup>7</sup>
4. Prōtobestiarios			
Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Angelos <b>Raoul</b>	<b>1259–c. 1274</b>	C	24125
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes	c.1281– <b>1284</b>	U	27505
Theodoros Boïlas <b>Mouzalon</b>	1291		19439
Andronikos <b>Angelos</b>	1326– <b>1328</b>	C	21435
Kommenos Doukas <b>Palaiologos</b>			
Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos <b>Synadenos</b>	<b>1342–1343</b>	U	27120
<i>Demetrios Mygares</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>1392/3</i>		<i>19836</i>
5. Megas doux			
Michael Tzamantouros <b>Laskaris</b>	1259–1269		14554
Alexios Doukas <b>Philanthropenos</b> (1)	<b>1273–1274</b>	R	29751
Licario	<b>1277–1280</b>		8154
Roger de Flor	<b>1303–1305</b>	G	24386
Berenguer d'Entenca	<b>1304</b>		27580
Ferran Ximénes de Arenós	<b>1307–</b>		27944

<sup>6</sup> In semi-independent Thessaly.

<sup>7</sup> Tompros, according to an 'old chrysobull', had been awarded some houses in Constantinople (MM II, 552). I wonder whether he can be identified as Ioannes Dobrotitsa (PLP, no. 29073), despot in Dobrudja in 1366–85. During the second civil war, Dobrotitsa occupied the city of Medeia on the Thracian Black Sea coastline and Kantakouzenos forced him to surrender after an agreement by which Kantakouzenos made Dobrotitsa 'one of the most notable Romaioi', obviously by conferring high titles upon him: Kant.: 3:62–3. Only later did Dobrotitsa go to Dobrudja, where he ruled autonomously from the Bulgarian kingdom.

<sup>8</sup> In semi-independent Thessaly.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
<b>Syrgiannes</b> Philanthropenos Komnenos Palaiologos	1321–1328/9	N, G	27167
Isaakios Asanes	–1341 ↑	U	1194
Alexios Doukas Dishypatos	<b>1341–1345</b>		1180
<b>Apokaukos</b>			
Asomatianos TzAMPLAKON	1348–1349		27753
<i>Paulos Mamonas</i> <sup>9</sup>	–1416/1417		16580
<i>Manuel Phrangopoulos</i> <sup>10</sup>	1429		30139
<i>Paraspondylos</i> <sup>11</sup>	1436		21905
Alexandros Laskaris	mid-15 <sup>th</sup> c.		14524
Loukas Notaras	c. 1441– <b>1453</b>		20730
6. Prōtostrator			
Andronikos Palaiologos	1259–1279	C	21432
Alexios Doukas	<b>1259–1274</b>	C	29751
<b>Philanthropenos (1)</b>			
Andronikos Doukas Aprenos	c. 1266		1207
Çauşbaşı	1279– <b>1280</b>		27813
Michael Strategopoulos	1283–1293	U	26898
Michael Doukas Glabas	1302–1304		27505
<b>Tarchaneiotēs</b>			
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	1315?	N	29815
Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos	<b>1321–1342</b> ↑	U	27120
<b>Synadenos</b>			
Andronikos Palaiologos	<b>1342–1344</b>	C	21433
Georgios Phakrases	1346–1355		29575
Andreas Phakeolatos	1347–1354		29559
Konstantinos Tarchaneiotēs	1351–1352		<b>27494=27468?</b>
Manasses Tarchaneiotēs (monk)	1364		27498
Ioannes Palaiologos	1375–1377	C	21484
Chrysos	bet. 1376 and 1379		31190
<i>Sarakenopoulos</i> <sup>12</sup>	1395		24855
Manuel Kantakouzenos	1420–1429		10979
<i>Manuel Phrangopoulos</i> <sup>13</sup>	– <b>1429</b>		30139
<i>Ioannes Phrangopoulos</i> <sup>14</sup>	1429–1443		30100

<sup>9</sup> In Morea.<sup>10</sup> In Morea.<sup>11</sup> In Morea.<sup>12</sup> In Morea.<sup>13</sup> In Morea.<sup>14</sup> In Morea.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Markos Palaiologos Iagaris	1429/1430		7811
Palaiologos	<b>1453</b>		21416
<i>Nikolaos Sebastopoulos</i>	<i>1459</i>		<i>25084</i>
7. Megas logothetēs			
Georgios Akropolites	1255– <b>1282</b>		518
Theodoros Boilas <b>Mouzalon</b>	1282– <b>1294</b> ↑		19439
Konstantinos Akropolites	c. 1294–1321		520
Theodoros Metochites	<b>1321–1328</b>	S	17982
Ioannes Gabalas	<b>1343–1344</b>		93286
Ioannes Palaiologos <b>Raoul</b>	1344	U	24126
Nikephoros Laskaris	1355–1357	U	17986
<b>Metochites</b>			
Georgios Sphrantzes	<b>1451–1453</b>		27278
8. Megas stratopedarchēs			
Balaneidiotes	1260–bef. 1266		2057
Ioannes Komnenos Doukas	1275/76–1283	G	27125
Angelos <b>Synadenos</b>			
Libadarios	1296?		14859
Raoul	c. 1300		24105
Senachereim Angelos	1310/11–1315?	R	25146
Andronikos Palaiologos	1321–1324	R	21428
Manuel Tagaris	1321–1329	G	27400
Sphrantzes Palaiologos	1334–1339		27282
Andronikos Palaiologos (2)	<b>1341–1342</b>	C	21433
Georgios Choumnos	<b>1341–1342</b>	U	30945
Ioannes Batatzes	<b>1344–1345</b>		2518
Demetrios TzAMPLAKON	1345–1366/67	G	27755
Georgios Tagaris	1346–1355		27399
Michael Philanthropenos	1350?	C	29774
Georgios Synadenos <b>Astras</b>	<b>1354</b> –bef. 1366	S	1598
Demetrios Angelos <b>Metochites</b>	1355		17980
Alexios	<b>1358</b> –1363 (bef. 1373)	G	91128
Markos Palaiologos <b>Iagaris</b>	<b>1430</b> –		7811
Phrangopoulos	bef. 1437		30090
Demetrios Palaiologos	1442 <sup>15</sup> – <b>1453</b>		17981
<b>Metochites</b>			

<sup>15</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* III, 325.



Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
9. Megas primmikērios			
Michael Palaiologos <b>Tarchaneiotes</b>	1267–1272 ↑	C	27505
Kasianos	1305– <b>1306</b>		11346
Ioannes Palaiologos Philes	1310 ↑	N	29815
Nikephoros Basilikos	1333 <sup>16</sup> –1342		2470
Manuel Komnenos Raoul <b>Asanes</b>	bef. 1347 ↑	G	1506
Miekras <sup>17</sup>	1340		18077
Ioannes Doukas <b>Apokaukos</b>	1344– <b>1346</b>		1187
Andronikos Palaiologos <b>Asanes</b>	1351–1383	R	1488
Alexios	1357 ↑	G	91128
Ioannes	<b>1357</b> –1386	G	92154
Demetrios Phakrases	1362–1377		29576
Georgios Isaris	1366 ↓		92111
Ioannes Palaiologos	1373 ↑	C	21484
Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites	1435–1437 ↑		17981
<i>Lazaros</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>1458</i>		<i>14337</i>
10. Megas konostaulos			
Michael Kantakouzenos	a. 1262		10984
Andronikos Tarchaneiotes	1267/8–1272/3	N	27475
Michael Kaballarios	– <b>1276</b>		10044
Licario	<b>1276</b> –1277 ↑		8154
Michael Doukas <b>Glabas</b> <b>Tarchaneiotes</b>	a. 1282–1297 ↑		27504
Michael Tornikes	1320	R	29132
Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos <b>Synadenos</b>	1321/2–1333	C	27126
Alexios Kabasilas	<b>1339</b> –		10073
Michael Senachereim <b>Monomachos</b>	<b>1342/3</b> –		19306
Georgios Isaris	– <b>1373</b>		92111

<sup>16</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 399.

<sup>17</sup> In Thessaly; although attested during the first Palaiologan dominion of Thessaly (1333–48), it is quite possible that officials of the state of Thessaly managed to retain their titles due to the peaceful annexation in 1333. This would explain why such a high title was occupied by a local provincial *archōn*.

<sup>18</sup> In Morea.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
[11. Epi tou kanikleiou] <sup>19</sup>			
Nikephoros Alyates	1258–1261		721
Nikephoros Choumnos	<b>1295–1327</b>	S	30961
Ioannes Melitiniotes	14 <sup>th</sup> c. (1330–1340s?)		<b>17854=17853?</b>
Manuel Angelos	1354–1370		91040
Alexios Palaiologos TzAMPLAKON	1438		27751
12. Prōtosebastos			
Michael Nestongos	<b>1259–1271/2</b>	C	20726
Michael Palaiologos	bef. 1267 ↑	N	27505
<b>Tarchaneiotes</b>			
Theodoros Boïlas <b>Mouzalón</b>	1291 ↑		19439
Tarchaneiotes	1293–1295		27470
Andronikos <b>Angelos</b>	1326 ↑	C	21435
<b>Kommenos Doukas Palaiologos</b>			
Stephanos Chreles	1334/35 ↑		30989
Konstantinos Komnenos <b>Palaiologos Raoul</b>	First half of 14 <sup>th</sup> c.		<b>24127=21494?</b>
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1342		<b>21494=24127?</b>
Ioannes Gabalas	1341– <b>1342</b> ↑		93286
Ioannes Palaiologos <b>Raoul</b>	1342–1343 ↑	U	24126
Leon Kalothetos	1345–1349 ↑		10617
Alexios Atuemes Laskaris	1349–1350 ↑	U	1640=17977
<b>Metochites</b>			
Ioannes	– <b>1357</b> ↑	G	92154
13. Pinkernēs			
Alexios Doukas Nestongos	1267	C	20727
Libadarios	<b>1272–</b>		92538
Manuel Komnenos Raoul	1276/77– <b>1279</b>	C	24132
Michael Doukas <b>Glabas</b>	1282 ↑		27504
<b>Tarchaneiotes</b>			
Alexios Doukas <b>Philanthropenos</b>	1293–1336	N, U	29752
Senachereim Angelos	1305–1306 ↑	R	25146
<b>Syrgiannes</b> Philanthropenos	1319–1321 ↑	N	27167
<b>Kommenos Palaiologos</b>			
Ioannes Angelos	1336–1342 ↑	R	91038
Demetrios Tornikes	1358–1378		29123

<sup>19</sup> This title is missing from the list of Pseudo-Kodinos, but it can be found in other lists and this is its accorded place.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Laskaris	1366/67		92513
<i>Theodoros Sebastopoulos</i> <sup>20</sup>	1381/82		25082
14. Kouropalates			
Michael Doukas <b>Glabas</b>	1282 ↑		27504
<b>Tarchaneiotes</b>			
Oumbertopoulos	–1285		21163
15 and 16. Parakoimōmenos tēs sphendonēs and tou koitōnos <sup>21</sup>			
Basileios Basilikos (of <i>koitōn</i> )	1259/61–1281		2458
Ioannes Makrenos	1262–1263		92605
Gabriel Sphrantzes (of <i>sphendonē</i> )	bef. 1280		27276
Konstantinos Doukas Nestongos	1280–1307?	U	20201
Raoul	c. 1300		24106
Dionysios Drimys (of <i>sphendonē</i> )	c. 1300		5829
Ioannes Choumnos (of <i>koitōn</i> )	1307		30954
Ioannes Choumnos (of <i>sphendonē</i> )	1307–1338		30954
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1320		10955
Alexios Doukas Dishypatos <b>Apokaukos</b>	1321–1341 ↑		1180
Ioannes Phakrases	c. 1321–1328		29580
Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos <b>Tornikes</b>	1324–1327	R	29122
Demetrios (Palaiologos Tornikes?)	1342	U	5298=29124?
Manuel Sergopoulos (of <i>sphendonē</i> )	bet. 1347 and 1354		25210
Palaiologos	1358		N/A <sup>22</sup>
<i>Angelos Kalothetos</i> <sup>23</sup>	1362		209
Theophylaktos Dermokaites	1367		91760
17. Prōtobestiariētēs			
Aprenos	–1280		1206
Demetrios Mourinos	1279–1281	P	19512 <sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In Thessaly during the dominion of the Philanthropenoi (1373–94).

<sup>21</sup> I have included both titles as one entry because it is often not specified what kind of *parakoimōmenos* one was.

<sup>22</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 275.

<sup>23</sup> In Morea.

<sup>24</sup> Demetrios Mourinos is erroneously listed as *prōtobestiarios* in PLP. Both Pach., 2:589 and the chrysobull of 1280/1 by Michael VIII (*Acts Dochetariou*, 107) refer to him as *prōtobestiariētēs*.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Libadarios	–1296		14859
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1324–1328	S	10956
Ioannes Doukas <b>Apokaukos</b>	1344 ↑		1187
Georgios Spanopoulos	1347–1348		26458
Diplobatatzes	1350		5509
Theodoros Palaiologos	c. 1381–1394	U	21461
Markos Palaiologos Iagaris	–1429 ↑		7811
Demetrios Palaiologos	1433 ↑		17981
<b>Metochites</b>			
Georgios Sphrantzes	1432–1451 ↑		27278
18. Logothetēs tou genikou			
Theodoros Boïlas <b>Mouzalos</b>	1277–1282 ↑		19439
Konstantinos Akropolites	1282–c.1294 ↑		520
Theodoros Metochites	1305–1321 ↑	S	17982
Ioannes Chrysoloras	c. 1367		31161
19. Domestikos tēs trapezēs			
Alexios Kaballarios	1270–1272/73		10034
Theodoros Doukas Palaiologos	1321 ↑	C	27120
<b>Synadenos</b>			
Phokas Maroules	1327		17157
20. Epi tēs trapezēs			
Bryennios	1272		3248
Michael Doukas	1286–1304	U	29777
Philanthropenos			
Palaiologos	bef. 1324		21411
Georgios Choumnos	1337–1342 ↑	U	30945
Laskaris	1348		14513
Stephanos Radenos	1358		N/A <sup>25</sup>
Angelos	1400		171
Ioannes Notaras	–1411/12		20729
21. Megas papias			
Michael Doukas <b>Glabas</b>	bef. 1282 ↑		27504
<b>Tarchaneiotes</b>			
Oumbertopoulos	–1285 ↑		21163
Nikolaos Komnenos Doukas	1300s		27507
Glabas <b>Tarchaneiotes</b>			
Ioannes (VI) Angelos	1320 ↑	N	10973
Palaiologos <b>Kantakouzenos</b>			
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1321–1324	N	21493

<sup>25</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 269 and 275.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	1327–1332	O	27748
Arsenios TzAMPLAKON	1332–1352	S	27752
Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas	1347–1369		92224
<i>Georgios Doukas Nestongos</i> <sup>26</sup>	1355–1360		20198 <sup>27</sup>
22. Eparchos <sup>28</sup>			
Konstantinos Chadenos	a. 1261	P	30346
Manuel Mouzalon	1285	P	19445
Hypertimos	bef. 1305		29501
Chalkeopoulos	bef. 1305		30410
Michael Senachereim	1327–1342	P	19306
<b>Monomachos</b>			
Andreas Palaiologos	1345 ↑		21425
Georgios Isaris	1348–1350 ↑		92111
Michael Doukas Arianites	bef. 1375		1312
23. Megas droungarios tēs biglas <sup>29</sup>			
*Andronikos Eonopolites	1286–1289		6713
Theodoros Mouzalon	c. 1300		19437
Theodoros Komnenos Philes	–c. 1300		N/A <sup>30</sup>
<b>Kantakouzenos</b>			
Theodoros Komnenos Philes	1302–1332 ?		29813
Demetrios Palaiologos	1324–1341	N, U	<b>29124</b> = 5298
<b>Tornikes</b>	(↑ ?)		
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1325		29131
<b>Tornikes</b>			
*Georgios Bryennios	1328		3251
Theodoros Palaiologos	1328	C	21463
Stephanos Palaiologos	1334		21537
Ioannes Gabalas	1341 ↑		93286
*Georgios Doukas Apokaukos	1342		1183
Johanne de Peralta	1347–1354		22404
*Manuel Bryennios <b>Laskaris</b>	1355		14548 <sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> In Serbian-occupied Serres.

<sup>27</sup> *Acts Prodomou* (B), 127; *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 308–10.

<sup>28</sup> This title does not imply that these people had the function of the prefect (*eparchoi*) of Constantinople as was the case in early and middle Byzantium. It was an honorific title and at least the last four of these *eparchoi* had no connection at all to Constantinople.

<sup>29</sup> Names marked with an asterisk are mentioned as simply *megaloi droungarioi* in the sources; it is less likely that this refers to the title *megas droungarios tou stolou* (see below).

<sup>30</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 174 and 176.

<sup>31</sup> There is no mention in PLP of his title, although a Demetrios Palaiologos and a *megas droungarios* sign the document as *apographeis* in Lemnos, while the seal on the document bears the name Manuel Laskaris (*Acts Lavra* III, 57 and 65–6). Later, there is reference to a tax assessor, Bryennios Laskaris (*Acts Lavra* III, 79).

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Demetrios Glabas	1366		91685
Komes	1366		92398
24. Megas hetaireiarchēs			
Leon Mouzalon	1280–1302		19443
Progonos Sgouros	1294/95	G	25060
Doukas Nestongos (2)	<b>1304</b> and <b>1305</b> <sup>32</sup>		20725
Georgios Sarantenos	1325	P	24901
Andronikos Exotrochos	1328– <b>1329</b>		6081
<i>Ioannes Margarites</i>	<i>1348</i> <sup>33</sup>		<i>16850</i>
Nikolaos Sigeros	1355– <b>1357</b>		25282
Tarchaneiotes	1355–1358 <sup>34</sup>		27469
Alexios Hyalon Laskaris	1369–1370		14526
Michael Kaballarios	bef. 1375		10026
Ioannes Laskaris Dishypatos	1437		5537
25. Megas chartouarios			
Libadarios	1284 ↑		14859 <sup>35</sup>
Michael Komnenos Philes	c. 1315?		29818
Konstantinos Palaiologos	1317	N <sup>36</sup>	21496
Andronikos Kantakouzenos	1322 ↑	S	10956
Ioannes Batatzes	1342 ↑		2518
Laskaris	1341		14515
Nikephoros Senachereim	1344		25155
Laskaris Metochites	1373–1376		17983
[26. Logothetēs tou dromou] <sup>37</sup>			
Basileios Metretopoulos	1267–1280		17987
Ioannes Glykys (later patriarch 1315–1319)	1295–1315		4271
27. Prōtasēkrētis			
Michael Kakos Senachereim	1259–1262		25154
Michael Neokaisarites	1274		20096
Manuel Neokaisarites	bet. 1274 and 1283		20094
Demetrios Iatropoulos	1295		7968

<sup>32</sup> Pach., 4:593–5 and 687: he was deposed but restored the following year.

<sup>33</sup> In Serbian-occupied Serres. He bears only the designation of *oikeios* during Byzantine rule.

<sup>34</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 270.

<sup>35</sup> Pach., 2:597: the title is missing from PLP.

<sup>36</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 282.

<sup>37</sup> The title is missing from the list of Pseudo-Kodinos, but it can be found in other lists and this is its hierarchical position.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Theodoros Neokasareites	end of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.		20091
Leon Bardales	c. 1300 <sup>38</sup> –1342		2183
<i>Georgios Philanthropenos</i> <sup>39</sup>	–1356/57		29758
<i>Manuel Philanthropenos</i> <sup>40</sup>	1380		29770
<i>Manuel Garares</i> <sup>41</sup>	1392/93		3554
Manuel Manikaïtes	1421		N/A <sup>42</sup>
28. Epi tou stratou			
Raoul	c. 1300		24101
Maroules	1305–1307		92644
Theodoros Doukas Mouzakios	1305/06		19428
Kabasilas	bef. 1321		10068
Jean de Giblet	1324/25		6589
Senachereim	1341		25138
Markos Doukas Glabas	1355–1370		19513
<b>Mourinos</b>			
<i>Orestes</i> <sup>43</sup>	1365/66		21097
29. Mystikos			
Ioannes Kaballarios	mid–13th century		92220
Nikephoros Choumnos	1293–1295 ↑	S	30961
Monomachos	1319/20		19295
Manuel Kinnamos	1342–1349		11724
Manuel Phialites	14th–15th c.		29718
30. Domestikos tōn scholōn			
Fernando Ahones	1305–1306		29632
Manuel Doukas Komnenos	1320		14549
<b>Laskaris(?)</b> <sup>44</sup>			
Gorianites	1358		N/A <sup>45</sup>

<sup>38</sup> According to Riehle, *Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie*, 103–4, at least two letters of Nikephoros Choumnos to Leon Bardales (Nikephoros Choumnos, *Letters*, ed. Boissonade, nos 75 and 78) are probably dated c. 1291–1300, certainly before 1315. It is possible, then, that for a short period, he had both the titles of *orphanotrophos* and *prōtasēkrētis*. It should be recalled that *prōtasēkrētis* still retained some judicial functions.

<sup>39</sup> In Serbian-occupied Ioannina.

<sup>40</sup> In Ioannina during the dominion of Thomas Preljubović (1366–84).

<sup>41</sup> In semi-independent Thessaly during the dominion of the Philanthropenoi (1373–94).

<sup>42</sup> Ganchou, 'L'ultime testament', 352.

<sup>43</sup> In Serbian-occupied Serres.

<sup>44</sup> *Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 131 and 134. Specified as *domestikos tōn dysikōn scholōn*. However, no such title is elsewhere recorded in the Palaiologan period. It might have been a different naming of this title or the correct reading may be *domestikos tōn dysikōn thematōn* (see title ranking no. 72). He signed simply as *domestikos of the scholai*. At the same time he was also *kephalē* in Thessalonike.

<sup>45</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 271.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
31. <i>Megas droungarios tou stolou</i>			
Gabalas	1241–1266/67	P	3293
Stephanos Mouzalon	–1303		19447
Ioannes Doukas Mouzalon	early 14th c.		19440
Ioannes Philanthropenos	1324		29766
Georgios Isaris	1344 ↑		92111
32. <i>Primmikērios tēs aulēs</i>			
Doukas Nestongos	–1304 ↑		20725
Ioannes Palaiologos	1324/25(?) <sup>46</sup> – 1342		21483
33. <i>Prōtospatharios</i> <sup>47</sup>			
Leontopardos	c. 1400		14723
34. <i>Megas archōn</i>			
Angelos Doukas Komnenos <b>Tarchaneiotes</b>	c. bet. 1295 and 1332		27473
Maroules	1303–1305 ↑		92644
Alexios Raoul	1321/22		24108
Demetrios Angelos	1332		190
Ioannes Paraspondylos	1342		21911
Kabasilas	1369–1377		(92224?) <sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Lampros, 'Πλαστὰ χρυσόβουλλα', 329 (the chrysobull is not fake, as is alleged by the title of the reference). There is a lacuna after *primmikērios* so it is not certain if he is a *primmikērios tēs aulēs*. The document is the grant of land to Ioannes Palaiologos, so it refers to a lay official, and there is no other official title entitled *primmikērios* of something.

<sup>47</sup> Two more manuscript scribes without a surname bear this title: PLP, nos 7426, 8731.

<sup>48</sup> Theocharides, 'Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας', identified the *mezas archōn* Kabasilas and the *mezas papias* Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas as one person, based on the title *megalē papiaina* of Anna Laskarina and the mention in the same 1377 document (*Acts Lavra* III, 111) from Serres of the *mezas archōn* Kabasilas as the *gambros* of the three Laskarides who sign this document (Konstantinos, Thomaïs and the *megalē papiaina*, Anna Laskarina): τοῦ γαμβροῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος τοῦ Καβάσιλα. The identification of the *mezas archōn* Kabasilas and the *mezas papias* Demetrios Kabasilas was eventually accepted by the editors of PLP, no. 92224 (but see earlier nos 10072 and 10084). I have four objections to this identification. First, Kabasilas could not be called the *gambros* of all of them, since he is not mentioned as the husband of Anna (who is listed among the siblings) in this document of 1377. In fact, he could well have been *gambros* of all of them as a brother of one of their spouses, i.e. brother- (not son)-in-law; this could make him possibly a brother of Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas, but only if we accept that Anna Laskarina was married to Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas and not to another, unknown to us, *mezas papias*. In fact, in Serbian-occupied Serres, there is attested another *mezas papias*, Georgios Doukas Nestongos (*Acts Chilandar* (Petit), 308 and 310). What if Anna Laskarina had married him and not Demetrios Kabasilas? Second objection, if indeed he was her husband and he had now assumed the title of *mezas archōn*, why was Anna still using her husband's older title as *megalē papiaina*? Third, the title *mezas archōn* attested in 1377 is inferior to *mezas papias*, with which Demetrios Kabasilas is attested in 1347; *mezas papias* is thirteen places



Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Antonios Mandromenos	1383		16621
35. <i>Tatas tēs aulēs</i>			
TzAMPLAKON	1272–		27747
Andronikos Eonopolites	1280/81 ↑		6713
Michael Senachereim	1317 <sup>49</sup> –1321 ↑	P	19306
<b>Monomachos</b>			
Manuel Allelouïas	1356		678
36. <i>Megas tzaousios</i>			
Nikephoros Arianites	1277	P	1313
Papylas	1282		21828
Hranislav	–1304		30985
Oumpertopoulos	1305–1307		21164
Alexios TzAMPLAKON	1326 ↑		27748
Ioannes Spartenos	1330		26501
Theodoros Koteanitzes	1344		92427
<i>Kardames</i> <sup>50</sup>	1365		11184
<i>Nikephoros Eliabourkos</i> <sup>51</sup>	1415		6018
Laskaris (?)	1425–1430		N/A <sup>52</sup>
37. <i>Praitōr tou dēmou</i>			
Rimpsas	1286		24291
Serapheim Syropoulos	1320		N/A <sup>53</sup>
Ioannes Angelos	bef. 1344		91037
Konstantinos Chrysoloras	–1347		31163
Iakobos Mpalisteres	1349		19620
Nikolaos Sigeros	1352–bef. 1357		25282

above the *meGas archōn*. Changes brought to the hierarchical position of the offices were never so substantial (usually one to four places in the ranked hierarchy) as to suppose that there could have occurred a similar change so soon. Fourth, and a more important objection, a *meGas archōn* Kabasilas is mentioned *separately* in a testimony letter from Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas to the monastery of Zographou as one of the participants (along with Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas) in a trial regarding a property of Zographou (*Acts Zographou* (Pavlikianov), 383). There are, in fact, several other Kabasilaioi in the same period, distinct from Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas, who could have been our *meGas archōn* Kabasilas. In just a single document of 1341 we learn of two other Kabasilaioi *oikeioi* of the emperor, Georgios and Ioannes, whose titles are still unknown (*Acts Lavra* III, 209; Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas was also present in the same document).

<sup>49</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 289.

<sup>50</sup> In Serbian-occupied Serres.

<sup>51</sup> In Morea.

<sup>52</sup> *Acts Dionysiou*, 124 and 151. An Ioannes Laskaris is mentioned as the son of the *meGas tzaousios*.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, 1:165. Perhaps identified as PLP, no. 27218, if Serapheim is the monastic name of Stephanos and given the relation of both with Venice.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
38. Logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn			
Demetrios Iatropoulos	1260– <b>1295</b> ↑		7968
(Manuel?) Angelos	1277		215? <sup>54</sup>
Theodoros Metochites	<b>1295–1305</b> ↑	S	17982
Ioannes Doukas Trichas	1343?		29350
Glabas	1344		91682
39. Megas logariastēs			
Ioannes Belisariotes	1268/69		2558
Konstantinos Chadenos	1269 ↓	P	30346
Kokalas	1327		14088
40. Prōtokynēgos			
Indanes Sarantenos	1300		24908
Raoul	early 14 <sup>th</sup> c.		24107
Kontophres	1329		13130
Ioannes Batatzes	1333– <b>1341?</b> ↑		2518
Alyates	bef. 1348		709
Rizas	1361		24265
41. Skouterios			
(Kapandrites) <sup>55</sup>	c. 1300		11005
Choumnos	1306		30939
Theodoros Sarantenos	1324–1325	P	24906
Glabas	– <b>1343</b>		93348
Senachereim	1344		25145
Andreas Indanes	1351		8208
42. Amēralios			
Fernando Ahones	1303–1305 ↑		29632
43. Epi tōn deēseōn			
Ioannes Glykys	c. 1282– 1295/96 ↑		4271
Georgios Chatzikes	1321–1325		30724
44. Koiaistōr			
Michael Atuemes	13th c.		N/A <sup>56</sup>
Nikephoros Choumnos	1272/75– <b>1293</b> ↑	P	30961
Michael Atzymes	bet. 1315 and 1319		1633

<sup>54</sup> There is no entry in PLP for him, but the editors Dölger and Guiland identify Manuel Angelos as a possible occupant.

<sup>55</sup> Several members of this family bore the title *skouterios*: see PLP, nos 11005, 11006, 11008, 11009, 11010. In the absence of such an unlikely coincidence, then Skouterios is a second surname.

<sup>56</sup> Cheynet and Theodoridis, *Theodoridis*, no. 23.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
45. Megas adnoumiastēs			
Manuel Batrachonites	1270 <sup>57</sup> –1315	P	2529
Hyaleas	bef. 1310	P	29467
Ioannes Angelos	1317		202
Ioannes Doukas Zarides	1323		6462
Michael Neokaisarites (2)	1324–1325 <sup>58</sup>		20095
Alexios Hyaleas	1333–1336		29470
Georgios Kokalas	1336 <sup>59</sup>		92485
Georgios Katzaras	1351–bef. 1373		11490
Ioannes Marachas	1402		16829
46. Logothetēs tou stratiotikou			
Kinnamos	1303		N/A <sup>60</sup>
Hyaleas	1315/16– 1317 <sup>61</sup>	P	29465
Meliteniotes	1325		94143
Theodoros Kabasilas	1327	P	10090
47. Prōtohierakarios			
Konstantinos Chadenos	1274		30346
Basilikos	c. 1300		2454
Demetrios Palaiologos	First decade of 14 <sup>th</sup> century		94378
Sarantenos	1338		N/A <sup>62</sup>
Ioannes Synadenos	bef. 1341		27123
Demetrios Komes	1344 <sup>63</sup>		92402
Iagoupes	1344		92055
Phordenos	bef. 1348		N/A <sup>64</sup>
Theodoros Strongylos	1348		26952
Angelos Potziates	1385/86		23606
48. Logothetēs tōn agelōn			
Pepagomenos	bef. 1285		22350
Theodoros Metochites	1290– <b>1295</b> ↑		17982
Manuel Sideriotes <b>Phakrases</b>	1299–1300		29570=29583
Konstantinos Makrenos	1344		16365

<sup>57</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 171; *Acts Chilandar* I, 197.

<sup>58</sup> *Acts Iveron* III, 301.

<sup>59</sup> PR II, 144. The title is missing from PLP.

<sup>60</sup> Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti', 103: cf. Kyritses, 'Byzantine aristocracy', 405.

<sup>61</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 287.

<sup>62</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 164 and 167.

<sup>63</sup> *Acts Docheiariou*, 170. The title is missing from PLP.

<sup>64</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 221.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
49. Megas diermēneutēs			
Ioannes Kouboukleisios	2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.		13371
Berriotes	–1274		2673
Nikolaos Sigeros	1347–1357		25282
Syrianos	c. 1400		27179
50. Akolouthos			
51. Kritēs tou phossatou			
Konstantinos Cheilas	1283–1293	P	30766
Kommenos Gabras	1300		3364
Alexios Diplobatzes	1307	P	5510
<i>Michael Kaballarios Sophianos</i> <sup>65</sup>	1324		26411
Senachereim	1336		25140
Michael Maurophoros	1329 <sup>66</sup> –1348	P	17504
Sgouros	1362/77		25041
52. Archōn tou allagiou			
Georgios Phrues . . .	1324		30188
53. Prōtallagatōr			
Manuel Senachereim	1321–1333		25152
Aspietes	1326		1571
Platynteres	1329		23343
Gazes	1344		91580
Melanchrenoi	1344		17625
Basilikos	bef. 1345		N/A <sup>67</sup>
<i>Konstantinos Trypommates</i>	1349		N/A <sup>68</sup>
54. Megas dioikētēs			
Theodoros Kabasilas	1316–1322 ↑		10090
Glabas	1330–1341 ↑		91682
Ioannes Doukas Balsamon	1355		91427=5694?
Ioannes Doukas	End of 14th c.		5694=91427?
55. Orphanotrophos			
Leon Bardales	1296–1300 ↑		2183
Tryphon Kedrenos	1316–bef. 1321		11604

<sup>65</sup> In Morea.

<sup>66</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 63 and 69.

<sup>67</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 307 (his wife is called *prōtallagatorissa*).

<sup>68</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 155.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
(Konstantinos) <sup>69</sup> Edessenos	1342, 1344	P	<b>91847</b> =14177?
Alexios (Xanthopoulos)	<b>-1348</b>		616 <sup>70</sup>
Manuel Chageres	1350?-1369		30344
Georgios Kallistos	1391		10487
Michael Gemistos	1401		3637
56. Prōtonotarios			
Niketas Soteriotes	1361-1376 <sup>71</sup>		27341
57. Epi tōn anamnēseōn			
Konstantinos Spinges	1333		26545
Spanopoulos	1338-1341		26456
Philippos Logaras	1339		14990
(Meletios) Skoutariotes	1342- <b>1359</b>		26191=26209?
Petriotes	1365		23042
58. Domestikos tōn teicheōn			
59. Prokathēmenos tou koitōnos			
Georgios Chatzikes	1305-1310	P	30724
Michael Kallikrinites	1321-1331	P	10371
60. Prokathēmenos tou bestiariou			
Nikolaos Panaretos	1274	P	21652
Ioannes Kanaboures	1315		10865
61. Bestiariou			
Alexios Alyates	1274		712
Andrea Morisco	1305		29516
Zeianos	1321-1322		6514
62. Hetaireiarchēs			
Ioannes Angelos	Mid-13th-mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century	P	N/A <sup>72</sup>
Ioannes Panaretos	1313	P	21641
Andronikos Exotrochos	1313 ↑		957=6081= 93500
Apokaukos	1325-1328		1179
Manuel Blachernites	1328		2829
Glabas	1337		4214

<sup>69</sup> The small (two-year) lapse of the two attestations may help identify the forename-less Edessenos (*Acts Docheiariou*, 165; *Acts Iveron IV*, 112) as the surname-less Konstantinos (*Acts Prodromou* (A), 119 and *Acts Prodromou* (B), 400); both were *apographeis* in the same area and bore the title *orphanotrophos*.

<sup>70</sup> PR II, 402. No surname is provided for him or his brother Demetrios Xanthopoulos (*sv.* under the stratopedarchai) in the document but they are the sons of a Xanthopoulina.

<sup>71</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* II, 416.

<sup>72</sup> Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel*, no. 63.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Kalides	bet. 1339 and 1342		10340
Anataulas	bef. 1342		870
Andronikos Tzymiskes	1343		27950
<i>Ioannes Gabras</i> <sup>73</sup>	1348		3358
Kaligas	c. 1400		93693
63. Logariastēs tēs aulēs			
Manuel Angelos	Mid–13th c. ↑		215
Kasandrenos	1317–1320		11313
64. Stratopedarchēs tōn monokaballōn <sup>74</sup>			
Michael Elaiodorites Spanopoulos	c. 1300		N/A <sup>75</sup>
* Petzikopoulos	bef. 1325		22529
* Tarchaneiotēs	c. 1344		27472
Ioannes Choumnos	1344	P	30953
* Demetrios (Xanthopoulos)	–1348		5335
65. Stratopedarchēs tōn tzangratorōn			
Siouros	c. 1303		25394
66. Stratopedarchēs tōn mourtatōn			
67. Stratopedarchēs tōn tzakonōn			
68. Prokathēmenos tōn megalōn palatiōn			
69. Prokathēmenos tōn Blachernōn palatiōn			
Pepanos	1328		22379
70. Domestikos tōn thematōn			
Saponopoulos	bet. 1295 and 1332		24842
Konstantinos Makrenos	1333–1339 ↑	P	16365
71. Domestikos tōn anatolikōn thematōn			
Manuel Sgouropoulos	1286–1293	P	25029
Georgios Atzymes	1300		1627
Michael Atzymes	1311–1315/19		1633
72. Domestikos tōn dysikōn thematōn			
Nikolaos Kerameus	1284	P	92363
Georgios Strategos	1317–1330	P	26902
Alexios Apokaukos	–1321 ↑		1180

<sup>73</sup> In Serbian-occupied Serres.

<sup>74</sup> I have included under this title all the unspecified *stratopedarchai* (those marked with an asterisk), although they could belong to the next three categories.

<sup>75</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 176. He signed as *stratopedarchēs tōn allagiōn*.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs	1322–1326		27486
Zomes	bef. 1324		6651
73. Megas myrtaītēs			
Prokopios	1328		23823
74. Prōtokomēs			
75. Papias			
76. Droungarios			
Kanaboutzes	bef. 1324		10867
Broulokontares	1355		3233
77. Sebastos			
Ioannes Kaballarios	Mid-13th c.		92220
Demetrios Spartenos	1262		26495
Nikolaos Kampanos	1262		10832
Michael Kalothetos Abalantes	1262		15
David Broulas	1264		3232
Georgios Petritzes	1266		23032
Nikephoros Lostaras	1266–1268		15234
Michael Apelmene	1268		1158
Michael Kerameus	c. 1270–1283/4		11646
Ioannes Amaseianos	1273		93069
Nikolaos Moschamperos	1280		19346
Georgios Chrysoberges	bef. 1281		31109
Manuel Liberos	1268/83 <sup>76</sup>		14889
Theodoros Tetragonites	1286		27598
Petros Doukopoulos	1292		5707
Phakrases	c. 1294–c. 1334		29572
Gouliotes	1300?		4370
Mitzakalites	Second half of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.		N/A <sup>77</sup>
Georgios Gabalas	13th/14th c.		91568
Georgios Barangopoulos	13th/14th c.		93159
Konstantinos Chrysokephalos	13th/14th c.		N/A <sup>78</sup>
Nikolaos Leontarios	13th/14th c.		N/A <sup>79</sup>
Ioannes Makedon	13th/14th c.		N/A <sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 37 (the document is dated 1268/1283, not 1334 as Bénou and Guillou asserted).

<sup>77</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection (BZS 1951.31.5.3308); my dating.

<sup>78</sup> Unpublished seals: Dumbarton Oaks collection (BZS 1955.1.3912–3913); my dating.

<sup>79</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection (BZS 1955.1.3862); my dating.

<sup>80</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection (BZS 1958.106.5490); my dating.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Konstantinos Taranes	Late 13th c.		N/A <sup>81</sup>
Michael Elaiodorites Spanopoulos	c. 1300 ↑		N/A <sup>82</sup>
Papylas	c. 1300		21829
Pamphilos	c. 1300		21593
Klibanares	c. 1300		11837
Manuel Atzymes	c. 1300		1632
Ioannes Kalopheros	c. 1300		10731
Demetrios Apelmene	1300–1302		1155
Konstantinos Tzyrapes	1303–1305		28160
Kala . . .	1305		N/A <sup>83</sup>
Dermokaïtes	1306/07		5204
Maroulas	1312		17133
Gregorios Moschopoulos	1315–1317 <sup>84</sup>		19371
Kalodikes	1316		10538
Eustathios Kinnamos	1316		11718
Andronikos Hierakites	1316–1319		8093
Demetrios Kontenos	1317–1319		13048
Alyates	bef. 1319		710
Konstantinos Pergameno	1319–1321		22420
Kerameus	1319		N/A <sup>85</sup>
Panaretos	bef. 1321		21634
Andronikopoulos	1321		91203
Sgouros	1321		25044
Ioannes Oinaïotes	1321		21027
Theodoros Aaron	1321		4
Georgios Anataulas	1322		872
Leon Kalognomos	c. 1322		10529
Euthymios Kardames	bef. 1322/23		92331
Palates	bef. 1323		21559
Manuel Kourtikes	1319–1323		N/A <sup>86</sup>
Basileios Sebasteianos	Long bef. 1324		25066
Basileios Sebasteianos	1324		25067

<sup>81</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection (BZS 1958.106.3282); my dating.

<sup>82</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 176.

<sup>83</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 72.

<sup>84</sup> *Acts Vatopedi* I, 291.

<sup>85</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 212 and with the office of the judge of Thessalonike.

<sup>86</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 215; *Acts Vatopedi* I, 332.



Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Konstantinos Mouzalon	1324		19442
Theodoros Sarantenos	1325 ↑		24906
Michael Sabentzes	1325		24658
Nikephoros Martinos	1325–1327 <sup>87</sup>		17201
Georgios Alyates	1327		713
Theodoros Lykopoulos	1328		15210
Ioannes Mygiares	1328		19838
Konstantinos Achyraïtes	bef. 1329		N/A <sup>88</sup>
Michael Myres	1329		N/A <sup>89</sup>
Nikephoros Choumnos (2)	1330		30960
Theodoros Lykoudas	1332		15213
Michael Kaloeidas	1332/33–1335		10569
Nikolaos Doukas Sarantenos	1335		24915
Skleros	1336		26111
Michael Smileos	1336		26264
Ioannes Sarakenos	1336		N/A <sup>90</sup>
Ioannes Trichas	1337		29349
Sgouropoulos	bef. 1338		25007
Skoules	1338		N/A <sup>91</sup>
Boullotes	1341?		N/A <sup>92</sup>
Mesopotamites	1342		17954
Konstantinos Armenopoulos	1345–1359		1347
Ioannes Polemianites	First half of 14 <sup>th</sup> century		N/A <sup>93</sup>
Manuel Dimyres	14 <sup>th</sup> century		5420
Ioannes Prosenikos	14 <sup>th</sup> century		23860
Ioannes Aprenos	14 <sup>th</sup> century		N/A <sup>94</sup>
Nikephoros Dermokaïtes	14 <sup>th</sup> century		N/A <sup>95</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 406.

<sup>88</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 201 and 211.

<sup>89</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 175.

<sup>90</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 122.

<sup>91</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 259.

<sup>92</sup> *Acts Prodromou* (B), 242.

<sup>93</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection BZS.1955.1.3899.

<sup>94</sup> Cheynet and Theodoridis, *Theodoridis*, no. 19.

<sup>95</sup> Unpublished seal: Dumbarton Oaks collection BZS.1951.31.5.1406.

Name	Date attested	Dignity or imperial affinity	PLP entry
Georgios Phakeolatos	Mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century		29560
Synadenos	1355		27109
Ioannes Doukas Balsamon	1355 ↑		91427
Myrepsos	1425		19862
78. Myrtaîtēs			

*Notes*

- The list of the titles is based on that reproduced by Pseudo-Kodinos (pp. 134–9). This list dates perhaps from the reign of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) and certainly after the upgrade of the title *meGas domestikos* occurred during the reign of Andronikos III (1328–41).
- Table 26 does not include the *despotes* and *sebastokratores* who were the emperor's sons and brothers.
- Table 26 does not include officials in places that were independent from the empire (of Trebizond, and the states of Thessaly and Epirus before their annexation in the 1330s).
- Table 26 does not include officials attested only with their first name (e.g. 'the *sebastos* Michael') or officials imprecisely dated in the thirteenth century.
- When the PLP entry has a different interpretation of the evidence or does not include an office or the name of an official, a footnote denotes the source or explains any discrepancy.

*Entries in italics* denote officials in semi-independent provinces (Morea and Thessaly in the 1380s) and *Romaioi* officials in Serbian-occupied provinces, since the Byzantine system of titles was adopted in the Serbian regime.

**Surname in bold** means that among several surnames this is the one that the person is usually designated with.

**Date in bold** means that the office is specifically known to have started or ended at that time. Dates not in bold are simply the attested ones.

a.: after

bef.: before

bet.: between

G: *gambros* of the emperor

C: cousin of the emperor

N: nephew of the emperor

R: family relation to the emperor

U: uncle of the emperor

S.: *sympentheros* of the emperor

P: simply *pansebastos* or *pansebastos sebastos* PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit

Some of these family relationships are designated in the titulature of the person.

↑: Official is later attested with a higher title.

↓: Official is later attested with a higher title, but a change in the hierarchy of titles has demoted this title in a different period than the one shown in the list by Pseudo-Kodinos that is reproduced here.

Table 27 Dating of the documents in Codex B of the monastery of Prodomos.<sup>1</sup>

Act	Bénoû	Accepted	Act	Bénoû	Accepted
1	1290	1275	2	1269/99	1269
3	1279	1279	4	1287	1287
5	1297	1290	6	1282	1242/82
7	1328/43	1268	8	1328/43	1268
9	1328	1228	10	1328	1228
11	1345	1345	12	1304/19	1304
13	1306/21	1306	14	1329	1329
15	1298	1298	16	1299	1299
17	1318	1303/18	18	1301	1301
19	1310	1310	20	1305	1305
21	1335	1335	22	1335–40	1335–40
23	1329	1329	24	bef. 1317	bef. 1317
25	1317	1317	26	1305/20	1305
27	1330	1330	28	1309–30	1307–9
29	1307	1307	30	1330	1330
31	1330	1330	32	1333	1333
33	1308/23/38	1308/23/38	34	1316–17	1316–17
35	1320	1320	36	af. 1339	af. 1339
37	af. 1339	af. 1339	38	af. 1345	af. 1345
39	15th c.	af. 1339 <sup>2</sup>	40	1324	1324
41	1313	1313	42	1313	1313
43	1334	1334	44	1331	1331
45	14th c.	1333–45 <sup>3</sup>	46	1333–9	1333–9
47	1344	1344	48	1346	1346

<sup>1</sup> For discrepancies in the earlier documents, see also Kresten and Schaller, 'Urkunden des Chartulars B' and Verdure, 'Prodomos'.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the peasants mentioned in document no. 39 can be identified with those in the *praktikon* of 1339 (no. 179), therefore the date of no. 39 should be relatively close to 1339. Some elements certify that no. 39 postdates the *praktikon* (for example the widow Mpelzania, with a son named Mpraïlas, is mentioned in the village of Lakkoi (l. 64), whereas in no. 39 (l. 15–16), Mpraïlas is registered alone as 'son of Mpelzania', suggesting that his mother had not long deceased).

<sup>3</sup> Based on the two names mentioned, Alexios Palaiologos and the 'uncle of the emperor Asanes', obviously Manuel Asanes, the date should be narrowed down to after 1333 and the accession of the Serbians in 1345.

Act	Bénou	Accepted	Act	Bénou	Accepted
49	1352	1352	50	1328	1328
51	1329	1329 (?) <sup>4</sup>	52	1328	1328
53	1339	1339	54	1343	1343
55	1349	1349	56	1334	1334
57	1347	1347	58	1325	1325
59	1321	1336 <sup>5</sup>	60	1334	1334
61	1353	1353	62	1355	1355
63	1348	1348	64	1343	1343
65	1330	1330	66	1310	1310
67	1314	1314	68	1343	1343
69	1340	1340	70	1333	1333
71	1355	1355	72	1341 (?)	1341
73	1303/18	1303/18	74	af. 1303	af. 1303
75	1421	1421	76	1347	1347
77	1347	1347	78	1311	1311
79	1318/33	1317/32 <sup>6</sup>	80	1349	1349
81	1329	1329	82	1322	1322
83	1328	1328	84	1329	1329
85	1329	1329	86	1329	1329
87	1330	1330	88	1332	1332
89	1329	1329	90	1329	1329

<sup>4</sup> Sergios Synadenos appears in this document as *prōtekdikos*, a position that he occupies again only in 1337–8, while in 1334 he is attested with the lower office of *logothetēs*. At the meantime Michael Kalorizos was *prōtekdikos* between 1333 and 1336. However, the indiction corresponds to the year referred to in the document. Furthermore, for the same reason the document dates neither in 1314 (which is the same indiction), nor fifteen years later in 1344, since Andronikos Lypenares, who is also mentioned in the document, had died before 1341 (*Acts Koutloumousiou*, 89). Either then, both the indiction and the year in the document or at least the office of Sergios Synadenos are erroneous, or (less likely in my view) Sergios succeeded Tzemtzeas (attested until 1328) as *prōtekdikos*, and was subsequently demoted to *logothetēs*; he assumed this office again in 1337, this time succeeding Kalorizos. See also Schaller, 'Prosopographische und diplomatische', 74–7.

<sup>5</sup> The next indiction fifteen years later is proposed on account of the service of the officials of the metropolis of Serres: first, Nikolaos Abalantes, *chartophylax* of Serres, is attested again in the same position in 1339 and 1353, whereas earlier Theodoros Eirenikos is attested in this position (1323–28); and second Michael Kalorizos is attested as *sakelliou* between 1336 and 1349, before which he had been *prōtekdikos* (1333–6).

<sup>6</sup> The editor has miscalculated the date corresponding to this indiction.

Act	Bénou	Accepted	Act	Bénou	Accepted
<b>91</b>	1329	1329	<b>92</b>	1329	1329
<b>93</b>	1329	1329	<b>94</b>	1329	1329
<b>95</b>	1329	1329	<b>96</b>	1329	1329
<b>97</b>	1329	1329	<b>98</b>	1329	1329
<b>99</b>	1329	1329	<b>100</b>	1329	1329
<b>101</b>	1329	1329	<b>102</b>	1330	1330
<b>103</b>	1329	1329	<b>104</b>	1330	1330
<b>105</b>	1333	1333	<b>106</b>	1333	1333
<b>107</b>	1329	1329	<b>108</b>	1329	1329
<b>109</b>	1329	1329	<b>110</b>	1329	1329
<b>111</b>	1323/38	1323 <sup>7</sup>	<b>112</b>	1328	1328
<b>113</b>	1329	1329	<b>114</b>	1328	1328
<b>115</b>	1330	1330	<b>116</b>	1329	1329
<b>117</b>		bef. 1329	<b>118</b>		bef. 1329
<b>119</b>		bef. 1329	<b>120</b>		bef. 1329
<b>121</b>	bef. 1337	bef. 1337	<b>122</b>		c. 1326–8 <sup>8</sup>
<b>123</b>	1337	1337	<b>124</b>	af. 1338	af. 1338
<b>125</b>	af. 1328	af. 1328	<b>126</b>	1327 (?)	1327
<b>127</b>	1304	1319	<b>128</b>	1325 (?)	1325
<b>129</b>	1322	1322	<b>130</b>	1322	1322
<b>131</b>	1328–32	1328–32	<b>132</b>	14th c.	14th c.
<b>133</b>		1333	<b>134</b>	1333	1333
<b>135</b>	1310	1310	<b>136</b>	1334/49	1334
<b>137</b>	1341	1341	<b>138</b>	14th c.	1334/5 <sup>9</sup>
<b>139</b>	1345	1345	<b>140</b>	1341	bef. 1333

<sup>7</sup> Guillaume de Calabria is mentioned as deceased in document no.102 (1330), therefore only the first date can be accepted.

<sup>8</sup> The document mentions an act by 'Markeses', that is the Count of Montferrat Theodoros Palaiologos, who returned to the Byzantine empire between 1326 and 1328.

<sup>9</sup> I can read the mention of the third indiction in the document. The reference on both this document and on no. 136 of the *mezas domestikos* Ioannes Palaiologos Kantakouzenos and the metropolitan Ioakeim of Zichna certify this date, thus excluding the later date, 1349.

Act	Bénu	Accepted	Act	Bénu	Accepted
141	1341	bef. 1333 <sup>10</sup>	142	c. 1342	af. 1345 <sup>11</sup>
143	1342	1342	144	1353	1353
145	1305/20	1320	146	bef. 1339	bef. 1339
147	c. 1338	af. 1332	148	1338	1338
149	1340	1340	150	1340	1340
151	1338–40	1320s–30s	152	1343	1343
153	1339	1339	154	1328	1328
155	1332	1332	156	1345/6	1345/6
157	1352	1352	158	1342	1342
159	1353	1353	160	1304	1304
161	1317	1317	162	1339	1339
163	1339	1339	164	1339	c. 1339
165	1353	1353	166	1353–5	1353–5
167	1339	1339	168	1442	1367/82 <sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The two field lists are problematic. None of the seven mentioned peasant *staseis* on no. 140 can be found in the *praktikon* of 1341 (no. 137), except perhaps the *stasis* of Georgios Kophitas (there is one Georgios Kouphotas in the *praktikon*) and even so there is significant divergence between the two acts (in the *praktikon* he has 58 *modioi* of land and a mill but in the list only 42 *modioi* of land). In addition, none of the neighbours of these seven *staseis* is identifiable with anyone in the *praktikon*. The list does not survive as a fragment, though, and it is included in the folio of the *metochion* Trilission; it may concern a different community belonging to the *metochion*. Besides, list no. 140, which is a list of the private fields of the monastery, includes a total of 270 *modioi*, whereas in the *praktikon* 450 *modioi* of private land of the monastery plus a pastureland (*πλανήνην*) are mentioned. The *metochion* of Trilission had *paroikoi* not only in the homonymous village but also in the village of Oxea (p. 235). Whereas the *praktikon* is safely dated May 1341, the two lists of the fields are undated; yet Bénu assumes that both lists accompanied the *praktikon*. I suspect they belong to a much earlier period, when the monastery of Trilission was still an independent foundation (i.e. before 1333), and, as was normally the case, the previous owner gave the new owner all older documents pertaining to the property.

<sup>11</sup> The document mentions the peasants' *staseis* donated by the monk Ioasaph (Ioannes) Margarites. Margarites did not become a monk before 1345. Therefore, this list should be dated shortly after 1345.

<sup>12</sup> The date of the document (September 6850) and the indiction (sixth) do not correspond. Bénu seems to favour the solution that it comes from the fifteenth century since it is also written by a different hand (1442=6950, thus there would be only a mistake in one of the numbers). However, first, in September 1442 the year 6951 had just started. Second, on line 9, I read: πρὸς [τὴν] ἱερὰν καὶ βασιλικὴν μονὴν (partially read in the Bénu edition), which means that this donation cannot have happened during the Ottoman era (there were no surviving imperial monasteries). Second, the monastery was located in an area in Serres called Παλάτια τῆς Δέσποινας, i.e. 'Palace of the Empress'. In Serres only one empress ever resided: Jelena, the widow of emperor Stefan Dušan after 1355. I suspect therefore that this document comes from the period 1355–83 (not necessarily during the lifetime of Jelena, who died in 1376), when there

Act	Bénou	Accepted	Act	Bénou	Accepted
<b>169</b>	1334	1349 <sup>13</sup>	<b>170</b>	1335	1350
<b>171</b>	1349	1349	<b>172</b>	1349	1349
<b>173</b>	14th c.	bef. 1356	<b>174</b>	1356	1356
<b>175</b>	1355	1356	<b>176</b>	1355	1355
<b>177</b>	c. 1356	c. 1356	<b>178</b>	15th c.	14th c. <sup>14</sup>
<b>179</b>	1339	1339	<b>180</b>	af. 1339	c. 1339
<b>181</b>	af. 1339	af. 1339	<b>182</b>	af. 1339	af. 1339
<b>183</b>		af. 1339	<b>184</b>	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	14 <sup>th</sup> c.
<b>185</b>	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	1360s (?) <sup>15</sup>	<b>186</b>	af. 1342	c. 1342–5
<b>187</b>	1321	1321	<b>188</b>	1309	1309
<b>189</b>	1317	1317	<b>190</b>	1321	1321
<b>191</b>	1329	1329	<b>192</b>	1332	1332
<b>193</b>	1333	1318	<b>194</b>	1305	1304 <sup>16</sup>
<b>195</b>	1319	1304	<b>196</b>	1304	1304
<b>197</b>	1309	1309	<b>198</b>	1322	1322
<b>199</b>	1348	1348	<b>200</b>	af. 1322	af. 1322
<b>201</b>	af. 1355	af. 1355	<b>202</b>	bef. 1345	bef. 1345
<b>203</b>	bef. 1345	bef. 1345	<b>204</b>	1333	1333
<b>205</b>	1333	1333	<b>206</b>	1342	1342
<b>207</b>	1325	1325	<b>208</b>	1325	1325
<b>209</b>	1327	1327	<b>210</b>	1326	1326
<b>211</b>	1326	1326	<b>212</b>	1327	1327

was a sixth indiction in September in 1367 (6876) and 1382 (6891). Besides, the document refers to a Dokeianos as *sakellarios* of Serres, and in fact Theodoros Dokeianos is attested as *sakellarios* between 1375 and 1388. Since the previous holder is Manuel Lyzikos in 1365–6, Dokeianos could already have been *sakellarios* in 1367 as he still was, of course, in 1382. I would favour the first date, since Jelena, even if no longer in power, was still alive.

<sup>13</sup> The metropolitan of Zichna Ioakeim is mentioned as deceased, but he was still alive in 1335 (no. 21), 1336 (no. 59) and 1339 (no. 179). Therefore, the date of the document should be transferred to the next indiction 2, that is from 1334 to 1349. The same applies to the following document (no. 170).

<sup>14</sup> There is no indication that this document comes from the fifteenth century. In fact, there is evidence that it comes from the Byzantine period, for example from the reference to a state *paroikos* (βασιλικός πάροικος; l. 115–16). These *paroikoi* were never recorded as *paroikoi* of the monastery.

<sup>15</sup> There is no indication that this document comes from the fifteenth century. A Manuel, *sakellarios*, is mentioned; the only one known was Manuel Lyzikos in the 1360s.

<sup>16</sup> The wrong indiction is mentioned in the Bénou edition.

Act	Bénou	Accepted	Act	Bénou	Accepted
<b>213</b>	1325	1325	<b>214</b>	1333	1333
<b>215</b>	1333	1333	<b>216</b>	1327/42	1312/27/42
<b>217</b>	1345	1345	<b>218</b>	1338	1338

## Notes

Af. = after; bef. = before

Table 28 References for Tables 10–11.

Name	Surname	Source
Ioannes	Abalantes	<i>Prôtekdikos</i> : AEs 163, ALaIII 92 (1365); <i>taboullarios</i> : AChP 320
Nikolaos	Abalantes	<i>Chartophylax</i> : APrB 123 (1336), 284, APrA 113 (1339), 126, 290, 292 (1353); <i>dikaiophylax</i> : AKout 93, APrB 126 (1353)
	Adam	<i>Domestikos</i> : AKout 49 (1305); APrB 215 (1319)
Demetrios	Amarantos	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 310 (1356)
Stephanos	Amarantos	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : APrB 310 (1356)
Demetrios	Apelmene	<i>Prôtekdikos</i> : AChP 310 (1360)
Theodoros	Aploraudes	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 82 (1316–17)
Michael	Asemas	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 178 (1330)
Eudokimos	Atzymes	<i>Kanstrisios</i> : APrB 93 (1313)
Konstantinos	Azanites	<i>Chartophylax</i> and <i>prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 39, 41 (1228)
Demetrios	Bardas	<i>Logothetēs</i> : AChP 310 (1362)
Ioannes	Binariotes	<i>Oikonomos</i> : APrB 58 (1310), 153 (1311)
Michael	Binariotes	<i>Domestikos</i> and <i>taboullarios</i> : 61 (1305), 58 (1310)
Demetrios	Bodeles	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 306 (1349)
Konstantinos	Bodeles	<i>Laosynaptēs</i> : APrB 37 (1268); <i>logothetēs</i> : APrB 23 (1275)
Konstantinos	Bolas	<i>Sakellarios</i> : APrB 37 (1268)
Michael	Boubalas	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 188 (1328), 186 (1329), 179 (1333); <i>prōtopapas</i> : APrB 310 (1356); <i>oikonomos</i> : AChP 309, 311 (1362)
Theodosios	Cheilas	<i>Sakellarios</i> : APrB 61 (1305), 58 (1310), 153 (1311), 69 (1329)
Theodoros	Cheilas	<i>Prôtekdikos</i> : APrB 310 (1356)



Name	Surname	Source
Basileios	Choneiates	<i>Ekdikos</i> : ALaII 158 (1308/9), APrB 93 (1313)
Manuel	Choneiates	<i>Archôn tôn ekklesiôn</i> : ALaIII 92 (1365)
Theophanes	Choneiates	<i>Sakelliou</i> : AChP 340 (1388)
Demetrios	Diogenes	<i>Sakellarios</i> or <i>sakelliou</i> : <sup>1</sup> APrB 44 (1304), 45 (1306)
	Diogenes	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 312 (1355–1356)
Ioannes	Dishypatos	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : AEs 163, ALaIII 92 (1365)
Konstantinos	Dishypatos	<i>Dikaiou</i> : APrB 310 (1356)
Manuel	Dishypatos	<i>Archôn tôn monastēriōn</i> : ALaIII 91 (1365)
Theodoros	Dokeianos	<i>Sakellarios</i> : AKout 130 (1375), ALaIII 112 (1377), AChP 340 (1388)
Andronikos	Doukas	<i>Epi tēs eutaxias</i> : APrB 148 (bef. 1421)
Ioannes	Drynos	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 44 (1304)
Michael	Drynos	<i>Hypomnēmatographos</i> : APrB 158 (1322), 186 (1328), 69, 161, 162, 167, 168, 171, 182–185, 189, (1329), 163, 178 (1330), 164 (1332) 179, 181 (1333), 264 (1320s–1330s), 186 (1338)
Theodoros	Eirenikos	<i>Chartophylax</i> : AChP 200 (1323), 207, 208 (1324), 217, 221, APrB 121, 218 (1325), AChP 223 (1326), APrB 107, 110 (1328)
Georgios	Glabas	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : AVaIII 125
Konstantinos	Glabas	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : Laurent, 'Un acte grec', 170–184 (1379); <i>sakellarios</i> : AEs 176 (1393), AVaIII 165 (1398)
Michael	Glabas	<i>Epi tōn gonatōn</i> : ALaIII 112
Eudokimos	Grentlas	<i>Domestikos</i> : APrB 37 (1268), 23 (1275), 28 (1287)
Konstantinos	Ioseph	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 59 (1310), 153 (1311)
Theodoros	Kalligopoulos	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 54 (1301), AEs 75, AKout 49 (1305), APrB 134 (1310), 96 (1313), AChP 191, APrB 93 (1324), 218, AVa 332 (1325); <i>logothetēs</i> : APrB 215 (1319), 218, AVa 332 (1325)
Georgios	Kallomenos	<i>Chartophylax</i> : AChP 158 (1321), 249, APrB 69 (1329), 179, 181 (1333), APrB 261 (1340), 265 (1343)

<sup>1</sup> Either of the two offices is probably a scribal mistake, considering that a demotion from *sakellarios* to *sakelliou* was unlikely. Since Theodosios Cheilas is attested as *sakellarios* in 1305, most probably Dēmētrios Diogenēs was a *sakelliou* on both these occasions.

Name	Surname	Source
Ioannes	Kallomenos	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : AChP 249, APrB 64 (1329), 259 (1338), 266 (1339), 263 (1340); <i>sakelliou</i> : 265 (1343), 306 (1349), AChP 298 (1353), 301–303 (1355); <i>sakellarios</i> : APrB 310 (1356)
Leon	Kallomenos	<i>Archōn tōn ekklēsiōn</i> : APrB 106 (1328)
Gabriel	Kalodioikes	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 249 (1320), 17, 159, 160, 167, 170, 174, 176, 182, 184, 187, 189, 69 (1329), 181 (1333), 64 (1335), 261 (1340)
Gabriel	Kalodioikes	<i>Sakellarios</i> : AChP 298 (1353), 300, 302 (1355); <i>oikonomos</i> : APrB 310 (1356)
Michael	Kalorrizos	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : APrB 141 (1333), AChP 265 (1336); <i>sakelliou</i> : APrB 123 (1336), 112, 285, APrA 113 (1339), APrB 151 (1347), AKout 93 (1348), 156 (1349)
Theodosios	Kamateros	<i>Archōn tōn kontakion</i> and <i>laosynaptēs</i> : APrB 61 (1305); <i>prōtopsaltēs</i> of Zichna: 153 (1311), 64 (1335), 288 (1339)
Ioannes	Kappadokes	<i>Chartophylax</i> : APrB 23 (1269), 25 (1275)
Ioannes	Karanitzas	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 265 (1343); <i>prōtekdikos</i> : APrB 306 (1349), AChP 301, 302 (1355)
Theodoros	Keramotos	<i>Sakelliou</i> : APrB 58 (1310); <i>skeuophylax</i> : 153 (1311), 69 (1329), 254 (1320s–1330s)
Georgios	Konstomoiros	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 44 (1304), 45 (1306), 58 (1310); <i>chartophylax</i> : APrB 61 (1305), 153 (1311)
Ioannes	Konstomoiros	<i>Repherendarios</i> : APrB 69 (1329)
Leon	Konstomoiros	<i>Logothetēs</i> : APrB 306 (1349), 310 (1356); <i>skeuophylax</i> : AChP 298 (1353), 311 (1362)
Niketas	Konstomoiros	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 249 (1320), 261 (1340)
Manuel	Koubaras	<i>Oikonomos</i> : AChP 200 (1323), 207, 208 (1324), 221 (1325), 223, 227 (1326); APrB 106, 111 (1328), 141 (1333), 117 (1334), 283, APrA 113 (1339), AKout 93 (1348), AZo 356 (1357), AChP 309 (1360); <i>dikaiou</i> : APrB 213 (1319)
Nikolaos	Koubaras	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : 79 (1333), 112 (1339), 138 (1340), 114, 130, 139 (1343), 115 (1349); <i>prōtekdikos</i> : AChP 297 (1353); <i>skeuophylax</i> : AZo 356 (1357)
Theodoros	Koubaras	<i>Chartophylax</i> : AEs 163, ALaIII 92 (1365); AChP 320 (1366); <i>oikonomos</i> : ALaIII 112 (1377), AChP 340 (1388)
Ioannes	Koubaras	<i>Domestikos</i> : APrB 215 (1319), AVa 332 (1323)

Name	Surname	Source
	Koubaras	<i>Prôtopsaltēs</i> : AChP 309 (bef. 1360)
	Kritakes	<i>Repherendarios</i> : AlVIV, 52 (bef. 1316)
Theodoros	Logariastes	<i>Taboullarios</i> : AChP 191, 199, 227 (1323), 93 (1324), 107 (1328), 108 (1329), 132 (1330)
Theodoros	Logariastes	<i>Sakelliou</i> : ALaIII 112 (1377)
Alexios	Lyzikos	<i>Chartophylax</i> : APrB 50 (1299), 54 (1301), 52 (1303/18), 279 (1304); ALaII 158 (1308/9); APrB 58 (1310)
Manuel	Lyzikos	<i>Sakellarios</i> : AEs 163, ALaIII 92 (1365); AChP 320 (1366); <i>oikonomos</i> : ALaIII 112 (1377), AChP 340 (1388)
Michael	Manasses	<i>Prôtopsaltēs</i> : APrB 31 (1242)
Leon	Maramanthas	<i>Epi tōn gonatōn</i> : APrB 215 (1319)
	Maramanthas	<i>Hieromnēmōn</i> : AChP 309 (1360)
Konstantinos	Marmaras	<i>Katēchētēs</i> : APrB 23 (1275), 28 (1287)
Georgios	Maureas	<i>Domestikos</i> : APrB 54 (1301)
Theodoros	Melanchrenos	<i>Sakelliou</i> : AChP 320 (1366)
Theodoros	Melissenos	<i>Prôtekdikos</i> : ALaIII 112
Ioannes	Melitas	<i>Kanstrisios</i> : AVaIII 165 (1398)
Manuel	Melitas	<i>Sakelliou</i> : AChP 311 (1362)
Ioannes	Modenos	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : APrB 215 (1319), AChP 200 (1323), 207, 208 (1324), 217, 221 (1325), 223, 227 (1326), APrB 106, 111 (1328), 141, (1333), 117 (1334); <i>sakellarios</i> : APrB 284, 287, 291 (1339), AKout 93 (1348), AChP 297 (1353), 143 (1355), AZo 356 (1357), 309 (1360)
Georgios	Mourmouras	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 54 (1301), AKout 49 (1305), ALaII 158 (1308/9); <i>sakellarios</i> : 96 (1313), 200, AVa 332 (1323), AChP 207, 208 (1324), 217, APrB 218 (1325), AChP 221, 223, 227 (1326), 141 (1333)
Theodoros	Mourmouras	<i>Prôtekdikos</i> : APrB 54 (1301)
Michael	Odontes	<i>Prōtopapas</i> : APrB23 (1275)
Georgios	of Archdeacon	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : APrB 44 (1304)
Ioannes	Papadopoulos	<i>Taboullarios</i> : AVa 332 (1323)
Georgios	Pentakales	<i>Kanstrisios</i> : APrB 249 (1320)
Nikephoros	Pepanos	<i>Epi tēs eutaxias</i> : APrB 54; <i>repherendarios</i> : APrB 215 (1319)

Name	Surname	Source
Ioannes	Phalakros	<i>Taboullarios</i> : AEs 75 (1301), AKout 49 (1305)
Theodoros	Photeinos	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : ALaIII 112 (1377); <i>oikonomos</i> : AEs 176 (1393)
Alexios	Probatas	<i>Kouboukleisios</i> : APrB 153 (1311)
	Pyrouses	<i>Epi tēs hieras katastaseōs</i> : AChP 217 (1325)
	Rentilas	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 200 (bef. 1329)
Manuel	Sebasteianos	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : AEs 177 (1393); cf. also BZ 67 (1974); APrA 191 (14th/15th c.); AVaIII 165 (1398)
Demetrios	Skleros	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : AChP 311 (1362)
Demetrios	Stylites	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 61 (1305), 58 (1310), 153 (1311), <i>logothetēs</i> : 69 (1329)
Ioannes	Stylites	<i>Domestikos</i> : APrB 153 (1311)
Theodoros	Symeon	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : APrB 58 (1310); <i>sakelliou</i> : 69 (1329)
Ioannes	Synadenos	<i>Hieromnēmōn</i> : APrB 215 (1319); <i>archōn tōn ekklēsiōn</i> : AVa 332 (1323)
Ioannes	Synadenos	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : 119 (1347), 143 (1355); <i>prōtonotarios</i> : AZō 356 (1357), AChP 310 (1360)
Konstantinos	Synadenos	<i>Archōn tōn ekklēsiōn</i> : APrB 92 (1324)
Sergios	Synadenos	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>anagnostai</i> : APrB 47 (1329)
Sergios	Synadenos	<i>Logothetēs</i> : APrB 98, 125 (1334); <i>prōtekdikos</i> : APrB 108 (1329?); AVaII 100–148 (1337–1338); APrB 285, APrA 113 (1339); AKout 93 (1348); <i>skeuophylax</i> : AChP 297 (1353), APhIK, 314 (1355)
Theodoros	Synadenos	<i>Kanstrisios</i> : ALaIII 112 (1377)
Ioannes	Teknodotes	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : AVaIII 165 (1398)
Michael	Teknodotes	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 83 (1320), 121 (1325), 111 (1328); <i>prōtopresbyteros</i> 114 (1343)
Konstantinos	Theodoulos	<i>Deutereuōn tōn diakonōn</i> : APrB 23 (1275); <i>taboullarios</i> : APrB 23 (1275); <i>sakellarios</i> : APrB 28 (1287), 29 (1290);
	Toxaras	<i>archōn tōn ekklēsiōn</i> : AChP 309 (bef. 1360)
Gennadios	Trapezountios	<i>Dikaiou</i> : APrB 284 (1339)
Georgios	Triboles	<i>Sakelliou</i> : AChP 297 (1353), APrB 143, APhIK 314 (1355); <i>chartophylax</i> : AZō 356 (1357); AChP 309 (1360)

Name	Surname	Source
Konstantinos	Triboles	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 134 (1310)
Zacharias	Triboles	<i>Klērikos</i> : APrB 49, 54 (1298)
Theodoros	Tzemtzeas	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : APrB 215 (1319), AChP 207, 208 (1324), 221, APrB 218 (1325), AChP 223 (1326), APrB 106, 111 (1328); <i>sakelliou</i> : 131 (1330), 141 (1333), 117 (05.1334); <i>skeuophylax</i> : APrB 284 (1339), APrA 113 (1339)
Theodoros	<i>Tzemtzeas</i> (?)	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : AKout 93 (1348)
	Tzylones	<i>Chartophylax</i> : APrB 31 (1242)
Athanasios	Xenophon	<i>Hypomnēmatographos</i> : APrB 42 (1345)
Manuel	Xenophon	<i>Logothetēs</i> : AEs 167 (1387)
Ioannes	Zabarnas (Zabarinós)	<i>Sakelliou</i> : AZō 356 (1357); AChP 310 (1360)
Ioannes	Zacharias	<i>Chartophylax</i> : APrB 277, AChP 298 (1353), 300, 302, 303 (1355), APrB 310 (1356), AChP311 (1362)
Leon	Zacharias	<i>Taboullarios</i> : APrB 95, 97; <i>laosynaptēs</i> : APrB 50 (1299), AKout 49 (1305), APrB 95, 97 (1313)
Nikolaos	Zacharias	<i>Sakelliou</i> : APrB 23 (1275), 28 (1287)
	Zampitlibas	<i>Prōtopapas</i> : APrB 248 (1320)
Ioannes	Zerbos	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : APrB 58 (1310); <i>prōtopapas</i> : 153 (1311)
Theodoros	Zerbos	<i>Prōtekdikos</i> : AKout 50 (1305), ALaII 158 (1308/9), APrB 135 (1314)
	Zerbos	<i>Sakelliou</i> : APrB 287, 293 (bef. 1339)
	Zymaras	<i>Klērikos</i> : APrB 33, 36 (bef. 1268)
Basileios		<i>Ekdikos</i> : APrB 49 (1298)
Dionysios		<i>Dikaiou</i> : APrB 249 (1320), 69 (1329)
Gregorios		<i>Dikaiou</i> : APrB 306 (1349)
Ignatios		Metropolitan: APrB 148 (1421)
Ioceph		<i>Oikonomos</i> : APrB 249 (1320), 210 (1327), 69, 157, 159, 160–162, 165–170, 172–176, 181, 187, 189, (1329), 179, 181 (1333), 261 (1340)
Kyrillos		<i>Archimandritēs</i> : APrB 37 (1268)
Manuel		<i>Domestikos</i> : AChP 303 (1355)
Modenos		<i>Sakellarios</i> : APrB 49 (1298), 50 (1299)
Theodoros	...	<i>Skeuophylax</i> : AEs 176 (1393)

Name	Surname	Source
Theodoros		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> : APrB 28 (1268), AKout 43 (1287)
Theodoros		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> : APrB 29 (1290)
Theodoros		<i>Oikonomos</i> : APrB 54 (1301), 52 (1303/1318), 279 (1304), AKout 49 (1305), APrB 136 (1314)
Zacharias		<i>Ekklēsiarchēs</i> : AEs 163 (1365)

Table 29 The elite in Serres.<sup>1</sup>

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property <sup>2</sup>	Source
Ioannes	(Kaballarios Ntekalabrias)				1343	L	APrB 265
Magdalene	(Kardamina)	Ex-wife of Boilas Kardames			1347	U	APrB 149–150
Hypomone	(Mourmourina)	<i>Sakelaraia</i>			1339	L, U	APrB 282–284, 285
Leon	(Sarakenos?)	<i>Kyri</i> /cousin of Theodoros Sarakenos			1329	U	APrB 164
Manuel	(?)				1316–17	L	APrB 80
Theodoros	Aaron		<i>Sebastos/apographeus</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	4	1321 (?)		ALaII 288
Ioannes	Aaron		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93004	1344	L	APHK 301
	Abalantes		<i>Taboullarios/prōtekaiikos</i> of Serres	13	1365		AEs 163; ALaIII 92
Konstantinos	Abalantes		<i>Megalodoxotatos</i>		1336		APrB 125

<sup>1</sup> The table includes people who bear a state or ecclesiastical office or a distinction or, at least, part of whose visible property (the piece that was sold, donated, etc.) exceeded the value of 50 *nomismata* or was certainly large (designated as *oikonomia, zeugēlatōn*, etc.) It includes people who did not reside in Serres but had property there. It does not include simple monks with the distinctive epithet *kyr*. Similarly, immediate relatives of those included in this table who simply signed the same document with a cross and are not mentioned in the text as having any other distinction have not been included. References include only those that refer to their activity in Serres.

<sup>2</sup> L: Land property; U: Urban property.

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Nikolaos	Abalantes		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres <i>Dikaiophylax</i> /deacon	16	1336–53	L	APrB 123, 126, 284, 290, 292; AKout 93
Eugenia	Abrampakaina Tatadena		Nun		1355	U	APrB 141
Georgios	Achyraïtes	<i>Kȳr</i>		1719	1355	L	ACHP 300
Konstantinos	Achyraïtes	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Pansebastos sebastos</i> / <i>prokathēmenos</i> / <i>kastrophylax</i>	1720	1321–35	L	APrB 64, 201, 211, 268; ACHP 158
	Adam		<i>Domestikos</i> / <i>prōtopsaltēs</i> of Serres	282–283	1305–19		APrB 215; AKout 49
Theodoros	Adirianos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1344	L	APrB 101
Ioannes	Agallon	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1328		APrB 107, 111
	Akanthopatos				1336		APrB 125
Leon	Akropolites		<i>Doux</i> of Serres and Strymon	91109	1265		AVaI 169
Demetrios	Amarantos		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullariot</i> of Zichna		1356		APrB 310
Stephanos	Amarantos		<i>Skeuophylax</i> of Zichna/priest		1356		APrB 310
Ioannes	Amaseianos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Sebastos</i>	93069	1272	L	AlvIII 111
Leon	Amaseianos	<i>Kȳr</i>		91156	1308/9		ALaII 158



Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Theodoros	Amastreianos	<i>Kȳr</i>		763	1323		AChP 190
Nikephoros	Amaxas	<i>Kȳr</i>		746	1316–23	U	APrB 81; AChP 149, 190, 293
Isaakios	Ameras	<i>Kȳr</i>			bef. 1304	L	APrB 278
Alexios	Amiseles	<i>Kȳr</i>			1310		APrB 134
	Angelos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kastrophylax</i> of Zichna		1327–29		APrB 168, 210–211
Leon	Angelos	<i>Kȳr</i>		91039	1308/9		ALaII 158
Markos	Angelos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor			bef. 1348	L, U	AVaII 215
Ioannes	Angelos		<i>Megas adnourmistēs</i>		1317		APrB 70
Theodoros	Angelos Eudaimonitzes	<i>Kȳr</i>			1305		APrB 60
Ioannes	Angelos Kalodioiketos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1319		APrB 213, 215
Demetrios	Angelos Metochites	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres	17980	c. 1328/31		APrA 86
Michael	Angelos Philanthropenos	<i>oikeios</i> of the emperor		29776	1375		AKout 130
Manuel	Antiochites		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93089	1344	L	APhK 301
Demetrios	Apelmene		<i>Prōtektikos</i> of Serres	11156	1360		AChP 310
Theodoros	Aploraudes		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Serres		1316–17		APrB 82

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Philippos	Aploraudes Arabantenos		<i>Primmikērios</i>	1172 1217	1323 1334-bef. 1353	L	AChP 190 APrB 123, 291, 294
Ioannes	Arakabenos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1242	L	APrB 30
Niketas	Archontitzes		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93123	1344	L	APhK 301
Demetrios	Arethas	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kastrophylax</i> of Serres	1297	1375		AKout 130
Konstantinos	Arsenios	<i>Kȳr</i>			1328		APrB 110
Alexios	Asanes	Cousin of the empress/ <i>doulos</i> of the empress		1473	1348–75	U	APrB 128; AKout 130; AEs 162
Manuel	Asanes	Uncle of the emperor/ <i>kyr</i>		1505	1343–5		APrB 129; Kant.,2:535
Michael	Asemas		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Zichna/deacon		1330		APrB 178
Konstantinos	Atuemes	<i>Kȳr</i>			1334	L	APrB 116
Eudokimos	Atzymes		<i>Kanstrisios</i> of Serres		1313		APrB 93
Konstantinos	Azanites		<i>Chartophylax/ prōtonotarios</i> of Serres		1228		APrB 39, 41
Leon	Azanites	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kastrophylax</i> of Serres		1339		APrB 285
Manuel	Batiophoros		Imperial priest	2045	1365		MIMI 478
Xenos	Baios			2041	1325	U	AChP 217

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Demetrios	Balsamas/Barsamos (Balsamon?)	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Skeuophylax/prōtopapas</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest <i>Prōtasēkrētis</i>	2095	1320–9		ACHP 130, 141, 250
Leon	Bardales				af. 1338	U	APrB 205, 207, 210–211
Demetrios	Bardas		<i>Logothētēs</i> of Zichna/priest	2202	1362	L	ACHP 310
Maria	Basilike		<i>Prōtallagatorissa</i>		1349	L	APrB 304
Nikephoros	Basilikos		<i>Megas prinnmikērios</i>	2470	1333	L	APrB 399
Demetrios	Bastralites	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperors			bef. 1349	L	APrB 307
Gabriel	Bastralites	<i>Kȳr</i>			1342–53	L	APrB 245–247
Ioannes	Batatzes	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Prōtokynēgos/megas chartoularios/apographeus</i>	2518	1333–42		APrB 342, 400; AZo 325; AivIV 52, 77, 108
Ioannes	Batatzes	<i>Kȳr</i>		2517	1320–9	L	ACHP 130, 195, 247
Konstantinos	Batatzes	<i>Kȳr</i>	Goldsmith		1340		APrB 139
Georgios	Batatzes Phokopoulos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor/ <i>kȳr/authentēs</i>		30241, 30242	1304	L	APrB 278
					1324–53	L, U	APrB 92, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 288, 293, 305; AVaII 215, 261

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Manuel	Batrachonites		<i>Apographeus/megas adroumiastēs</i>	2529	bef. 1281		ACH1 197
Kallistos	Beriboes		<i>Kephalē</i> of Mauron Oros	19706	1378		ACHP 332
Ioannes	Berriotes	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1242	L	APrB 30
Ioannes	Binariotes		<i>Oikonomos</i> of Zichna		1310–11		APrB 58, 151
Michael	Binariotes	<i>Κῦρ</i>	<i>Domestikos</i> of Zichna/ <i>taboullarios</i>		1305–10		APrB 58, 60
Demetrios	Blemmydes		<i>Pansebastos</i>	93233	1273	L	AlvIII 112
Demetrios	Bodeles		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Zichna		1349		APrB 306
Konstantinos	Bodeles		<i>Logothetēs/laosynaptēs</i> of Serres		1268–75		APrB 23, 35
Konstantinos	Bolas		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Serres/ priest		1268		APrB 37
Michael	Boubalas		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Zichna/ priest/ <i>prōtopapas/</i> <i>oikonomos</i>	3010	1328–62		APrB 179, 186, 188, 310; AChP 311
Ioannes	Branas		<i>Notarios</i> of Serres		1398		AVaIII 165
Michael	Brychon	<i>Κῦρ</i>		3264	1305	L	AKout 49
Makarios	Bryennios	<i>Κῦρ</i>		3259	bef. 1393	L	AEs 175
Demetrios	Bryennios Laskaris	<i>Κῦρ/</i> <i>paneigenestatos</i>		14529	1388–93	L	ACHP 336, 340; AZo 434–435; AEs 175
Chabaron				30331	bef. 1365	L	AEs 162
Chalkeopoulos				30498	1329		ACHP 248

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Demetrios	Chalkoutzes		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest	30517	1329		AChP 250
Theodoros	Cheilas		<i>Prōtekdikos</i> of Zichna/priest		1356		APrB 310
Theodosios	Cheilas		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Zichna/deacon/priest		1305–29		APrB 58, 61, 69, 153
Konstantinos	Chlerenos	<i>Kȳr</i>	Priest of Zdrabikion	30864	1321		AChP 141
Basileios	Choneiates		<i>Ekdikos</i> of Serres/priest	31232	1308/9–13		APrB 93; ALaII 158
Ioannes	Choneiates		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Serres/deacon	31240	1377		ALaIII 92
Manuel	Choneiates	<i>Entimotatos</i> (most honourable)	<i>Archōn tōn ekklesiōn</i> of Serres/priest	31239	1365		ALaIII 92
Theodoros	Choneiates		<i>Primmikeros</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> of Serres	31236	3rd quarter of 14 <sup>th</sup> century		Schreiner, <i>Codices Vaticanani</i> 105
Theophanes	Choneiates		<i>Sakelliou</i> of Serres/deacon	31237	1388		AChP 340
Eirene	Choumaina Palaiologina	Cousin of the emperor/ <i>doulé</i> of the emperor		30936	1356	L	APrB 308–316
Georgios	Choumnos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1349		APrB 115
Ioannes	Choumnos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Stratopedarchēs tōn monokaballōn</i>	30953	1344	L	Aph 23

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Theodoros	Damaskenos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1339		APrB 112
Guy	de Lusignan		<i>Kephalé</i> of Serres	92566	1341–2		Kant.2:191, 225, 228
Demetrios	Dermokaites		<i>Sakellarios/sakelliou</i> of Zichna /priest		bef. 1356		AVaII 261
	Diogenes		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Zichna		1304–6		APrB 44, 45
	Diogenes		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Zichna		1355–6		APrB 312
Alexios	Diplobatzes	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor/ <i>pansebastos sebastos</i>	<i>Kritēs tou phossatou/megas hetairiarchēs</i>	5510	1307–10	L	APrA 41, 135; Thomas and Predelli, <i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum</i> , 83
Manuel	Diplobatzes	<i>Kȳr</i>		5514	bef. 1330	L	AZo 314
Ioannes	Dishypatos		<i>Skeuophylax</i> of Serres/ deacon	5535	1365	L	AEs 163; ALaIII 92
Konstantinos	Dishypatos		<i>Dikaïou</i> of the metropolitan		1356		APrB 310
Manuel	Dishypatos		<i>Archōn tōn ekklesiōn</i> of Serres/ deacon	5541	1365	L	ALaIII 91
Theodoros	Dokeianos		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Serres	5574	1375–88		AKout 130, AChP 340
	Doukaina Troulene	<i>Kȳra/</i> grandmother of Alexios Asanes			1348	U	APrB 128
Andronikos	Doukas		<i>Epi tēs eutaxias</i>		bef. 1421	U	APrB 148
Manuel	Doukas	<i>Kȳr</i>		5696	1388		AChP 336

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Manuel	Doukas Glabas	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Apographeus</i>		1341		APrB 236
	Doukas Koreses	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor		13177, 93861	1355–60	L	AChP 309; APHK 314
Ioannes	Doukas Masgidas	<i>Kýr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Megalodoxoiatas</i>	17222	1324–47	L	APrB 125; AIvIII 288; APHK 308; ASTP 99
Ioannes	Doukas Melissenos	<i>Kýr/nephew</i> of Philippos Arabantenos	<i>Megalodoxoiatas</i>		1334–6		APrB 122, 123
Ioannes	Doukas Neokaisarites		Scribe		1350–66		
Georgios	Doukas Nestongos		<i>Logothetēs/megas papias</i>	20198	1353–60		APrB 125, 127; AChP 308
Alexios	Doukas Raoul	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Megas domestikos/kephalē</i> of Zichna	24111	1337–66	L	APrB 205; APrA 90; APHK 313
Nikolaos	Doukas Synadenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1329–41	L, U	APrB 46, 145
Theodoros	Doukas Synadenos	Uncle of the emperor/ <i>kýr</i>	<i>Prōtostratōr</i>	27120	1333–8	L	AXen 196; AChP 256, 259; AKout 92; APH 26
Manuel	Doukas Tarchaneiotēs	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres	27502	1375		AKout 125, 130, 131
Georgios	Doukas Troulenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the empress/ <i>oikeios</i> of the emperor			1304–17	L	APrB 279, 280–281; APrA 52–53

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Michael	Drynos		<i>Hypomnēmatographos</i> of Zichna		1322–38		APrB 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 178, 182–186, 189, 264
Ioannes	Drynos		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> of Zichna	5876	bef. 1348	L, U	AVaII 215
Konstantinos	Edessenos		<i>Orphanotrophos/apographeus</i> of Boieron, Popolia, Melenikon, Serres, Thessalonike and Berroia	14177, 91847	1342		APrB 400; AlVIV 111
Theodoros	Eirenikos		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres/deacon	5980	1323–8		APrB 107, 111, 121, 218; AChP 200, 207, 208, 217, 221, 223
Manuel	Ekatides		<i>Stratiôtēs</i>	5983	1316	L	ALaII 305
Ioannes	Eudokimos				1344	L	APrB 101
Ioannes	Gabras		<i>Hetaireiarchēs</i>	3358	1348		AKout 93
Georgios	Galatinos	<i>Kȳr</i>		3496	1326		AChP 222, 225
Konstantinos	Galatoulas	<i>Kȳr</i>			1347		APrB 119
Manuel	Galatoulas	<i>Kȳr</i>			1316–17		APrB 81
	Garianos		<i>Allagitēs</i> (soldier of the <i>allagion</i> )	3565	1318–29	L	ACHl 246; AChP 141, 158–159, 247



Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Michael	Gazes	<i>Kȳr</i>			1338–9	L	APrB 258, 266
Athanasios	Georgilas				1343–55	U	APrB 129, 292
Konstantinos	Georgilas				1343–55	U	APrB 129, 292
Georgios	Glabas	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Megalohyperochos</i>	4220	1301		AEs, 74
Georgios	Glabas		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Serres		1394		AVaIII 125
Konstantinos	Glabas		<i>Prōtonotarios/sakellarios</i> of Serres	91686	1379		V. Laurent, 'Un acte grec'; AVaIII 165
Michael	Glabas		<i>Epi tōn gonatōn</i> of Serres/priest	91687	1377		ALaIII 112
Michael	Glabatos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1310		APrB 134
Konstantinos	Glykas	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor		4245	1339		APrB 285; APrA 113
Leon	Gobenos	Father-in-law of Alexios Angelos	<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93357	1329–44	L	APrB 169; APhK 301
Basileios	Gregoras	<i>Kȳr</i>		4439	1323		ACHP 190
Eudokimos	Grentlas		<i>Domestikos</i> of Serres		1268–87		APrB 23, 28, 37
Leon	Hexamiliotes	<i>Kȳr</i>			1313		APrB 94
Georgios	Hierakitzes			29647	1333	U	APrB 140
	Hyaleas		<i>Apographeus/pansebastos sebastos</i>		bef. 1310		AlvIII 185

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioannes	Ioannitzopoulos	<i>Kýr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Apographeus</i>		1327		APrB 210–211
Konstantinos	Ioseph		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Zichna/ <i>anagnōstēs</i>		1310–11		APrB 59, 153
Goulielmonas	Kaballarios				1338	L	APrB 185
Michael	Kaballarios		<i>Megas hetairarchēs</i>	10026	1375		ASpP 117
Theodoros	Kaballarios Ntekalabrias	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kephale</i> of Zichna		1329–43	L	APrB 69, 263, 265
	Kabasilas		<i>Megas archōn</i>	10072	1377		ALaIII 111
Theodoros	Kalligopoulos		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi/logotheētēs</i>	10336	1301–25		APrB 54, 93, 96, 134, 218; AKout 49; AEs 75; AChP 191; AVaI 332
Xenos	Kalligopoulos Mourmouras				1339		APrB 111
Georgios	Kallomenos		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Zichna/deacon	10651	1321–43		APrB 69, 179, 181, 261, 265; AChP 158, 249
Ioannes	Kallomenos	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Prōtonotarios/sakelliou/sakellarios</i> of Zichna/ <i>anagnōstēs</i>	10650	1329–56		APrB 64, 259, 263, 265, 266, 306, 310; AChP 249, 298, 301, 302, 303
Leon	Kallomenos	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Archōn tōn monastērion</i>		1328		APrB 106
Gabriel	Kalodioikes	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i>		1320–40		APrB 64, 69, 157, 159, 160, 167, 170, 174, 177, 178, 181, 182, 184, 187, 189, 249, 261

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Gabriel	Kalodiotikes		<i>Sakellarios/oikonomos</i> of Zichna	10548	1353–6		APrB 310; AChP 298, 300, 302
Matthaios	Kalodiotketos				1420	U	AVaIII 281–282
Michael	Kalorrizos		<i>Sakelliou/prōtekdikos</i> of Serres/deacon	10673	1333–49		APrB 112, 123, 141, 151, 156, 285; AKout 93; AChP 265
Ignatios	Kalothetos		<i>Ktētōr</i> of St Nikolaos near Zichna	10610	1329		ALaIII 12
	Kalothetos		<i>Apographeus</i>	10589	bef. 1281		ACHl 197
	Kalothetos				bef. 1356	L	AVaII 261
Ioannikios	Kaloudes	<i>Kȳr</i>	Abbot of St Ioannes Prodromos	10721	1268–99		APrB 23, 24, 25, 27, 36, 50; AEs 154, 165
Theodoros	Kaloudes	<i>Kȳr</i>			1313		APrB 96
Theodosios	Kamateros		<i>Archōn tōn kontaktōn/laosynaptēs/Prōtopsaltēs</i> of Zichna		1305–39	L	APrB 61, 64, 153, 288
	Kampanistos				1319		APrB 213
Andronikos	Kantakouzenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor/ <i>sympentheros</i> of Andronikos III	<i>Megas chartoularios, kephalē</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon/ <i>prōtobestiariētēs, kephalē</i> (?)	10956	1322–7		APrB 220, 406; APrA 60, 83, 86

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Michael	Kaphoures	<i>Κῦρ</i>	<i>Primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn</i>	11574	1326		AChP 222
Ioannes	Kappadokes		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres/priest		1269–75		APrB 23, 25
	Kappadox	Basilikos anthrōpos	<i>Ktētōr</i> of St Georgios in Zintzos	11051	bef. 1341	L	AEs 162
Ioannes	Karanitzas		<i>Prōtonotarios/prōtekdikos</i> of Zichna	11116	1343–55		APrB 265, 306; AChP 301, 302
Boilas	Kardames				1347	U	APrB 149–150
Ioannes	Kardames	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1310		APrB 134
Nikolaos	Kardames	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1334	L	APrB 116, 204
Theodoros	Kardames	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1333	U	APrB 140, 293, 295
	Kardames		<i>Senator/megas tzaousios</i>	11184	1365		AEs 162
Ioannes	Karoes	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1305		AKout 49
	Kasandrenos		<i>Logariastēs tēs aulēs</i>	11313	1319–1335	L	ACHl 268, 272, 275; AChP 263
Alexios	Katabolenos	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1310		APrB 134
Ioannes	Katabolenos		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93789	1344	L	AphK 301
Konstantinos	Katakalon	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1308/9		ALaII 158
	Katides	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Hetaireiarchēs</i>	10340	1317/1332–1355	U	APrB 154, 293, 295

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Demetrios	Katrases	<i>Kýr/oikeios</i> of the emperor		11543	1377		ALaIII 112
Tryphon	Kedrenos		<i>Orphanotrophos/apographeus</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	11604	1316		AKout 59; AlvIII 194, 209
Ioannes	Kephalas	<i>Kýr</i>	Priest		1336		APrB 125
	Kerameus	<i>Sebastos</i>	<i>Kritēs</i> of Thessalonike		1319		APrB 212
Theodoros	Keramotos		<i>Sakelliou/skeuophylax</i> of Zichna/priest		1310–29 [1330s]		APrB 58, 69, 153, 264
Germanos	Kladon				1301	L	APrB 53
	Kladon		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93812	1344	L	APhK 301
Theodoros	Klemes	<i>Kýr</i>			1316–17		APrB 81
Konstantinos	Kodreas	<i>Kýr</i>		11894	1336		ACHP 265
Konstantinos	Kometopoulos	<i>Kýr</i>		12029	1355		ACHP 303
Eirene	Komnene Eudaimonioiannina				1333	U	APrB 141
Eirene	Komnene Kardamina				1340–55	U	APrB 138, 293
Eirene	Komnene Kontostephanina				1343–9	L	APrB 113, 114

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Michael	Kommenos Abrampakes	<i>Kyr/oikeios</i> of the emperor/ son of Eugenia Abrampakaina Tatadena	<i>Kephalē</i> of Serres	60	1346–55	U	APrB 102, 142, 293; APrA 135
Georgios	Kommenos Batatzes				1313		APrB 94
Demetrios	Kommenos Eudaimonoiannes	Eugenestatos, <i>kyr</i>	<i>Katholikos kritēs</i> / <i>kephalē</i> of Serres	6222	1360–6		AEs 162; AChP 310, 318
Georgios	Kommenos Laskaris	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1313–34	L	APrB 96, 97, 99
Konstantinos	Kommenos Laskaris			14542	1294	L	AKar, 74
Georgios	Kommenos Patrikios	<i>Panegenestatos</i> / <i>kyr</i>			1313	L	APrB 96
Ioannes	Kommenos Patrikios				1307	L	APrB 74
	Kommenos Patrikios				bef. 1307	L	APrB 75
Manuel	Kommenos Pelargos			22270	1287	L	AKout 43
Michael	Kommenos Pelargos			22272	1325	U	AChP 216
Alexios	Kommenos Raoul	Son-in-law of the emperor			bef. 1303	L	AZo 216
Georgios	Konstomoiros		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> / <i>chartophylax</i> of Zichna/deacon		1304–11		APrB 44, 45, 58, 60, 153

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioannes	Konstomoiros	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Kastrophylax</i> of Zichna		1349	L	APrB 305
Ioannes	Konstomoiros		<i>Rephendararios</i> of Zichna		1329		APrB 69
Leon	Konstomoiros		<i>Logothētēs/skeuophylax</i> of Zichna	13310	1349–62		APrB 306, 310; AChP 298, 311
Niketas	Konstomoiros		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Zichna		1320–40		APrB 249, 261
	Koreses				1341	L	AKout 89, 128–130
Ioannes	Koubaras		<i>Domestikos</i> of Serres	93882	1323		AVaI 332; APhK 299
Ioannes	Koubaras		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	93881	1344	L	APhK 301
Manuel	Koubaras		<i>Geōmetrēs</i>		1307–25		APrB 75, 120
Manuel	Koubaras		<i>Oikonomos</i> of Serres/ deacon	13357	1319–60		APrB 106, 111, 117, 141, 213, 284; AZo 356; AKout 93; AChP 200, 207, 208, 217, 221, 223, 227, 297, 309
Nikolaos	Koubaras		<i>Prōtonotarios/prōtekāikos/skeuophylax</i> of Serres/ priest	13358	1333–1358		APrB 79, 112, 114, 115, 130, 138, 139; AZo 356; AChP 297
Theodoros	Koubaras		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres/ deacon	13355	1365–1388		AEs 163; ALaIII 92; AChP 320, 340
	Koubaras		<i>Prōtopsaltes</i> of Serres	13353	bef. 1360	L	AChP 309

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Theotokes	Koudoupatēs			13377	1355	L, U	AChP 301
Konstantinos	Kounales		<i>Enochos</i> (in charge) of the domains of the imperial sons		1304		APrB 387, 389
Manuel	Kouropalates		<i>Prōtonobelissimos</i> of Philadelphēia/ <i>dox</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon		1305		APrB 72
Georgios	Kourtikes	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1319		APrB 215
Manuel	Kourtikes	<i>Sebastos/oikeios</i> of the emperor			1319		APrB 213, 215
Makarios	Kozeakos	Monk			1320	L	APrB 260, 262
Anna	Krokaina				1320	L	APrB 81
Theodoros <i>et al</i>	Krokas				af. 1339	L	APrB 84–87, 339
	Kromodiatēs				1329		AChP 248
Isaakios	Kýdones	<i>Kýr</i>	Hieromonk		1301		AEs 74
Demetrios	Kýriaules	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Klērīkos</i> of Zelichoba		bef. 1345/6	L	APrB 264, 271
Georgios	Kýriaules	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Klērīkos</i> of Zelichoba		bef. 1345/6	L	APrB 264, 271
Anna	Laskarina		<i>Megalē papaina</i>		1377	U	ALaIII 111
Thomais	Laskarina				1377	U	ALaIII 111



Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Konstantinos	Laskaris	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor		14539	1377	U	ALaIII 111
Makarios	Laskaris	<i>Kýr</i> /son of Konstantinos Trypommates			af. 1349 and bef. 1421	U	APrB 148, 293
Manuel	Lependrenos	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Doux</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	14740	bef. 1335	L	ACHP 115, 117, 263
Theodoros	Logariastes		<i>Sakellíou</i> of Serres/ priest	14992	1377		ALaIII 112
Theodoros	Logariastes		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Serres/ <i>anagnōstēs</i> /deacon	14993	1321–30		APrB 93, 107, 108, 132; ACHP 191, 199, 227
Andronikos	Lykopoulos				bef. 1339	L	APrB 86, 340
	Lypenares	<i>Kýr/andrikōtatos</i>	<i>Primmikerios tōn chrysoboullatōn</i>		1310–29	L, U	APrB 105, 108, 133, 292, 294; AKout 89
Alexios	Lypenares	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Kiēōr</i> of Latomou	15223	1287	L	AKout 43
	Lyzikos		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres/deacon/ <i>taboullarios</i>	14913	1299– 1310/18		APrB 52, 54, 58, 279; ALaII 158
Manuel	Lyzikos		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Serres	14916	1365–88		AEs 163; ALaIII 92; ACHP 320, 340
Maria	Mabdelina			16003	1330	U	APrB 131

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Symeon	Madarites		<i>paidopoulon</i> of Michael IX	16103, 16104, 16106	1305–17	L	APrB 55, 60, 71, 72, 191–192, 386, 387; AChI 252–253
	Makrenos		<i>Pansebastos sebastos/domestikos tôn thematôn</i>		1333–8	L	APrB 197, 399
Manuel	Maleas	<i>Archôn</i> (?)			1327		APrB 210
	Maleas		<i>Kephale</i> of Chandax	16507	1378		AChP 332
Nikolaos	Malkos	<i>Kÿr</i>		16525	1321		AChP 141
	Mamenos		<i>Stratiôtês</i> (?)/ <i>archontopoulos</i>	94045	1329–44	L	APrB 66–67; APhK 301
Michael	Manasses		<i>Prôtopsaltês</i> of Serres		1242		APrB 31
Ioannes	Mamikaïtes		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	94053	1344	L	APhK 301
Leon	Maramanthas		<i>Epi tôn gonatôn</i> of Serres		1319		APrB 215
	Maramanthas		<i>Hieromnêmon</i> of Serres	16825	1360	L	AChP 309
Georgios	Margarites	<i>Kÿr/oikeios</i> of the emperor		16849	1342	L	APhK 297
Ioannes (Ioasaph)	Margarites	<i>Kÿr/oikeios</i> of the emperor		16850	1342	L	APrB 245, 400; AVall 215
Konstantinos	Marmaras		<i>Katêchêtês</i> of Serres		1275–87		APrB 23, 28
Manuel	Maroules				1307	L	APrB 78, 340
Theodoros	Maroulos		<i>paidopoulon</i> of empress		1319		APrB 212

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Nikephoros	Martinos	<i>Kýr</i>	<i>Stratiōtēs/sebastos</i>	17201	1317–27	L	APrB 337, 402–407; APrA 51, 69, 71
Theodoros	Masgidas			17221	bef. 1310	L	AlvIII 186
Demetrios	Maureas		Priest		1242		APrB 31
Georgios	Maureas		<i>Domestikos</i> of Serres		1301		APrB 54
Ioannes	Maurianos			17416	1329	L	ACHP 247
	Maurodoukas Palaiologos		Senator	17434	1365		AEs 162
Michael	Maurophoros	<i>Kýr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kritēs tou phossatou</i>	17504	1327–44	L	APrB 64, 67, 69, 169, 210; AVaII 215, 261; APh 23
	Megalonas	<i>authentēs</i>			bef. 1319	L	APrB 213–214, 219
Theodoros	Melanchrenos		<i>Sakelliou</i> of Serres	17631	1366		ACHP 320
Niketas	Meles		<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Kaisaropolis	17764, 20290	1320–1		ACHP 131; ACh (Supp.)21
Konstantinos	Melias	<i>Kýr</i>		17773	1308/9		ALaII 158
Theodoros	Melissenos		<i>Prōtekaiikos</i> of Serres	17817	1377		ALaIII 112
Theodosios	Melissenos	Monk	<i>Ktētōr</i> of St Nikolaos of Kamenikeia	17815	1321	L	ACHP 150
Ioannes	Melitas		<i>Kanstrisios</i> of Serres		1398		AVaIII 165
Manuel	Melitas		<i>Sakelliou</i> of Serres	17841	1362		ACHP 311

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioannes	Mesagrinos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1316–17		APrB 81
Andronikos	Mesopotamites		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	94156	1344	L	AphK 301
Manuel	Mesopotamites	<i>Kaballarios/syr</i>		17955	1343	L	ACHP 276
Theodoros	Metochites	<i>Sympentheros</i> of the emperor/ <i>kyr</i>	<i>Megas logothētēs</i>	17982	1316–29	L	APrB 80, 85, 86, 295, 339, 379; APrA 88
Xanthe	Modene	<i>Sakelaraia</i>		19208	1339		APrB 282–284
Basileios	Modenos			19225	1320	L	ACHP 127, 129, 138
Ioannes	Modenos		<i>Skeuophylax/sakellarios</i> of Serres/ priest	19231	1319–60	L	APrB 106, 111, 117, 141, 143, 215, 284, 287, 291; AZo 356; AKout 93; AChP 200, 207, 208, 217, 221, 223, 227, 297, 309
Michael	Modenos			19233	bef. 1321	L	ACHP 138, 155
Theodoros	Modenos				first half of 14th c.		Treu, 'Pediasimos; 39–43
Michael	Monomachos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Pansebastos/eparchos</i>	19306	1333–44	L	AZo 322; AChP 321; Aph 23
Antonios	Moschopoulos	<i>Kȳr</i>	Abbot of St Ioannes Prodromos	19369	1228		APrB 33, 35, 39, 40
Georgios	Mourmouras	Nephew of Xenos Kalligopoulos			1339	L	APrB 112, 282, 287, 290, 298

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Georgios	Mourmouras		<i>Prōtonotarios/dikaïou</i> of the metropolis/ <i>sakellarios</i> of Serres	17103, 19525, 19530	1301–33	L, U	APrB 54, 96, 141, 218, 282, 285, 290, 297; AKout 49; ALall 158; AChP 200, 207, 208, 217, 221, 223, 227
Theodoros	Mourmouras		<i>Prōtekdikos</i> of Serres/ priest		1301		APrB 54
Xenos	Mourmouras	<i>Kȳr</i>		19526	1339	U	APrB 282–284, 287, 291, 298
Konstantinos	Mouzalon	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Enochios</i> (in charge) of the imperial domains	19442	1321		AChP 154
Iakobos	Mpalaes	Monk/ <i>kȳr</i>	<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Kaisaropolis	19615	1328–53		APrB 256, 262–263, 265–270, 272–277
Theodoros	My[r]os (?)		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	94254	1344	L	APHK 301
Michael	Myres		<i>Sebastos</i>		1329		APrB 178
Michael	Neokaisarites	<i>Oitkeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Apographeus</i>	20095	1318		ACHl 254, 260, 264
Demetrios	Nomikos	<i>Kȳr</i>			1329		APrB 167
Michael	Odontes		<i>Prōtopapas</i> of Serres/ priest		1275		APrB 23
Georgios	of Archdeacon		<i>Skeuptylax</i> of Zichna/ priest		1304		APrB 44
Leon (Lazaros)	of Diakonissa	<i>Kȳr</i>	Monk		1287–90	L	APrB 27, 29

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioannes	Oinaïotes		<i>Sebastos/apographheus</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	21027	1321 (?)		ALaII 288
	Orestes	<i>Eugenesiotos/kyr</i>	<i>Katholikos kritiēs/epi tou stratou</i>	21097	1365–6		AEs 162; AChP 318
Kosmas	Pankalos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Pansebastos sebastos</i>	21264	1305–13	L, U	AKout 49, 51–52
Theodora	Palaiologina Angelina Kantakouzene	Aunt of the emperor		10931=10942	bef. 1321	L, U	AKout 87
	Palaiologina Chortatzaina			30898	1355	L	AChP 300
Eudokia	Palaiologina Nestongonissa	Wife of Georgios Doukas Nestongos			1353		APrB 126
Theodora	Palaiologina Philanthropene	Niece of the emperor		21383	1376	L	APhK 321
Alexios	Palaiologos	<i>Kyr</i>		21421	1375	L	AStP 117
Alexios	Palaiologos			21424	1328–40	L, U	APrB 139, 268, 398; Kant., 1:268
Alexios	Palaiologos	Nephew of the emperor		21423	bef. 1376	L	APhK 321
Konstantinos	Palaiologos	Uncle of the emperor	<i>Kephalé</i> of Serres	21495	1342–5	L, U	Kant., 2:196, 329, 535
Michael	Palaiologos	Uncle of the emperor/ <i>kyr</i>		21530	bef. 1321	L	AChP 142, 144, 161

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Syrgiannes	Palaiologos	Son-in-law of the emperor	<i>Pinkernēs</i>	27167	1321		AZo 274
Theodoros	Palaiologos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kephalē</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Christoupolis and surroundings	21462	1325–6		APrB 401; APrA 69, 76
Alexios	Palaiologos Chortatzes			30901	1353	L	ACHP 298
Ioannes	Palaiologos Kantakouzenos	Son-in-law of the emperor	<i>Megas domestikos</i>	10973	1332–42	L	APrB 382–385; AKout 87; APhK 297
Ignatios	Palaiologos Lypenares	<i>Kȳr</i>	Monk in the monastery of Alopou	15225	1375		AKout 128 ff.
Demetrios	Palaiologos Raoul	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor		24116	1355		APhK 314
	Palaiologos Synadenos			27146	bef. 1351	L	AlvIV 128
Niketas	Paloukes	<i>Kȳr</i>		21572	1336	L	ACHP 265
Konstantinos	Panagiotes	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Prōtekzikos</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest	21623	1320–1		ACHP 131, 141; ACh (Supp.), 21
Ioannes	Panaretos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor/ <i>pansebastos sebastos</i>	<i>Apographeus</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	21641	1297–1313	L	APrA 49; AVaI 187
Ioannes	Papadopoulos		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Serres		1323		AVaI 332

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Michael	Papylas Gogos	<i>Kȳr/endoxotatos</i>	<i>Apographeus</i>	21832	1335–49	L	APrB 64, 236, 307; AKar 101
Ioannes	Paradeisiotes	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Nomikos</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest	21839	1320–1		ACHP 131, 141
Georgios	Paraioannes		<i>Primmikērios</i>	21855	1360		ACHP 309
	Paschales		<i>Sakellarios</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest	22006	1320		ACHP 130
Leon	Patrikios			22070	1307–30	L	APrB 74, 76
Stephanos	Patrikios			22236	1307–30	L	APrB 74, 76, 77
	Patrikios				1346	L	Soloviev, 58
Niketas	Pediasimos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Katholikos kritēs</i>	22236	1366–9		ACHP 318; AZo 378, 383
Michael	Pelargos				1347–53	L	APrB 119–120, 292, 295, 367, 375
Georgios	Pentakales		<i>Kanstrisios</i> of Zichna		1320		APrB 249
Nikephoros	Pepanos		<i>.../rephendarios</i> of Serres		1310–19		APrB 58, 215
Demetrios	Phakrases		<i>Megas primmikērios</i>	29576	1377		ALaIII 111



Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Matthaïos	Phakrases		Metropolitan of Serres/ <i>proedros</i> of Zichna	29584	1377–1409		ALaIII 112; AChP 340; MM II 78, 99, 129, 147; AEs 176; AVaIII 125, 165; Laurent, 'Triseπισκοπατ' 122, 145; Isidoros Glabas, <i>Letters</i> , 353
Ioannes	Phalakros		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Serres/ <i>anagnōstēs</i>	29591	1301–5		AKout 49; AEs 75
Xenos	Phalakros	<i>Kȳr</i>	Priest	29592	1323		AChP 190
Georgios	Pharisaïos	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Erochos</i> (in charge of the imperial domains)	29636	1321		AChP 154
Georgios	Philommates	<i>Kȳr</i> /brother of Georgios Galatoulas			1347		APrB 119
Georgios	Phokas	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor			1303/18	U	APrB 145
Theodoros	Potheinos		<i>Skeuophylax/ megas oikonomos</i> of Serres	7480	1377–93		AEs 176; ALaII 112
Ioannes	Pothos		<i>paidopoulon</i> of the emperor	23348	1327		AChP 238
Manuel	Pothos	<i>Kȳr/oikeios</i> of the emperor		23451	1377		ALaIII 112

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
	Prantoules						
Demetrios	Prasinos	<i>Kyri/oikeios</i> of the emperor		23676 23680	bef. 1345 1377	L	APrB 396 ALaIII 112
Alexios	Probatas		<i>Kouboukleisios</i> of Zichna		1311		APrB 153
	Pyrouses		<i>Epi tēs hieras katastaseōs</i>		1325	U	ACHP 216
Theodoros	Ramboulas	<i>Kȳr</i>			1310		APrB 134
Ioannes	Rammatas	<i>Kȳr</i>			1305		APrB 60
	Raoulaina			24052	1344	L	APhK 301
Ioannes	Rizenos	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Archontopoulos</i>	24271	1335–44	L	APrB 62, 65; APhK 301
	Romaia			24468	1325–27	L	APrB 401, 404; APRA 72
Michael	Sakobos	<i>Kȳr</i>		24726	1323		ACHP 190
Georgios	Sanianos	<i>Kȳr</i>		24800	1228		APrB 33, 35, 386
Manuel	Sanianos				1333		APrB 140
	Sarakenopoulos		<i>Kephale</i> of Chrysoupolis	24856	1378		ACHP 332
Ioannes	Sarakenos	<i>Kyri/oikeios</i> of the emperor			1336	L	APrB 122
Theodoros	Sarakenos				1329	L, U	APrB 164

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
	Sarakenos			24863	bef. 1325	L	APrB 403
	Sarantenos				1336		APrB 125
Demetrios	Scholares	<i>Kȳr</i>			1347		APrB 119
Manuel	Sebasteianos		<i>Prōtekdikos</i> of Serres	25070	1393–8		AEs 177 and cf. also <i>BZ</i> 67 (1974); APrA 191; AVaIII 165
Konstantinos	Seirotos Madarites	Cousin of Symeon Madarites			1310		APrB 59
Maria	Senacherina	<i>Kȳra</i> /mother of Alexios Asanes			1348		APrB 128, 292
Marina	Sgouraina		Abbess of Archangel Michael		1275		APrB 21
Xenos	Skiadas		Priest		1242		APrB 31
Demetrios	Skleros		<i>Prōtekdikos</i> of Zichna	26112	1362		ACHP 311
	Skleros		<i>Sebastos</i>	26111	1336	L	ACHP 265
Slotas	Skopiotes			26124	1316	L	AlvIII 207
Athanasios	Skoules	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor			1348		AKout 93
Michael	Skoules	<i>Kȳr</i>	Senator	27310	1348–65		AEs 162; AKout 360
	Skoules		<i>Sebastos</i>		1338		APrB 259
Michael	Smileos	<i>Kȳr</i>	<i>Sebastos</i>	26264	1336	L	ACHP 265

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
	Smoleanites		<i>Archontopoulos</i>	26267	1344	L	APhK 301
Georgios	Strategos	<i>Kyri/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Pansebastos sebastos/domestikos</i> of the western themata/ <i>epitēs demosiakēs enochēs</i> (in charge of fiscal rights) of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	26902	1312–25		APrB 280, 373, 402; ALaII 173, 306; APrA 47
Demetrios	Stylites		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi/logothētēs</i> of Zichna		1310–29		APrB 58, 61, 69
Ioannes	Stylites		<i>Domestikos</i> of Zichna		1311		APrB 153
Theodoros	Symeon		<i>Prōtekaiikos/sakelliou</i> of Zichna/priest		1310–29		APrB 58, 69
Ioannes	Synadenos		<i>Hieronnēmōn/archōn tōn ekklesiōn</i> of Serres	27106	1319	L	APrB 215; ALaII 158; AChP 309; AVaI 332
Ioannes	Synadenos		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi/ prōtonotarios</i> of Serres	27124	1347–60		APrB 119, 143; AZo 356; AChP 310
Michael	Synadenos	<i>Kyr</i>			1334–55	L	APrB 115, 116, 118, 287, 291, 298, 307
Sergios	Synadenos		<i>Primmikērios</i> of the <i>anagnōstai/taboullarios</i>		1329		APrB 47

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Sergios	Synadenos		<i>Logothetēs/prōtektikos/skeuophylax</i> of Serres	27147	1329–55		APrB 98, 108, 125, 285; AKout 93; AVaII 100–148; APhK 314; AChP 297
Theodoros	Synadenos		<i>Kantristios</i> of Serres	27119	1377		ALaIII 112
Ioannes	Tarchaneiotes	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Domestikos (tōn thematōn?)</i>	27486	1325–6		APrB 401; APrA 71, 76
Ioannes	Teknodotos		<i>Skeuophylax</i> of Serres/ priest		1398		AVaIII 165
Michael	Teknodotes		<i>Taboullarios</i> of Serres/ <i>prōtopresbyteros</i>		1320–43		APrB 83, 111, 114, 121
Konstantinos	Theodoulos		<i>Deutereuōn tōn iereōn</i> of Serres/ <i>sakellarios</i> / priest		1275–90		APrB 23, 28, 29
Zacharias	Theodoulos	<i>Kyr</i>	Priest		1313		APrB 96
Manuel	Theologites	<i>Kyr/oikeios</i> of the emperor/ <i>parsebastos</i>	<i>Epi tēs demosiakēs enochēs</i>	7517	1327		APrA 80
Nikolaos	Theologites	<i>Kyr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Pansebastos sebastos/epi tēs demosiakēs enochēs</i> of Boleron, Mosynopolis, Serres and Strymon	7518	1312–25		APrB 280, 373, 402; ALaII 173, 306; APrA 47

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Demetrios	Tornikes	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Pinkernēs</i>	29123	1358–78	L	ASp 105; AChP 331
Anna	Tornikina		<i>Pinkernissa</i>	29135	1358	L	ASp 105
	Toxaras		<i>Archōn tōn ekklesiōn</i> of Serres	29076	bef. 1360	L	AChP 309
Gennadios	Trapezountios		<i>Dikaïou</i> of the metropolitan of Serres		1339		APrB 284
Konstantinos	Triakontaphyllos		<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	29271	1345		AChP 282
Georgios	Triboles	<i>Endoxotatos</i>	<i>Primmikerios</i> (of the <i>taboullarioi</i> ?)	29296	1308/9		ALaII 157
Georgios	Triboles		<i>Sakelliou/chartophylax</i> of Serres/priest	23737	1343–60		APrB 138, 143; AChP 297, 309; APHK 314
Georgios	Triboles		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres/priest	23737	1357–60		AZo 356; AChP 309
Konstantinos	Triboles		<i>Taboullarios</i> /priest		1310		APrB 134
Zacharias	Triboles		<i>Klērikos</i> /priest		1298		APrB 49, 54
Georgios	Troulenos	<i>Kyri/oikeios</i> of the emperor		29363	1312–18	L	APrA 47, 52
Konstantinos	Trypommates	<i>Kyri</i>	<i>Prōtallagatōr</i>		1349	U	APrB 148, 155
Demetrios	Tzاملakon		Pro-kantakouzenist	27755	1345		Kant., 2:535

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Alexios	Tzاملplakon	<i>Kýr/oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Megas tzaousios/kephalê</i> of Serres and the lands of Popolia/ <i>kephalê</i> of Zichna	27748	1326–8		APhK 290; APrA 75, 78; Kant.,1:262, 277
Theodoros	Tzاملplakonissa Tzاملtzeas	<i>Kýra</i>	<i>Megalê hetairiarchissa</i> <i>Prôtekdikos/skeuophylax</i> of Serres/ priest	27762 27842, 27843	1321 (?) 1319–39 (–1348?)	L	ALaII 286 APrB 106, 111, 117, 141, 215, 218, 284; AChP 207, 208, 217, 221, 223; AVaI 332; AKout 93 (?); APrA 113
Ioannes	Tzاملlones Xanthopoulos		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Serres		1242		APrB 31
Manuel	Xanthos	<i>Kýr</i>			1343		APrB 137
Manuel	Xenophon		<i>Logothetês</i> of Serres/ <i>dikaion</i> of the Patriarch/deacon	20901	1316–17 1386–87		APrB 81 AEs 167; AVaIII 92
Alexios	Xiphias	<i>Kýr</i>		20938	1308/9	U	ALaII 158
Alexios	Xiphias				1343	U	APrB 137
Niketas	Xiphias	<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Stratiôtês</i>		1303/18		APrB 51, 295
Ioannes	Zabarnas (Zabarinós)		<i>Sakellion</i> of Serres/ deacon	6411	1357–60		AZo 356; AChP 310

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioannes	Zacharias		<i>Chartophylax</i> of Zichna	6485	1353–78		APrB 277, 310; AChP 298, 300, 302, 303, 311, 334
Leon	Zacharias		<i>Laosynaptēs/ taboullarios</i> of Serres	6493	1299–1313		APrB 50, 95, 97; AKout 49; AEs 74
Nikolaos	Zacharias		<i>Sakelliou</i> of Serres/ priest		1275–87		APrB 23, 28
Manuel	Zagarommates	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1334		APrB 116
	Zampitlibas		<i>Prōtopapas</i>		1320		APrB 248
	Zamploumos	<i>Κῦρ</i>			1310		APrB 134
	Zarides	<i>Κῦρ</i>				L	APrB 245
Ioannes	Zerbos		<i>Skeuophylax/ prōtopapas</i> of Zichna/ priest		1310–11		APrB 58, 153
Theodoros	Zerbos	<i>Κῦρ</i>	<i>Prōtekaiikos</i> of Serres/ priest	6546	1305–14	L	APrB 136; AKout 49; ALaII 158
	Zerbos		<i>Sakelliou</i> of Serres	6544	bef. 1339	L	APrB 287, 293
	Zomes	<i>pansebastos</i>	<i>Apographeus</i>		bef. 1319		APrB 219
Andronikos	Zymaras		<i>Klērīkos</i> of Serres	6628	bef. 1268		APrB 33, 36
Athanasios		<i>Κῦρ</i>	<i>Nomophylax</i>	960	1355		AChP 300
			<i>Sebastos/prokathiēmenos</i>	91084	1322	L	AChP 177



Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Athanasios			<i>Prōtonotarios</i> of Kaisaropolis	421	1329		AChP 250
Athanasios			<i>Nomophylax</i>	410	1359		Politis, 'Die handschriftensammlung,' 140
Basilēios			<i>Ekdikos</i> of Serres/priest		1298		APrB 49
Chariton			<i>Prōtonobelissimos</i>	30658	1313	U	AKout 52
Dionysios			<i>Dikaïou</i> of the metropolitan		1320–9		APrB 69, 249
Dragon		<i>Kyri/oikeios</i> of the emperor		5792	1324	L	AChP 203
Gabriel			Bishop of Kaisaropolis	3388	1378		AChP 334
Gregorios			<i>Dikaïou</i> of the metropolitan		1349		APrB 306
Hierotheos			Bishop of Kaisaropolis	8120	1357–8		AZo 356, 366
Hyakinthos			Hieromonk/ <i>ktētōr</i> of Nea Mone of Serres	29443	1353		AChP 296
Iakov			Metropolitan of Serres	7904	1348–60		AZo 356; AKout 93; AEs 157; AChP 297, 309; APhK 310
Ignatios			Metropolitan of Serres	8051–8052	1420–1		APrB 148; AVaIII 282
Ignatios			Abbot of Ioannes Prodromos	8006	1305–10		APrB 56, 60

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Ioakeim		<i>Κῦρ</i>	Abbot of St Nikolaos		1305		APrB 60
Ioakeim		<i>Κῦρ</i>	Bishop/metropolitan of Zichna/ <i>κτῆτορ</i> of Ioannes Prodromos	8372	1305–39		APrB 42, 56, 60, 62, 69, 123, 146, 152, 218, 337, 402
Isaakios			<i>Dikaïou</i> of the metropolitan/exarchos	8264	1371		MM I 552; cf. Darrouzes, <i>Regestes</i> no. 2608
Joseph			<i>Oikonomos</i> of Zichna/priest		1320–40		APrB 69, 157, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165–170, 172–176, 179, 181, 186, 187, 189, 210, 249, 261
Kallinikos		<i>Κῦρ</i>	Hieromonk	10393	1318–bef. 1327		AChP 165–167, 176–179, 182, 188–192, 198–202, 208, 236; AChI 246
Konstantinos			<i>Sakellarios</i> of Serres/priest		1279		APrB 26
Κύριλλος			<i>Archimandritēs</i> of Serres/monk		1268		APrB 37
Leon			Metropolitan of Serres	14791	1276–99		APrA 22
Makarios		<i>Κῦρ</i>	Metropolitan of Serres		1339–45		APrB 42, 286
Manuel		<i>Κῦρ</i>	<i>Domestikos</i> of Zichna	16685	1355		AChP 303

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Matthaïos			Metropolitan of Zichna	17374	1388		AChP 340
Meletios			Bishop of Kaisaropolis	17705	1320–9		AZo 355; AChP 131, 141, 158, 249; ACh (Supp.) 21
Michael			<i>Domestikos</i> of Zichna/ <i>taboullarios</i>		1306		APrB 45
Modenos		<i>Papas</i>	Hieromonk	19219	1281	L	ACHl 197, 200; AChP 138, 146
Modenos			<i>Klerikos</i> /priest/ <i>sakellarios</i>		1268–99		APrB 29, 37, 49, 50
Mpraïanes			<i>Kephalê</i> of Amphipolis (Chandax ?)	19808	1350		Kant., 3:116
Neilos			Abbot of St Ioannes Prodromos	20011	1348–63		Politis, 'Das Scriptorium'; APrA 189
Nikolaos			Metropolitan of Serres	20493	1315–19		PR I, 132, 174
Niphon			Metropolitan of Serres	20658	1309 (?)		PR I, 548
Paulos			Metropolitan of Zichna	22121	1378		AChP 334; Darrouzes, <i>Regestes</i> , no. 2854
Photios			Bishop of Kaisaropolis	30320	1379–94		Darrouzes, <i>Regestes</i> , no. 2692; AVaIII 125
Radoslav			<i>Kephalê</i> of Serres	24019	1365		AEs 162

(Continued)

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Raïko		<i>Oikeios</i> of the emperor	<i>Kephale</i> of Trilission and Bronto	24037	1345		APrB 238
Sava			Metropolitan of Serres		1365–6		AEs 163; AChP 320
Sisoēs			Abbot of Theotokos Bourtziotissa		1269		APrB 24
Sophonias			Metropolitan of Zichna	26423, 27374	1349–56		APrB 306, 310; AChP 301
Theodoros			<i>Prōtekdikos</i> of Serres/ priest		1298		APrB 49
Theodoros			<i>Prōtonotarios</i> / <i>primmikērios</i> of the <i>taboullarioi</i> of Serres/ <i>anagnōstēs</i>	7469	1268–90		APrB 28–29; AKout 43
Theodoros			<i>Oikonomos</i> of Serres	7442	1301– 1314/18		APrB 52, 54, 136, 279; AKout 49
Theodoros			<i>Skeuophylax</i> of Serres/ priest	7479	1348		AKout 93
Theodosia		Wife of Niphon Kontrouches/ <i>kyra</i>			1313	L	APrB 94
Theodosii			Metropolitan of Serres		1375		AKout 130
Theoleptos			Bishop of Kaisaropolis	7500	bet. 1359–1377		AChP 258

Name	Surname	Epithet	Title/office	PLP entry	Date attested	Property	Source
Theophylaktos			Bishop of Spelaion	7654	1327		ALaIII 112
Theotokos			<i>Prōtekaiikos</i> of Kaisaropolis/priest	7562	1321		ACh (Supp.) 21
Zacharias			<i>Ekklesiarchēs</i> of Serres/ hieromonk	6475	1365		AEs 163

*Abbreviations used in Table 29*

- ACHi: Acts Chilandar I
  - AChP: Acts Chilandar (Pettit)
  - AEs: Acts Espigmenou
  - AlvIII–IV: Acts Iveron III–IV
  - AKout: Acts Koutloumousiou
  - ALaII–III: Acts Lavra II–III
  - APhiK: Acts Philotheou (K)
  - APrA: Acts Prodiromou (A)
  - APrB: Acts Prodiromou (B)
  - ASp: Acts Saint Panteleemon
  - AVaI–III: Acts Vátopedi I–III
  - AZo: Acts Zographou (Pavlikianov)
- PLP: Prosopographic Lexicon.



# Glossary

## General Terms

<i>adelphaton</i>	An annual pension in kind provided by a monastery to an individual; usually it includes food or other necessities
<i>allagion</i>	Army division composed probably of the <i>pronoia</i> -holders of a certain region
<i>argon</i>	Cow
<i>aristoi</i>	Synonym of <i>archōn</i> , a member of the elite
<i>chersampelon</i>	Unproductive vineyard
<i>chrysobull</i>	The most important imperial document bearing the golden seal; it ratifies major privileges
<i>curiales</i>	The leading members of a city in the Roman empire, the local elite
<i>dēmos</i>	The common people in cities
<i>doulos</i>	Servant (with more servile connotations); literally 'slave'
<i>dynatos</i>	Powerful man, essentially an aristocrat
<i>emphyteusis</i> ( <i>adj.</i> : <i>emphyteutikos</i> )	Plantation contract; usually concerns the planting of a vineyard in return for an annual <i>telos</i> in cash not in kind; it may refer to building of a house on someone's soil or generally land clearing on someone's land, again on the same principles
<i>ennomion</i>	Tax on pasture land
<i>ephoros</i>	The patron of a monastery, who can also be a layman
<i>exaleimma</i> ( <i>adj.</i> : <i>exaleimmatikos</i> )	Escheated, abandoned land or an abandoned <i>stasis</i>

<i>gambros</i>	Son/brother-in-law; but may be extended to cover the in-law relation created by marriage to a cousin or niece
<i>genos</i>	Family origin; descent
<i>gonikē/os</i>	Patrimonial property or property that can be transmitted
<i>hyperpyron</i>	Byzantine gold coin, which had been devalued and later disappears completely; continued to be used as an accounting unit with its original nominal value
indiction	A cycle of fifteen years, according to which the Byzantines counted time in everyday business; on documentary sources, the indiction is almost always correct, the year (from the Creation of the World in 5509/8 BC) is often incorrect. The Byzantine year started on 1 September
<i>kommerkion</i>	A fixed tax on merchandise
<i>ktētōr</i>	The founder of a monastery; possesses certain rights to the monastery, which can be transmitted to their heirs
<i>megas/megalē/mega</i>	Great
<i>metochion</i>	Small, formerly independent, monastic establishment that has become a dependency (and administrative unit) of a larger monastery
<i>metron/metra</i>	Unit of measurement of quantity of liquids; it differs from product to product (e.g. wine: 10.25 litres; oil: 9.1 litres)
<i>mitaton</i>	Special tax destined for the governor ( <i>kephalē</i> ) of a city or province
<i>modios</i>	Unit of measurement of surface (= ca.1/10 of an acre) or of quantity ( <i>politikos modios</i> = 18 <i>thalassioi modioi</i> or 18 <i>tagaria</i> = 322 kg)
<i>mouzourion</i>	Unit of measurement, equal to <i>modios</i>
<i>nomisma</i>	Another name for the <i>hyperpyron</i>
<i>oiketēs</i>	Servant
<i>oikonomia</i>	Derives from the verb 'to administer', yet has also the meaning of <i>pronoia</i> in the late Byzantine period
<i>oikos</i>	Household, family



<i>papas</i>	Colloquial term for 'priest'
<i>paroikos</i>	Dependent Byzantine peasant
<i>phatria</i>	Faction, a closed circle of supporters, not an open party
<i>politeia</i>	The way of life, 'constitution', the commonwealth of citizens of a city
<i>posotēs</i>	The nominal value of an <i>oikonomia/pronoia</i> ; essentially it represents the sum of all fiscal taxes and other dues included in the grant of <i>pronoia</i> , but not the actual income
<i>praktikon</i>	The tax document registering an <i>oikonomia</i>
<i>pronoia</i>	Award from the state of a grant, consisting usually of land and often of dependent peasants; it represents an income for the holder; the recipient ( <i>pronoiaros</i> ) holds it conditionally for his lifetime
<i>prostagma</i>	A type of imperial document; an order
<i>psogos</i>	Literary invective, censuring an individual
<i>stasis (or hypostasis)</i>	A fiscal taxpaying unit (usually of a peasant)
<i>stremma</i>	Unit of measurement of surface roughly equal to <i>modios</i>
<i>sympentheros/a</i>	The father or mother of one's son or daughter-in-law, but it could be extended to include uncles as well
<i>syntrophia</i>	Commercial partnership
<i>telos</i>	The tax on a property; also the monetary rent on a private property
<i>thema</i>	Administrative division; represents a province
<i>zeugarion</i>	Pair of oxen
<i>zeugēlateion</i>	A large estate

### Late Byzantine Offices, Dignities and Epithets

<i>Apographeus</i>	Tax assessor and often the tax collector of a province
<i>Archōn</i>	An elite person or anyone with authority
<i>Archontopoulos</i>	'Son of an <i>archōn</i> ' or sometimes simply an <i>archōn</i>
<i>Authentēs</i>	'Lord,' usually the emperor

<i>Dēmarchos</i>	Representative of the common people, appointed by the government
Despot	Imperial title, reserved for the sons of an emperor not destined to become emperors; in modern scholarship denotes also the rulers of smaller 'Byzantine' states (Thessaly, Epirus, Mystras), even when they did not have the title
<i>Doux</i>	In the twelfth century, the governor of a province with military and civil authority; in the thirteenth century he lost his military authority in favour of the <i>kephalē</i> ; disappears altogether in the early fourteenth century
<i>Diermēneutēs</i>	Official interpreter
<i>Endoxotatos</i>	Honorific epithet, 'most glorious'
<i>Eparchos</i>	Court title with no function; not identical to the former <i>eparch</i> (prefect) of Constantinople
<i>Epi tēs demosiakēs enochēs</i>	Official in charge ( <i>enochos</i> ) of the rights of the fisc
<i>Exarchos</i>	Appointed head or representative of something/ someone
<i>Kastrophylox</i>	Commander of the garrison of a city or a castle
<i>Katholikos kritēs of the Rōmaioi</i>	'General judge': the supreme judicial court in Byzantium after 1329
<i>Kephalē</i>	Governor of a province or of a city
<i>Kritēs tou phossatou</i>	Military judge
<i>Kyr</i>	Honorific epithet, equivalent to the English 'sir'
<i>Megalodoxotatos</i>	Lesser honorific dignity, 'of great glory'
<i>Megalohyperochos</i>	Lesser honorific dignity, 'of great excellency'
<i>Mesazōn</i>	The 'prime minister' of late Byzantium, an appointed person through whom state affairs are administered in cooperation with the emperor
<i>Nomophylax</i>	A higher judicial official between both the civil and ecclesiastical administration
<i>Oikeios</i>	'Familiar'; in connection with the emperor it is a sort of epithet-dignity, meaning that the official in question was in the emperor's service
<i>Paidopoulon</i>	Page boy

<i>Paneugenestatos</i>	Honorific epithet, 'most noble'
<i>Pansebastos</i>	Honorific epithet attached to the dignity <i>sebastos</i>
<i>Porphyrogennētos</i>	Literally 'born in purple'; epithet designating children born by an emperor during his reign
<i>Prōtasēkrētis</i>	Judicial office and title; the head of the judges before 1329
<i>Prōtogeros</i>	The head elder in a village
<i>Sebastokratōr</i>	Imperial title, reserved for the brothers of an emperor
<i>Sebastos</i>	Honorific dignity, 'respected,' rather low in rank this period
<i>Stratēgoi</i>	Literally means 'general'; administratively, <i>stratēgos</i> was the governor of a middle Byzantine province between the eighth and eleventh centuries
<i>Stratiōtēs</i>	Soldier (in documentary sources, usually not a simple soldier, but a <i>pronoiaros</i> )
<i>Syr</i>	The designation <i>kyr</i> applied though to a person of Latin origin
<i>Typikon</i>	A document, often in literary form, that sets up the rules and prescriptions of a monastic community

## Byzantine Emperors (1261–1453)

Ioannes IV Laskaris	1258–61 (a minor; Michael VIII was his regent)
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–82 (regent: 1258–9; co-emperor 1259–61)
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328 (co-emperor from 1272)
Michael IX Palaiologos	<i>1294–1320</i> (only as co-emperor)
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–41 (co-emperor before 1313)
Ioannes V Palaiologos	1341–91 (1341–54: a minor under the regency of his mother until 1347, and then of Ioannes VI)
Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos	1347–54 (self-proclaimed emperor in 1341)
Matthaios Kantakouzenos	<i>1353–7</i> (only as co-emperor)
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–9 (co-emperor: 1352–73 and again 1381–5)
Ioannes VII Palaiologos	1390 (co-emperor: 1377–9; self-proclaimed emperor: 1385–99; co-emperor: 1399–1408)
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
Andronikos V Palaiologos	<i>1400–7</i> (minor; only as co-emperor)
Ioannes VIII Palaiologos	1425–48 (co-emperor already before 1416)
Konstantinos XI Palaiologos	1449–53

# Alphabetical List of the Official Hierarchy of Titles in Pseudo-Kodinos

Akolouthos	Megas logariastēs
Amēralios	Megas logothetēs
Archōn tou allagiou	Megas myrtaitēs
Bestiarion	Megas papias
Domestikos tōn anatolikōn thematōn	Megas primmikērios
Domestikos tōn scholōn	Megas stratopedarchēs
Domestikos tōn thematōn	Megas tzaousios
Domestikos tōn dusikōn thematōn	Myrtaitēs
Domestikos tēs trapezēs	Mystikos
Domestikos tōn teicheōn	Orphanotrophos
Droungarios	Panhypersebastos
Eparchos	Papias
Epi tēs trapezēs	Parakoimōmenos tou koitōnos
Epi tōn anamnēseōn	Parakoimōmenos tēs sphendonēs
Epi tōn deēseōn	Pinkernēs
Epi tou kanikleiou	Praitōr tou dēmou
Epi tou stratou	Primmikērios tēs aulēs
Hetaireiarchēs	Prokathēmenos tou bestiarion
Kaisaras	Prokathēmenos tōn megalōn palatiōn
Koiaistōr	Prokathēmenos tou koitōnos
Kouropalatēs	Prokathēmenos tōn Blachernōn palatiōn

Kritēs tou phossatou	Prõtallagatōr
Logariastēs tēs aulēs	Prõtasekrētis
Logothetēs tōn agelōn	Prõtobestiaris
Logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn	Prõtobestiaritēs
Logothetēs tou dromou	Prōtoierakarios
Logothetēs tou genikou	Prōtokomēs
Logothetēs tou stratiōtikou	Prōtokynēgos
Megas adnoumiastēs	Prōtonotarios
Megas archōn	Prōtosebastos
Megas chartoularios	Prōtospatharios
Megas diermēneutēs	Prōtostratōr
Megas dioikētēs	Sebastos
Megas domestikos	Skouterios
Megas doux	Stratopedarchēs tōn monokaballōn
Megas droungarios tou stolou	Stratopedarchēs tōn mourtatōn
Megas droungarios tēs biglas	Stratopedarchēs tōn tzakōnōn
Megas hetaireiarchēs	Stratopedarchēs tōn tzangratorōn
Megas konostaulos	Tatas tēs aulēs

# Alphabetical List of Ecclesiastical Offices

Anagnōstēs  
Archimandritēs  
Archōn tōn ekklēsiōn  
Archōn tōn kontaktiōn  
Archōn tōn monastēriōn  
Archōn tōn phōtōn  
Chartophylax  
Deutereuōn tōn diakonōn  
Dikaiophylax  
Dikaiou  
Domestikos  
Ekdikos  
Ekklēsiarchēs  
Epi tēs eutaxias  
Epi tēs hieras katastaseōs  
Epi tōn gonatōn  
Hypomimnēskōn  
Hypomnēmatographos  
Kanstrisios  
Katēchētēs  
Kouboukleisios  
Laosynaktēs  
Logothetēs

Oikonomos

Primmikērios tōn anagnōstōn

Primmikērios tōn taboullariōn

Prōtekdikos

Prōtonotarios

Prōtopapas

Prōtopsaltēs

Repherendarios

Sakellarios

Sakelliou

Skeuophylax

Taboullarios



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# Index of Names

- Aaron, 317  
Abalantes, Nikolaos, 322n, 324  
Abraham, 68, 97, 210  
*Abramiaioi*, 210  
Abrampakes, Michael, 313  
Achyraitēs, Konstantinos, 309, 360  
Adam, Ioannes, 324, 346  
Adeniatēs, Ioannes, 118  
Agallianos, Theodoros, 275  
Agallon, Nikolaos Boullotes, 144  
Agapetoi (family), 159, 161n  
Agapetos, Xenos, 161  
Akindynos, Gregorios, 216, 217n, 219  
Akropolites (family), 136, 138–9  
Akropolites, Georgios, 103, 130, 132n, 139, 203, 433n  
Akropolites, Konstantinos, 52, 54, 95, 139, 282, 433n  
Akropolitissa, Maria Doukaina, 232  
Alans, 124, 211  
Alexios I Komnenos, 28, 35n, 37, 52, 141, 152, 177  
Alexios, *megas stratopedarchēs*, 83, 85, 106, 108, 285  
AlmeGas, Monomachos, 363  
Alousianos, Thomas Doukas, 144  
Amaseianos, 358  
Ameras, 316  
Amnon, Alexios, 173  
Amnon, Konstantinos, 167  
Anatolikos, 422  
Angelina, Anna, 312  
Angelina, Theodora Palaiologina, 239, 306  
Angeloi (family), 40, 215  
Angeloi Radiporoi (family), 132  
Angelos, *logariastēs tēs aulēs*, 57  
Angelos, Alexios, 309, 317, 346  
Angelos, Ioannes, 61, 128, 285, 299n  
Angelos, Konstantinos, 397, 412, 423  
Angelos, Markos, 315  
Angelos, Michael Komnenos, 148  
Antiocheites, 270  
Antiocheites, Andreas, 161  
Antiocheites, Manuel, 317  
Antonios, priest, 167, 404  
Antonios, metropolitan of Herakleia, 93  
Antonios IV, patriarch of Constantinople, 281n, 283  
Apelmene (family), 107, 146  
Apelmene, 107, 169n, 222–3  
Apelmene, Demetrios, 177  
Aphratas, 352n, 357  
Apokaukoi/Apokaukos (family), 222, 229, 416  
Apokaukos, Alexios, 3, 61, 73, 87, 88n, 90, 96, 103, 105, 107–9, 132, 140, 144, 146, 213, 216–18, 221–2, 229, 235, 268, 299n, 416, 430, 435  
Apokaukos, Euthemios, 416  
Apokaukos, Georgios Doukas, 416  
Apokaukos, Ioannes, 75, 88, 108  
Aquinas, Thomas, 406  
Arabantenos, Philippos, 318, 358  
Archontissa, Mamalina, 411  
Archontissa, Theodora, 409  
Archontitzēs, Michael, 175  
Archontitzēs, Niketas, 317  
Arenós de Ferran Ximénes, 241, 298  
Arethas, Demetrios, 309  
Argyropouloi/Argyropoulos (family), 107, 208, 409–10, 419, 426, 433  
Argyropoulos, Andreas, 409, 411, 419  
Argyropoulos, Ioannes, 92–3, 102, 410  
Arianites, Michael Doukas, 86  
Arsenios, patriarch of Constantinople, 3, 76, 278, 280  
Asanes (family), 135, 303, 426  
Asanes, Alexios, 303, 346  
Asanes, Andronikos, 144, 218, 303  
Asanes, Andronikos Palaiologos, 403  
Asanes, Ioannes, 109, 299n  
Asanes, Isaakios, 303  
Asanes, Manuel, 303, 304n, 348, 362  
Asanina, Maria, 303, 346  
Astras (family), 73–4  
Astras, Georgios Synadenos, 85, 238, 405  
Astras, Michael Synadenos, 401, 405

- Athanasios I, patriarch of  
Constantinople, 10n, 19,  
67–8, 72, 95, 105, 120–1,  
171, 279, 282
- Attaleiates, Michael, 143
- Atuemes, Konstantinos, 308
- Atzymes, 66
- Azanites, Konstantinos, 323
- Azanites, Leon, 309, 323
- Badoer, Giacomo, 22, 159–60,  
233, 393, 409
- Balsamones/Balsamon  
(family), 141, 146, 412
- Balsamon, Demetrios, 412, 415
- Balsamon, Manuel, 412
- Balsamon, Michael, 412
- Balsamon, Theodoros, 412
- Bardales, Ioannes 162
- Bardales, Leon, 84, 146, 164n,  
205, 301, 303, 352
- Bardas, Demetrios, 324
- Barlaam, 90, 216, 219, 273
- Barypates, 142, 166
- Barypates, Leon, 142
- Barypates, Michael, 142
- Barzanes, Theodoros, 421
- Basilikos, Ioannes, 159
- Basilikos, Nikephoros, 302
- Basilikos, Theophylaktos, 144
- Bassos, Kassianos, 113
- Bastralites, Demetrios, 315,  
352
- Batatzes (family), 215, 308
- Batatzes, Georgios Komnenos,  
308
- Batatzes, Ioannes, *apographeus*,  
*prōtokynēgos*, 107–8, 235,  
300n, 353n
- Batatzes, Konstantinos, 308,  
349
- Batatzes, Theodoros, 107
- Batrachonites, Manuel, 171
- Bäyezid I, 6, 22, 73, 276, 290,  
392, 395, 399, 405, 413,  
414, 424, 425
- Bäyezid II, 393
- Belisarios, general, 72–4
- Beniamen, priest, 63
- Berroiotēs, Theodoros, 358
- Bessarion, 204
- Biblodontes, Manuel, 167
- Blastares, Matthaïos, 20, 311n
- Bohemond, 59
- Boullotes, Demetrios, 235
- Bouzenos, Manuel, 400, 419
- Brachnos, Theodoros, 162, 209
- Branas, 86
- Branas, Komnenos, 401
- Broulas, Iakobos, 221
- Bryennios, Ioseph, 65
- Bryennios, Makarios, 306
- Bryennios, Michael, 136
- Catalans 124, 153, 211, 213
- Chalazas, 161
- Chalazas, Theodoros, 82n, 161
- Chalkeopoulos, 159
- Chalkeopoulos, Stylianos, 422
- Chandrenos, 219
- Chatzikes, Manuel Laskaris, 55
- Cheilas, Theodosios, 319, 321n
- Choneiates, Georgios, 75
- Chortasmenos, Ioannes,  
58–60, 65–6, 89, 91,  
93, 122
- Choumnoi/Choumnos  
(family), 28, 107, 136,  
139, 229, 416
- Choumnos, Georgios 54–5,  
85, 139
- Choumnos, Ioannes, 139
- Choumnos, Makarios, 99,  
139
- Choumnos, Michael Doukas,  
139, 416
- Choumnos, Nikephoros,  
52, 64, 66, 83n, 84,  
106, 108–9, 139, 144n,  
161–2, 210, 219, 235,  
268, 289, 300
- Choumnos, Phokas, 144
- Chreles, Stephanos, 168, 203
- Chresimos, Nikolaos, 196
- Chrysobergai (family), 142
- Chrysoberges, Georgios  
Alethinos, 422–3
- Chrysoberges, Maximos, 219
- Chrysokephalina, 396
- Chrysokephalos, *katholikos*  
*kritēs*, 144, 413
- Chrysokephalos, Makarios, 413
- Chrysokokkes, Manuel, 414,  
414n
- Chrysolorades (family), 208,  
414
- Chrysoloras, *praitōr tou*  
*dēmou*, 414
- Chrysoloras Demetrios, 415
- Chrysoloras Ioannes, *miles*,  
*comes palatinus*, 414,  
415n, 417
- Chrysoloras Ioannes, *logothetēs*  
*tou genikou*, 414
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, 65n,  
92n, 219, 414–15, 417
- Clavijo, 210–11
- Dadas, 163
- Deblitzene, Maria, 233
- Deblitzenos, Demetrios, 124
- Deblitzenos, Manuel, 83n, 234
- Demerode, Giovanni, 402
- Dermokaitēs, 144, 345, 408n
- Diplobatatzes (family), 74, 150
- Diplobatatzes, Alexios, 150n,  
309
- Diplobatatzes, Manuel, 150
- Dishypatoi (family), 56, 138,  
321, 344
- Dishypatos, *oikeios*, 160–1
- Dishypatos, Ioannes, 321, 324
- Dishypatos, Ioannes Laskaris,  
138
- Dishypatos, Konstantinos, 321
- Dishypatos, Manuel, 321, 324
- Dokeianos, Theodoros, 321
- Doukai (family), 35, 37, 88n
- Doukopoulos (family), 234
- Doukopoulos, 234
- Doukopoulos, Petros, 224, 234n
- Draperiis de, Jane, 405
- Draperiis de, Luchino, 405
- Drimys, Ioannes, 213
- Drosinos, Konstantinos, 177
- Dryinos (family), 344
- Eirene, 179
- Ephraim, 130
- Esaias, patriarch of  
Constantinople, 280,  
322n
- Eurippiotes, Alexios, 185
- Eudaimonoïoannes (family),  
234, 314n, 410, 426
- Eudaimonoïoannes,  
Demetrios Komnenos,  
313–14
- Eudaimonoïoannes, Georgios,  
421
- Eudaimonoïoannes, Michael,  
410
- Eudaimonoïoannes, Nikolaos,  
410, 421
- Eugenikos (family), 141, 413
- Eugenikos, Georgios, 412n, 413
- Eugenikos, Ioannes, 204, 393n,  
412n, 413

- Eugenikos, Markos,  
metropolitan of  
Ephesos, 413–14
- Euphrosyne, 138
- Eustathios of Thessalonike, 51
- Gabalas, 156
- Gabalas, Ioannes, 144–5
- Gabalas, Matthaios,  
metropolitan of  
Ephesos, 145
- Gabraina, 196
- Gabraina, Eirene, 422
- Gabras, Ioannes, 318
- Gabras, Michael, 18–19, 49,  
64, 66, 70, 218, 432
- Gabriel, metropolitan of  
Thessalonike, 98, 393n
- Gabrielopoulos, Georgios  
Kydones, 144
- Galesiotes, Georgios, 145
- Garianos, Manuel, 315–16
- Gattilusio, (family), 1, 18,  
285–6, 405n, 430
- Gemistos, Georgios (Plethon),  
5n, 18, 115, 127
- Genoese, 1, 6, 86–7, 119, 140,  
157, 162, 213–14, 229,  
273, 391–3, 398, 402,  
405, 421
- Geoffrey (Tzefrai), 222
- Georgilas, Athanasios, 348–50
- Georgilas, Konstantinos,  
348–50
- Georgios, *protogeros*, 198
- Georgios, freedman, 423
- Glabas, *katholikos kritēs*, 144
- Glabas, Isidoros, 68, 83n, 94,  
272, 276, 283
- Gobenos, Leon, 317
- Gogos, Michael Papyllas, 303,  
315
- Gorgaina, Theodora, 164
- Goudeles (family), 4, 107,  
109n, 136, 140, 229, 397,  
402, 405–6, 408, 426, 430
- Goudeles, *oinochoōs*, 223
- Goudeles, Demetrios  
Palaiologos, 407
- Goudeles, Georgios, 65, 108,  
396–7, 402, 405, 407, 421
- Goudeles, Ioannes, 402, 405
- Goudeles, Manuel, 407
- Goudeles, Nikolaos, 244
- Goudeles, Philippos, 397
- Gounares, Branas, 422
- Gounaropoulos, Georgios, 173
- Gounaropoulos, Ioannes 173
- Grammatikos, Ioannes, 141
- Greeks, 18, 241n, 409
- Gregoras, Nikephoros, 17, 19,  
51, 56, 58, 73, 86, 89–90,  
92, 94, 96, 102–3, 118,  
121, 129, 214, 216, 219,  
272–4, 280, 435
- Gregorios Kyprios, patriarch  
of Constantinople, 19,  
156, 158, 162
- Hagiopetrites, Theodoros 166
- Harmenopoulos, Konstantinos,  
20, 144, 396
- Hierissiotēs, Manuel, 169
- Hodegetrianos, 422
- Holobolos (family), 141, 413
- Holobolos, Ioannes, 413
- Holobolos, Manuel, 96, 107,  
413, 417
- Hyrtakenos, Theodoros, 18,  
49, 64, 66, 70, 93, 105,  
131, 166, 218, 432
- Ianoulos of Kechortasmene,  
423
- Iatropoulos, Demetrios, 208
- Ierax, 223
- Ioannes, archbishop of  
Bulgaria, 141
- Ioakeim, bishop of Zichna,  
228, 301, 322, 347
- Ioannes III Batatzes, 56, 86, 91,  
103, 138n, 140, 140n, 146,  
208, 211, 235, 430, 435
- Ioannes IV Laskaris, 3, 76,  
103, 213, 275
- Ioannes VII Palaiologos, 4,  
140, 186, 229, 276, 280,  
397, 401, 405–7, 415, 424
- Ioannes VIII Palaiologos, 55,  
56n, 60, 93, 138n, 225,  
410
- Ioannes, *megas primmikērios*,  
83, 106, 108, 285
- Ioannes Kalekas, patriarch, 3,  
107, 213, 216–17, 220,  
273, 280, 322
- Ioannikios, 295
- Ioceph of Herakleia, 213, 218
- Ioceph, *oikonomos* of Zichna,  
319
- Isauros, Demetrios, 125, 211
- Isidoros I Boucheir, patriarch  
of Constantinople, 161,  
216, 220
- Ivan III Asen, 303
- Izz al-din Kaykāvūs II (Seljuk  
sultan), 151
- Jelena, empress of Serbia, 298,  
303, 308n, 313
- Jews 206, 322, 348
- Justinian I, 32, 62
- Kabakes, Athanasios, 161
- Kaballarios, 318
- Kaballarios, Bardas, 57
- Kaballarios, Markos, 57, 62, 72
- Kabasilai/Kabasilas (family),  
141, 147, 208, 223
- Kabasilas, *megas archōn*, 147
- Kabasilas, Alexios, 148
- Kabasilas, Andronikos, 147
- Kabasilas, Demetrios, 148
- Kabasilas, Demetrios Doukas,  
147
- Kabasilas, Demetrios  
Kaniskes, 147
- Kabasilas, Georgios, 147
- Kabasilas, Ioannes 148
- Kabasilas, Konstantinos,  
*protopapas* of  
Blachernai, 148
- Kabasilas, Michael, 145, 148,  
222–3
- Kabasilas, Neilos, 147, 220
- Kabasilas, Nikolaos, 68, 93–4,  
282, 289, 291, 323
- Kabasilas, Nikolaos  
Chamaētos, 147
- Kabasilas, Theodoros 148
- Kakodikēs, 346
- Kakos, Michael, 88
- Kalekas, Manuel, 19, 156, 397,  
415, 420
- Kalenos, Georgios, 184
- Kalenos, Ioannes, 184
- Kalligopouloi, 421
- Kalligopoulos, Theodoros, 320
- Kallinikos, monk, 315
- Kallistos, Demetrios  
Palaiologos, 400
- Kallistos, Georgios, 53, 414
- Kallistos, patriarch of  
Constantinople, 280
- Kalokyres, priest, 419, 423
- Kalokyres, Thomas, 419–20,  
424

- Kalorizos, Michael, 319, 322n, 323
- Kalothetos, Leon, 150, 285
- Kalothetos, Stephanos, 150, 313
- Kallomenos, Georgios, *chartophylax*, 319–21
- Kallomenos, Georgios, *hypomnēmatographos*, 320
- Kallomenos, Ioannes, 320, 324
- Kaloeidas, Ioannes  
Antiocheites, 421
- Kalothetos, Ioannes  
Komnenos, 150
- Kalothetos, Ioseph, 67, 95
- Kalopheros, Ioannes Laskaris, 224
- Kamateroi (family), 35, 141
- Kamateros, Theodosios, 324
- Kampanos, 130
- Kanaboutzes, Ioannes, 164
- Kananos (family), 73, 74n
- Kantakouzene, Helene, 109
- Kantakouzene, Maria, 224
- Kantakouzene, Theodora, 298, 299n, 351
- Kantakouzene, Theodora  
Palaiologina Angelina, 239, 298
- Kantakouzenoi/  
Kantakouzenos (family), 40, 135, 215, 298, 426
- Kantakouzenos, *meγas primmikērios*, 403
- Kantakouzenos, Andronikos, *kephalē* of Serres, 7, 304n
- Kantakouzenos, Manuel, despot, 285
- Kantakouzenos, Manuel  
Phakrases, 149
- Kantakouzenos, Matthaios, 4, 215, 285, 305
- Kantakouzenos, Phakrases, 149, 223
- Kapantrites, Theodoros, 151
- Kaphoures, Michael, 310
- Karabas, Theodoros, 165
- Karbounas, Michael, 359
- Karbounas, Nikolaos, 359
- Karbounas, Tzernes, 359
- Kardames, *meγas tzaousios*, 307, 314
- Kardames, Boilas, 349
- Kardames, Euthymios, 125, 211
- Kardames, Ioannes, 308
- Kardames, Theodoros, 307
- Kardames, Nikolaos, 308
- Kardamina, Eirene Komnene, 307
- Kasandrenos, Demetrios, 144, 221
- Kasandrenos, 144n, 146, 233, 234, 301
- Kastamonitai (family), 142
- Katabolenos, Ioannes, 317
- Katadokeinos, 417
- Katakalon, 127, 422
- Kataphygiotes, Michael, 160
- Katharos (family), 142, 166
- Katharos, Georgios, 142
- Katharos, Konstantinos, 142
- Katharos, Stephanos, 142
- Katzaras, Georgios, 125, 238n
- Kaukanina, Chrysokephalina, 421
- Kausokalybites, Maximos, 104–5
- Kelliotes, Ioannes, 184
- Kelliotes, Theodoros, 184
- Kelliotes, Xenos, 184
- Kerameas, Theodoros, 146
- Kerameres, Ioannes, 166
- Kerameus, Neilos, 146n, 281
- Keramotos, Theodoros, 319, 321n
- Kinnamos, Andreas, 160
- Kinnamos, Nikolaos, 414
- Kladon, 317–18
- Kolebas, 159
- Komnenoi (family), 35, 85, 117, 141, 225, 307
- Komnenos, Alexios Raoul, 236, 241, 298
- Komnenos, Michael, emperor of Trebizond, 139
- Konstantinos XI Palaiologos, 18, 285, 288, 403, 411
- Kontostaulos, Theophylaktos, 181
- Konstomoiros (family), 323
- Konstomoiros, Ioannes, 309, 314, 323
- Kontobrakes, 358
- Kontophres, 150
- Kontostaulos, Basileios, 181
- Kontostephanina, Anna  
Asanina, 106n, 285n
- Kontostephanos, 127n, 425
- Koreses, 343–4, 397, 402
- Koreses, Doukas, 314
- Koreses, Manuel, 421
- Koreses, Nikolaos, 421
- Kosmas, Michael, 179
- Koteanitzes, Leon, 184, 310
- Koubaras, Ioannes, 317
- Koubaras, Manuel, 319, 322n
- Koubaras, Nikolaos, 320, 322n
- Koubaras, Theodoros, 320, 322
- Koumouses, 420, 423
- Koumouses, Alexios, 397, 420
- Koumouses, Andronikos, 421
- Koumouses, Theodoros, 420
- Kounales, Konstantinos, 82n, 346
- Koutzoulatos, 130
- Kozeakos, Makarios, 358–59
- Krites, Ioannes, 422
- Kritoboulos, Michael, 18
- Krokaina Anna, 318
- Krokas, 318–19
- Krokas, Athanasios, 318n, 319
- Kydones (family), 162
- Kydones, Demetrios, 19, 64, 89, 94–5, 97, 106, 140, 144n, 162, 215–16, 219–20, 223, 234, 268, 275, 323, 394, 405–7, 414–15
- Kyrianes, Georgios, 181
- Kyrianes, Ioannes, 181
- Lampadenos, Perios, 399
- Laskaris (family), 3, 135, 149, 215, 284, 305–6, 361, 426, 434
- Laskaris, Demetrios  
Bryennios, 306
- Laskaris, Georgios Komnenos, 305
- Laskaris, Ioannes, 187
- Laskaris, Ioannes (pseudo), 275
- Laskaris, Komnenos, 358
- Laskaris, Konstantinos, 54n, 305, 344
- Laskaris, Konstantinos  
Komnenos, 305
- Laskaris, Manuel Bryennios, 143, 144n
- Laskaris, Michael, 130
- Leontares (family), 73, 138, 140
- Leontares, Bryennios, 140, 398n, 405
- Leontares, Demetrios  
Laskaris, 138, 398n
- Leontarios, 398
- Libadarios, Ioannes, 405
- Limpidarios (family), 285



- Linardos, Loukas, 422  
 Lusignan de, Guy, 299  
 Lypenares, Andronikos, 308–10, 317, 343  
 Lypenares, Palaiologos, 344, 346  
 Lyzikos, Alexios, 320  
 Lyzikos, Manuel, 320  
  
 Mabelina, Maria, 349  
 Madarites, Symeon, 82n, 224, 317, 346  
 Magistros, Ioannes, 422  
 Magistros, Syrianos, 114  
 Magistros, Thomas, 90, 94, 96, 204, 219, 288–9  
 Makarios, 397  
 Makarios, metropolitan of Ankyra, 279, 281n  
 Makarios, metropolitan of Serres, 322  
 Makarios, metropolitan of Thessalonike, 217  
 Makrembolites, Alexios, 51, 70, 72, 88, 97, 100, 120–1, 145, 156, 273, 432  
 Makres, Ioannes, 357  
 Makres, Makarios, 94  
 Makrodoukas, 400  
 Makrodoukas, Nikolaos, 422  
 Makrodoukas, Palaiologos, 314  
 Makropoulos, Konstantinos, 159–60  
 Makropoulos, Manuel, 159–60  
 Makrymalles, 159–60  
 Malakes, Theodoros, 167  
 Maliasenos, Nikolaos Angelos Komnenos 174–5  
 Mamales (family), 410, 426  
 Mamales, Andreas Doukas, 411  
 Mamales, Georgios Doukas, 411  
 Mamales, Ioannes, 409–11  
 Mamales, Konstantinos, 410–11  
 Mamales, Laskaris, 411  
 Mamales, Nikolaos, 411  
 Mamales, Theodoros, 411  
 Mamenos, *archontopoulon*, 317, 347  
 Mamenos, Ioannes, 177  
 Mamonas (family), 234  
 Manikaïtes, Demetrios Angelos, 144  
 Manikaïtes, Ioannes, 317  
 Mankaphas, 223  
 Manuel II Palaiologos, 4, 19, 83, 92n, 97, 107, 115, 120, 129, 140, 144n, 219, 223, 225, 235, 276, 279, 280, 282, 285, 289–90, 298, 394, 407, 410, 413  
 Margarites, Ioannes (Ioasaph), 207, 238, 312, 352, 357  
 Margarites, Konstantinos, 103  
 Marmaras, Georgios, 82n, 162  
 Marmaras, Theodoros, 160–1, 167  
 Maroules, Manuel, 358  
 Maroules, Nikolaos, 124–5  
 Martinos, Nikephoros, 125, 228, 237, 316, 345  
 Masgidas, Ioannes, 315  
 Masgidas, Konstantinos, 395  
 Matarangos, Nikolaos, 144, 314n, 343  
 Matthaïos I, patriarch of Constantinople, 279–80, 425  
 Maurophoros (family), 344  
 Maurophoros, Michael, 309, 312  
 Maurozomes, Konstantinos, 57  
 Maximos of Skoteine, 92, 165  
 Melanchrinos, Theodoros, 321  
 Melidones, Ioannes, 419–20  
 Melissenoi (family), 141  
 Melissenos, Ioannes Doukas, 91, 318  
 Melissenos, Theodoros, 321  
 Melissenos, Theodosios, 344  
 Melissenos, Xenos of, 179  
 Melitas, Manuel, 321  
 Mesopotamites, *sebastos*, 317  
 Mesopotamites, Andronikos, 317  
 Mesopotamites, Manuel, 317  
 Metochitai/Metochites (family), 28, 107, 109n, 135–7, 209, 229, 426  
 Metochites, Alexios Atuemes Laskaris, 84, 137  
 Metochites, Andronikos, 138  
 Metochites, Demetrios Angelos, 137  
 Metochites, Demetrios Palaiologos, 137–8, 404  
 Metochites, Georgios, 106, 136  
 Metochites, Laskaris, 83n, 143, 144n  
 Metochites, Manuel Raoul, 137  
 Metochites, Michael Laskaris, 137  
 Metochites, Nikephoros Laskaris, 137, 216, 228n, 433n  
 Metochites, Theodoros, 52, 64, 99, 105–8, 136–7, 139, 144n, 145–6, 204, 218–19, 228, 233, 268, 299, 301, 319, 433n  
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, 1–3, 17, 83, 85, 88, 98n, 148, 171, 175, 215, 230, 232, 236, 275, 303, 304n, 363n, 394n, 406–7  
 Michael IX Palaiologos, 82n, 224, 317  
 Misouras, Theodoros, 181  
 Mitylenaios, Christophoros, 70  
 Modenos, *prōtopapas*, 308, 323–5, 344  
 Modenos, Ioannes, 308, 319–22, 325  
 Modenos, Konstantinos, 200  
 Modenos, Michael, 324  
 Modenos, Theodoros, 320  
 Momtzilas, 357  
 Monembasiotes, Michael, 422  
 Monomachos (family), 135, 139  
 Monomachos, Michael, 300–1  
 Moschopoulos, Georgios, 196  
 Mourmouras, Georgios, 319–20, 321n, 325  
 Mourmouras, Ioannes, 320  
 Mourmouras, Theodoros, 323  
 Mourmouras, Xenos, 323  
 Mourmouras, Xenos Kalligopoulos, 320  
 Mouzalon, Theodoros, 125  
 Mpalaës, Iakobos, *prōtonotarios*, 322, 324–5, 358  
 Nestongos (family), 136, 139  
 Nestongos, Georgios Doukas, 313  
 Nikephoros I, 154  
 Nikolaos, metropolitan of Serres, 324  
 Niphon I, patriarch of Constantinople, 96, 219  
 Notaras (family), 107, 109n, 136, 140, 234, 408–9, 426, 430

- Notaras, Demetrios, 408  
 Notaras, Georgios, 408  
 Notaras, Ioannes, 108, 408  
 Notaras, Loukas, 108, 272, 403, 404, 408–9  
 Notaras, Nikolaos, 109, 402, 408  
 Ntekalabrias, Goulielmonas Kaballarios, 311  
 Ntekalabrias, Ioannes Kaballarios, 311  
 Ntekalabrias, Theodoros Kaballarios, 311, 358–9
- Oinaiotēs, *lampadarios*, 145  
 Oinaiotēs, Andronikos, 145, 413  
 Oinaiotēs, Georgios, 144–6, 413  
 Oinaiotēs, Ioannes, 145  
 Oinaiotēs, Konstantinos Palaiologos, 145  
 Orestēs, *epi tou stratou*, 86, 314n  
 Orestēs, Ioannes, 168
- Pachymerēs, Georgios, 17, 56, 88n, 132, 132, 145, 235, 236, 271, 275  
 Palaiologina, Anna, 299n, 401–2, 405–7  
 Palaiologina, Anna Asanina, 399, 402  
 Palaiologina, Anna Aspjetissa, 405  
 Palaiologina, Eirene Choumnaina, 109, 144n, 300, 302, 347  
 Palaiologina, Eirene Metochitissa, 136  
 Palaiologina, Maria (Mary of the Mongols), 232  
 Palaiologina, Theodora, 298, 397, 399, 402, 405  
 Palaiologoi/Palaiologos (family), 35, 40–1, 74n, 135, 149, 209, 399, 400n, 405  
 Palaiologos, Alexios, 299, 316n  
 Palaiologos, Alexios, 322, 349  
 Palaiologos, Andreas, 206, 270  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, *megas stratopedarchēs*, 62  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, *megas stratopedarchēs* (2), 85  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, *ktētōr*, 398  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, *prōtobestiarios*, 299  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, *prōtostratōr*, 109  
 Palaiologos, David, *ktētōr*, 398  
 Palaiologos, Demetrios, brother of Konstantinos XI, 190n, 285  
 Palaiologos, Demetrios, *mega domestikos*, 84, 143, 144n  
 Palaiologos, Demetrios, ruler of Thessalonike, 130, 208n  
 Palaiologos, Demetrios, son of Andronikos II, 50, 140  
 Palaiologos, Gabriel, 399, 400n  
 Palaiologos, Ioannes, despot (brother of Michael VIII), 300  
 Palaiologos, Ioannes, *kaisaras*, 109  
 Palaiologos, Ioannes (Asan), despot, 158, 344  
 Palaiologos, Ioannes, *oikeios*, 399  
 Palaiologos, Ioannes, *panhypersebastos*, 136, 235  
 Palaiologos, Konstantinos, despot, 88n, 225, 228, 274  
 Palaiologos, Konstantinos, governor, 56, 89, 61, 299, 303, 305  
 Palaiologos, Michael, *archontopoulos*, 399  
 Palaiologos, Petros, 405  
 Palaiologos, Sphrantzes, 86, 236  
 Palaiologos, Syrgiannes, 3, 86, 213–14, 218, 235, 284  
 Palaiologos, Theodoros, 115  
 Palaiologos, Thomas, 223  
 Palamas, Gregorios, 9, 65, 67–8, 96–7, 104n, 216, 220  
 Panaretos, Ioannes, 302, 310n  
 Pankalos, Konstantinos, 231, 240, 302  
 Panopoulos, 419, 420, 424  
 Papadopoulos, Ioannes, 164  
 Paraspondylos, 223  
 Patrikios, Georgios Komnenos, 307, 358  
 Patrikiotes, Theodoros, 107, 145, 233, 235  
 Pechlampos, Demetrios, 173  
 Peditasimos, Niketas, 323  
 Peditasimos, Theodoros, 323  
 Pelargos, Manuel Komnenos, 343  
 Pelekanos, Ioannes, 245, 356  
 Pepagomenos (family), 409  
 Pepagomenos, Theodoros, 221  
 Perdikares, Konstantinos, 419  
 Perdikaes (family), 141  
 Perdikaes, Akindynos, 414  
 Pergamēnos (family), 146  
 Petraliphās, Andronikos Komnenos Doukas, 344  
 Phakeolatos, 221–2  
 Phakrasai/Phakrases (family), 135, 148–9  
 Phakrases, Demetrios, governor of Thessalonike, 275  
 Phakrases, Demetrios Palaiologos, *katholikos kritēs*, 149  
 Phakrases, Georgios, 149  
 Phakrases, Ioannes, 149  
 Phakrases Kantakouzenos (family), 223  
 Phakrases, Manuel Sideriotes 148–9  
 Phakrases, Matthaios, 149  
 Phakrases, Moyses, 149  
 Phakrases, Theodoros, 149  
 Phakrasina, 149  
 Phokas, 160  
 Phokopoulos (family), 344  
 Phokopoulos, Georgios Batatzēs, 308, 312, 314  
 Phrangopoulos, 161  
 Phrangopoulos, Ioannes, 87, 159  
 Phatmeris, Demetrios, 97  
 Planoudēs, Maximos, 94, 146, 149n, 162  
 Philanthropene, 88  
 Philanthropene, Theodora Palaiologina, 299  
 Philanthropene, Theodora, 400, 402  
 Philanthropenos (family), 135, 209  
 Philanthropenos, Alexios, 9, 73, 227n, 230  
 Philanthropenos, Alexios Doukas, 139  
 Philanthropenos, Alexios Laskaris, 225  
 Philes (family), 136, 139

- Philes Palaiologos (family), 415  
 Philotheos Kokkinos, patriarch of Constantinople, 51, 59, 86, 94, 104, 156, 213, 280, 281n  
 Ploummes, 270  
 Pothos, Michael Magistros, 422  
 Preakotzelos, 127  
 Prebezianos, Manuel, 347  
 Prodromos, Theodoros, 99  
 Psellos, Michael, 28, 143  
 Pseudo-Dionysios, 50  
 Pseudo-Kodinos, 20, 44, 52, 54–5, 124  
 Psilianos, Prokopios, 396  
 Pyrrhos, Georgios, 162
- Radenos, student of  
   Demetrios Kydones, 219  
 Radenos, Stephanos, *epi tēs trapezēs*, 394  
 Radoslav, 314  
 Rammatas, Georgios, 161  
 Raoul (family), 135, 137, 215, 407, 426  
 Raoul, Alexios Doukas, 299n, 302n, 312, 313, 346  
 Raoul, Alexios Komnenos, *megas domestikos*, 236, 241, 282, 298  
 Raoul, Manuel Palaiologos, 400, 402, 424  
 Raoul, Michael (Palaiologos), 399, 400n  
 Raoulaina, 304, 315  
 Raoulaina, Eirene  
   Palaiologina, 56, 89, 222  
 Rakendytes, Ioseph 'the Philosopher', 105, 431  
 Rizenos, Ioannes, 317  
 Romaia, 316  
*Rōmaioi*, 18, 55, 72–4, 130n, 155, 273, 427  
 Romaios, Eustathios 38, 237
- Sabentzes, Michael, 125  
 Samaminthes, Konstantinos, 163  
 Samios, Kyprianos, 191  
 Sarakenos, Ioannes, 316  
 Sarantenos, Alexandros, 151  
 Sarantenos, Diomedes  
   Doukas, 150  
 Sarantenos, Georgios, 151  
 Sarantenos, Ignatios Doukas, 150
- Sarantenos, Indanes, 150  
 Sarantenos, Ioannes, 151  
 Sarantenos, Loubros, 151  
 Sarantenos, Nikephoros, 151  
 Sarantenos, Nikolaos Doukas, 151  
 Sarantenos, Theodoros  
   Doukas Angelos, 86, 151–2, 170, 239  
 Savoy of, Anna, 3, 54, 149, 217–18, 221–3, 229, 273  
 Schoinas, Niketas, 357  
 Scholarios, Georgios  
   (Gennadios), 5n, 59, 144, 272, 409  
 Schoules, Michael, 314–15  
 Sebasteianos, Theodoros, 159  
 Senachereim, Angelos, 219  
 Senacherina, 304  
 Serbos, Konstantinos, 356  
 Sergopoulos, Manuel, 117  
 Sgouropoulos, Demetrios, 221  
 Sgouros, Ioannes Orestes, 231, 237–40  
 Sideriotes, merchant, 148, 274  
 Sideriotes, Manuel, 149, 159  
 Sigeros, Ioannes, 53  
 Skleros, Demetrios, 321  
 Smoleanites, 317  
 Solaris, 358  
 Somateianos, Michael, 162  
 Sophiano/Sophianos (family), 107, 140, 234, 408–9  
 Sophianos, 408  
 Sophianos, Ioannes, *oikeios*, 409  
 Sophianos, Ioannes, banker, 409  
 Sophianos, Michael  
   Kaballarios, 408  
 Sophianos, Nikolaos, 282, 400, 409  
 Sophianos, Theodoros  
   Scholarios, 409  
 Soromi, Georgios, 421  
 Soultanina, Eudokia Angelina  
   Kommene Palaiologina, 151, 151n  
 Soultanina, Xene, 207  
 Soultanos, Athanasios, 151  
 Souroungeres, Manuel, 83  
 Sphrantzes, Georgios, 18, 223, 225, 288, 403–4  
 Stamates of Theotokia, 198  
 Stefan Dušan, emperor, 3, 128, 298, 303, 304, 308, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 322, 352, 362
- Stephanos I, patriarch of Constantinople, 141  
 Stoudites, Theoktistos, 67  
 Strategopoulina, 56  
 Strategopoulos, Konstantinos, 56  
 Strategopoulos, Michael, 86, 92n  
 Strongylos (family), 274  
 Surachi, Theophylaktos, 160  
 Symeon of Thessalonike, 67–8, 102, 119  
 Synadeno/Synadenos (family), 135, 306–7, 320n, 322–3  
 Synadenos, Michael, 307–8  
 Synadenos, Michael  
   Komnenos, 313  
 Synadenos, Nikolaos Doukas, 306–7  
 Synadenos, Sergios, 299n, 319, 322–3n  
 Synadenos, Theodoros Doukas, 61–2, 83, 87, 213, 218, 221n, 300–1, 306  
 Syrgares, 174  
 Syrmpanos, 62–3  
 Syropoulo/Syropoulos (family), 141, 145–6, 413  
 Syropoulos, Ioannes, 144, 412–13  
 Syropoulos, Sylvestros, 217, 281, 411, 413
- Tagaris, Manuel, 88, 106, 108, 430  
 Tagaris, Paulos Palaiologos, 88, 108  
 Tarchaneiotai/Tarchaneiotēs (family), 87, 135, 215, 411  
 Tarchaneiotēs, Manuel  
   Doukas, 316, 394, 394n  
 Tarchaneiotēs, Michael  
   Palaiologos, 85  
 Tempratze, Georgios, 119  
 Thelematares, Georgios, 179  
 Theodoros II Laskaris, 41, 56, 88n, 103, 130n, 275, 279–80  
 Theodotos I, patriarch of Constantinople, 141  
 Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia, 94, 220  
 Theophilos, Demetrios, 162  
 Thryses, Ioannes, 350

- Tornikes, Demetrios, 55, 83n, 215, 304
- Tornikes, Ioannes, 139
- Tornikina, Anna, 83n, 304
- Tornikina, Maria Komnene, 139
- Tornikioi/Tornikes (family), 40, 135, 139, 147, 215, 306, 361, 363, 411, 434
- Trichas, 399, 405
- Troulene, Doukaina, 304
- Troulenos, Georgios Doukas, 304, 304n, 310, 310n, 317
- Trychadaina, 399, 405n
- Trypommates, Konstantinos, 315, 348n
- Tzamlakon, Alexios, 138, 297, 302n
- Tzamlakon, Arsenios, 61, 95n, 143, 144n, 214
- Tzamlakon, Demetrios, 85, 303, 305
- Tzamlakones/Tzamlakon (family), 135, 138, 284, 305, 361, 434
- Tzankaropoulos, Leon, 360
- Tzemtzeas, Theodoros, 319, 321n
- Tzouknidas, Ioannes, 160
- Tzouknidas, Konstantinos Bardas, 159, 160n
- Tzykandeles (family), 406, 415
- Tzykandeles, Ioannes, 406
- Tzykandeles, Manuel, 406
- Tzykandeles, Niketas, 406
- Tzykandeles, Philippos, 406
- Tzyrakes, 222
- Tzyringes (family), 165
- Tzyrithon, 130
- Tzyringes Demetrios, 164, 167
- Uglješa, Ioan, despot, 298, 323
- Venetians, 1, 5–6, 22, 138, 157, 162, 206, 392, 409
- Vlachoi/Vlachs, 75, 184, 198
- Vrachimi/Brachimini, Ioannes, 160
- Xanthopoulina, 149n, 274
- Xiphias, Alexios, 350
- Xiphias, Niketas, 316, 350n
- Yolanda-Eirene of Montferrat, 285, 317
- Zachariai (family), 321
- Zacharias, Ioannes, 144–45, 319–20, 322
- Zarachounes, 416
- Zarides, 352
- Zarides, Andronikos, 323

# Index of Terms

- abbots, 53–4, 63, 83, 99, 104,  
139, 146n, 154, 195, 228,  
238, 268–9, 271–2, 289,  
301, 358
- adelphaton/adelphata*, 9, 104,  
142, 300, 315, 324–5,  
345–7, 349, 400
- adelphopoiēsis*, 198
- agents, 21, 36, 82n, 107, 140,  
144, 161, 166–7, 397,  
402, 405, 421
- akritai*, 126n, 230
- aktouarios*, 144, 145, 320
- allagia*, 73
- allēlengyon*, 199
- ambassadors, 59, 144, 221,  
247, 313, 405, 410–11,  
414, 425
- anagnōstēs*, 166, 181
- ancestry, 26–7, 33, 35, 41, 81,  
87, 197, 428
- animals/livestock, 94, 102,  
117, 151, 175, 182, 187,  
191, 237–45, 350, 353–4,  
356, 430
- beehives, 175, 199, 325,  
353, 358
- bovines, 246–7
- chickens, 175, 243
- cows, 151, 170, 175, 182n,  
184, 239, 242, 244–7,  
352–3, 355–6
- goats, 175, 182, 353, 356n,  
357
- horse, 19, 60–1, 66, 151,  
161, 175, 187, 221, 318,  
423
- mule, 175, 178, 239, 318,  
350, 352, 356
- oxen, 142, 170, 175–6,  
178–80, 182–3, 200, 239,  
242, 244, 246, 318, 325,  
350, 352–6
- pigs, 175, 178n, 184, 200,  
239, 242–3, 352, 356
- sheep, 151, 158, 175, 182,  
239, 242, 244–5, 353–4,  
356
- anthrōpos/anthrōpoi*, 36, 118,  
181n, 190, 239
- apographeus/apographeis*,  
82n, 95n, 143, 145–6,  
152, 238, 268, 269, 300n,  
302–3, 310n, 346, 405n;  
*see also* tax assessors
- aporos/aporoi*, 183–4
- archbishop, 141, 148
- archimandrite, 93
- archdeacon, 136, 223
- archōn/archontes*, 5n, 30, 56,  
59, 65–6, 73, 74n, 90,  
93, 103, 113–14, 122–4,  
129–32, 136, 140, 142–3,  
147, 148n, 150, 152–3,  
156, 169, 191–2, 205–7,  
219, 222, 225, 234, 240n,  
269, 271–2, 276–8,  
281–2, 289–90, 299n,  
310–11, 318, 323, 408,  
410–11, 419, 424, 428
- archōn/archontes* of the  
*politeia*, *politikos*  
*archōn*, 271, 409,  
419–20, 426
- archōn tōn ekklesiōn*, 142, 166,  
323n
- archōn tōn monastēriōn*, 142,  
321
- archontopoulos/*  
*archontopouloi*, 211,  
239, 240n, 314n, 315,  
317–18, 400n, 422
- archpriest, 271
- argyramoibos*, 68, 160; *see also*  
bankers/*katallaktēs/*  
*chrysepilektēs*
- aristocracy/aristocrats, 9–10,  
19, 25–31, 35, 61, 66, 87,  
108, 116, 122–3, 129, 132,  
139, 141, 145, 206–7, 217,  
223, 228, 233, 239, 273,  
283–4, 296, 305, 307, 344,  
408, 412, 418, 421, 424,  
430, 433
- higher, 30, 43, 62, 73, 86, 115,  
129, 136–38, 142, 144,  
149–50, 154, 192, 223,  
229, 238, 268, 284, 303–4,  
316, 344–5, 361–62, 408,  
417, 425, 429, 432–6
- military, 27–30, 35, 85, 129
- senatorial, 32, 80, 141
- aristoi*, 25, 122, 155–6, 272, 289
- Arsenites, 3, 10n, 215, 275, 278
- artisans/artisanal, 92, 94,  
113–14, 118, 120, 153–7,  
162–3, 165–6, 192–3,  
209, 268, 347–9, 423–4,  
432; *see also* craftsmen/  
*technitēs*
- aspra*, 242, 243, 410
- associations, 42, 80, 88, 109,  
116, 139, 158, 194–5,  
201, 209, 212–14, 220,  
226, 230, 247, 274,  
316n, 430–1; *see also*  
*syntrophia/syntrophiai*

- astronomer, 136  
*autarkeia*/autarky, 67, 95, 121, 156, 182, 432  
*authentēs/authentai*, 44, 83, 98, 151, 174, 181, 313n  
 authority, 11, 23, 36, 43, 51, 54, 80, 83, 96, 103, 122, 171, 202, 206, 214, 219, 234–5, 237, 247, 266, 268–9, 277–8, 280–1, 283, 285, 287–90, 292, 297, 302, 311, 361–2, 411, 428–9, 435–6  
 charismatic, 11, 104  
 ecclesiastical, 274, 278, 282–3, 288  
 imperial, 267–9, 278, 287, 361, 435–6  
 judicial, 79, 287, 429  
 local, 166, 205, 268, 362  
 spiritual, 83  
 traditional, 11
- background, 20, 35, 70, 73–4, 95, 194, 234, 268, 423  
 cultural, 415  
 family, 410  
 lower, 107, 149  
 social, 20–1, 64, 104–5, 157, 197, 217, 221  
 economic, 21  
 financial, 90  
 illustrious, 103  
 obscure, 104–5  
 political, 4, 64  
 upper stratum, 99
- bakeries, 151, 157, 232, 270, 348–9, 421, 423  
 bank, 233, 402, 417  
 bankers, 68, 154–5, 160–1, 166, 193, 273, 409; *see also katallaktēs/chrysepilektēs/argyramoibos*  
 barbarians 18, 62, 91, 93–4  
 barons, 132, 148n, 298  
*basilikon sekreton*, 287; *see also katholikai kritai*  
*bestiaritai*, 224  
 birth, 12, 33, 41, 50, 80, 85, 102–3, 119, 123, 197  
 high, 86, 94, 129  
 good, 25–6, 116; *see also nobility*  
 ill, 41, 97; *see also dysgeneia*  
 imperial, 103  
 low, 73, 88, 165  
 noble, 88, 122  
 bishops, 10, 83, 90, 92, 112, 140, 198, 228, 269, 272, 277, 281, 283, 301, 323, 413–14  
 Kaisaropolis of, 322  
 Palamites, 89  
 Psithyra of, 142  
 Spelaion of, 54  
 Zichna of, 228, 301, 321, 345  
 Black Death, 77, 157n, 159n, 202, 392  
 branch *see* family  
 bureaucracy, 30, 93, 107, 228–9  
 cadasters; *see also megalē thesis*  
 Byzantine, 190  
 Ottoman, 297, 406n, 430  
 capital, 8, 34, 38, 67, 121, 158, 160, 163, 245, 291, 397, 402, 421, 423  
 business, 412  
 cultural, 12, 26, 33, 88, 195  
 economic, 12, 42, 99, 113, 122, 199, 363, 432  
 financial, 12, 361, 426, 433  
 imperial, 40  
 political, 42, 74, 113, 122, 432  
 social, 12, 33, 74, 88, 99, 152, 195, 199, 433  
 symbolic, 12  
 caste, 12, 31, 112, 116  
 ceremony, 20, 52, 57–8, 62n  
 Church, 43, 68, 98, 117, 128, 131, 143, 197, 201, 210, 272, 277–9, 281, 315, 415, 422, 425, 431–3, 435–6  
 Archangel Michael of, (Polemitas), 201n  
 Byzantine, 5, 10, 53, 277, 278  
 Catholic, 118, 219  
 Great, 281  
 Hagia Sophia, 119  
 local, 321  
 Ochrid, 97  
 Orthodox, 9, 118  
 Pammakaristos (Constantinople), 87  
 Pantanassa (Mystras), 56, 87  
 Selymbria, 87, 108  
 St Georgios, 56  
 St Ioannes Prodromos (Megali Kastania), 201n  
 St Sophia, 146  
 Theotokos Amolyntos, 398  
 cities, 4, 21, 38, 112, 118, 129, 140, 146, 157, 161–3, 168, 192, 201–4, 206–8, 229, 269, 270–1, 287, 289, 309, 320, 432  
 Byzantine, 38–9, 160, 202, 206, 208, 309  
 coastal, 168, encomia of, 204  
 Italian, 5, 426  
 provincial, 122, 289, 429  
 western, 206, 209, 361  
 citizens, 40, 62, 90, 95, 99, 111–12, 119, 129, 131, 155, 194, 203, 210, 271–2, 289, 419, 426, 429  
 Constantinople of, 213, 424  
 Thessalonike of, 155, 207, 271n  
 citizenship, 80, 111, 116, 427  
 civil war, 140, 156, 238  
 first, 3, 57, 60, 91, 123, 132, 136, 138, 148–9, 172, 212–14, 221, 228, 269, 274, 280, 297, 301, 321–2, 345, 361  
 second, 2–3, 29, 52, 61, 73, 77, 89, 91–2, 96, 106, 109, 129, 131–2, 139–40, 144, 147, 155, 202, 206–7, 213, 215–17, 221–3, 228, 238–9, 271–2, 275–6, 280, 289–90, 292, 297, 299, 311–12, 321–2, 345, 361–2, 391, 407, 429, 436  
 third, 73  
 chancellery, 403  
 chancery, 6  
*chartophylax/chartophylakes*, 54n, 142, 319–24  
 craftsmen, 153–4, 193; *see also* artisans/*technitēs*  
*chrysepilektēs*, 160–1; *see also* bankers/*katallaktēs/argyramoibos*  
 chrysobull, 123, 170, 168, 206–7, 237, 310, 312, 324, 353, 360  
 clans, 33–5, 40, 62, 85–6, 198, 434  
 class, 13–14, 22, 25–6, 30, 32, 90, 110, 112, 115–16, 187, 191, 194, 227, 247

- highest, 33  
 lesser, 120, 268, 431  
 lower, 4, 13–14, 110–13,  
 116, 154, 167, 192, 231,  
 270, 276, 426  
 middle, 42, 112–13, 121,  
 154–5, 157–60, 162–4,  
 166–7, 208, 228–9, 231,  
 268, 270, 273–4, 276,  
 308, 321, 347, 349–50,  
 412, 418–19, 421–4, 426,  
 432–4  
 middle social layers, 273,  
 429  
 privileged, 123, 128  
 rural, 116, 268  
 senatorial, 26n, 33, 131  
 social, 11–12, 121, 230, 436  
 upper, 4, 12–13, 25, 72, 102,  
 111, 113, 122–3, 136,  
 201, 318, 399, 431  
 upper middle, 34–6, 39, 82,  
 109, 111, 154, 160, 165,  
 193, 201, 268, 274, 420,  
 432, 434  
 urban, 116, 121, 154, 157,  
 162, 166, 201, 268, 273  
 clergy, 112, 114, 117, 123, 162,  
 164, 210  
 imperial, 136, 145  
 metropolitan, 44, 269, 296,  
 321, 323, 433  
 patriarchal, 223, 435  
 clerics, 115, 323, 325, 416  
 coins/coinage, 6, 87, 100, 159,  
 232; *see also nomismata*  
 ducats  
 commoners, 62, 82, 91, 112,  
 319, 436  
 communities, 5, 12, 37,  
 88, 104, 122, 168, 170,  
 172, 176, 194, 196,  
 199, 201, 212, 227,  
 230, 289, 352  
 Jewish, 348  
 middle-class, 159, 349  
 monastic, 21, 53–4, 104,  
 211, 435  
 pastoral, 168  
 urban, 11, 42, 194, 201,  
 203–4, 226, 230, 435  
 village, 11, 36–7, 42, 169,  
 194, 199–201, 226, 230,  
 348, 352–3, 355n, 431,  
 435  
 Vlach, 75, 198  
 company, 126, 209n, 211, 223,  
 304, 315  
 military, 212  
 Catalan, 298  
 confraternity, 210–11, 435  
 constitution, 32, 39, 50, 83,  
 115, 204, 271, 436  
 corvées, 76, 117, 171, 176,  
 179–80, 199, 237, 243,  
 429  
 Councils, 9, 54–5, 130–1, 140,  
 202, 205–7, 215, 269,  
 271–2, 280, 289, 429  
 Basel of, 137–8  
 city, 115–16, 202, 204,  
 205n, 290; *see also*  
*curiales*  
 Constance of, 410  
 Constantinople of, 219  
 Ferrara/Florence of, 5n,  
 53, 56, 59–60, 217–18,  
 272, 281, 412–13,  
 414n  
 imperial, 267–9, 288n  
 local, 208, 210, 269  
 Lyons of, 3, 215  
 Mt Athos of, 54  
 senate, 57  
 town, 268, 435  
 countryside, 3, 38, 44, 77–8,  
 112–13, 108, 117–18,  
 155, 157–8, 167–9, 174,  
 178, 192–3, 196, 202–3,  
 226, 231, 238, 246, 292,  
 306, 342, 350–1, 361–2,  
 429, 432–3  
 court, 2n, 20, 28, 36, 44, 53,  
 92, 199, 223, 282, 398,  
 401, 409, 411, 422  
 aristocratic, 36  
 ecclesiastical, 20, 118, 123,  
 196, 282, 318, 347  
 hierarchy of, 44, 52,  
 56, 84  
 imperial, 36, 123, 148, 219,  
 238, 413, 420  
 lay, 117–18, 347  
 lower, 143, 236  
 Ottoman, 417  
 patriarchal, 223, 281–3,  
 398–99, 401, 419–21  
 protocol, 52, 60–1  
 Serbian, 315  
 Crusade/Crusaders, 3,  
 290  
*curiales*, 32, 115–16  
 deacons, 53, 83, 142n, 146n,  
 166, 198n  
*dēmarchos/dēmarchoi*,  
 268–72, 275, 429  
*dēmos*, 74, 90–1, 97, 99, 113,  
 123, 129, 140, 152–4,  
 167, 191, 206, 216,  
 272–7, 428–9  
 dependency, 96, 168, 170, 172  
 despots/*despotes*, 2n, 38, 57,  
 83, 88n, 92, 109, 115,  
 130, 140, 148, 158, 186,  
 190n, 208n, 225, 228,  
 274, 298, 300, 323, 344,  
 394n  
*diermēneutēs*, 408  
 dignitaries, 5–7, 45, 130, 273,  
 319–23  
 ecclesiastical, 6, 54, 82,  
 140–2, 154, 156–7, 272,  
 321–5  
 dignities, 7, 34–5, 39, 44,  
 404  
*dikaiophylox*, 53  
 distinguished, 60, 62, 81, 104,  
 108, 118, 123, 130, 132,  
 161, 167, 201, 410, 419,  
 428, 433  
*domestikos tōn anolikōn*  
*thematōn*, 66  
*doulos/douloi*, 54n, 63, 83n,  
 84n, 118, 223–4, 313,  
 315, 316n; *see also*  
*slaves/ servants*  
*doux*, 35, 76, 152, 297, 416  
 dowry, 22, 151, 160, 164–5,  
 168, 196–7, 231, 233,  
 240, 304n, 306, 308, 313,  
 318, 325, 343, 357, 397n,  
 399–402, 405, 409n, 416,  
 421–2  
 ducats, 124, 300n, 350; *see also*  
*coins/nomismata*  
*dynatos/dynatoi*, 65–6, 120,  
 122, 129, 132, 153,  
 275; *see also* *powerful/*  
*synkletikoi/megistanes*  
 education, 12, 19, 21, 33, 36,  
 49, 80, 89–90, 92–3, 96,  
 102, 105–7, 136, 143–4,  
 162, 165, 222, 408n,  
 425, 428, 431; *see also*  
*paideia*  
*ekdikos*, 412  
*ekklēsiarchēs*, 53

- elite, 9n, 18, 25–7, 30, 34–5, 37, 40–1, 43, 49, 52, 55, 61, 67, 70, 72, 80–1, 83, 85–6, 88, 90, 94–5, 98–9, 102–4, 106–10, 121, 123, 126, 130, 132, 136, 142, 152, 156–8, 160–7, 185, 191, 197, 203, 208, 211, 215, 227, 229, 231–5, 237–9, 274, 278, 287, 302, 348–9, 359, 361, 392–4, 397–8, 401–2, 406, 412, 418, 422–3, 425–9, 431–3, 435–6  
 civil, 35, 44, 85, 96, 107, 109, 113, 143–7, 166, 192, 218, 229, 233, 303, 322–5, 361, 407, 414–15, 417, 425, 427, 434  
 Constantinopolitan, 284, 434  
 ecclesiastical, 2, 140–2, 147, 228, 320, 361, 410  
 educated, 93, 115, 194  
 higher, 34, 41, 44, 62, 74, 86, 98, 107, 109, 113, 135–8, 140–1, 143, 146–7, 152, 169, 228, 268, 284, 291, 298–9, 302, 306, 309, 316, 322, 344, 361–2, 392, 398, 401, 417, 426–7, 430, 434–5  
 lesser, 113, 136, 140–1, 152, 165, 192–3, 229, 268, 270, 274, 284, 302, 316, 398, 420, 432–5  
 local, 2, 38, 40, 165, 202, 208, 229–30, 238, 284, 287, 289, 291–92, 295–97, 302, 304, 306, 309, 311, 313, 316–18, 322–23, 325, 346, 361–63, 434–35  
 military, 35–6, 73, 104, 109, 113–15, 143, 146–7, 150, 192, 229, 234–5, 284, 306, 322, 324, 361, 394, 398, 432, 434  
 power, 25, 62, 192, 433–4  
 privileged, 125, 432  
 provincial, 34, 37, 79n, 138, 145–6, 150, 208, 238, 284, 302, 392, 426, 435  
 senatorial, 32–3  
 urban, 98, 228–9
- ekkritoi*, 201  
*emporía*, 72, 94n, 120; *see also* trade  
*emporío/ἐμπόριο*, 168n, 203; *see also* marketplace  
*endoxotatos*, 315  
*enoriai*, 270  
*eparchos*, 39, 55, 158, 300–1  
*ephoros*, 400  
*epi tēs trapezēs*, 305, 394, 408  
*epi tou stratou*, 86, 314  
 estates, 40, 82n, 111–12, 117, 119, 132, 144, 151–2, 154, 170, 178, 183, 187, 191, 196, 199–200, 211, 233, 239, 288, 291, 298–9, 306, 312, 315, 317, 345–6, 351, 361, 394, 411, 428  
 real, 28, 146, 152, 163–4, 166, 232–3, 296, 306, 315, 350, 393n, 409, 417, 419, 424, 428, 435  
*equites*, 32, 111, 116  
*eugeneis*, 114, 130  
 eunuchs, 7, 114, 163n  
*exaleimma/ exaleimmata*, 171, 173, 199, 243  
*exaleimmatikē/ exaleimmatikai staseis*, 178, 185, 352n  
*exarchos*, 149, 162, 209
- factions, 35, 212, 214–16, 212, 218, 226, 228–30, 270, 276, 284, 303, 362, 406, 431, 434–5  
 family  
 aristocratic, 72, 108, 138, 141, 195–6, 274, 305–6, 317, 323, 361, 409, 411, 415–16, 432–3  
 civil, 233, 274, 415–16  
 Constantinopolitan, 309, 416  
 elite, 36, 42, 110, 113, 138, 141, 143n, 149n, 152, 164, 196–7, 212, 215, 223, 233, 302, 306, 309, 402, 431, 434, 436  
 imperial, 9, 34, 40, 62, 86–7, 109, 130–1, 139, 141, 268, 285–6, 300, 401–2, 406, 411, 430, 434  
 local, 208, 284, 306, 309, 355, 361
- noble, 137, 141, 303, 402, 430  
 nuclear, 31, 42, 195–7, 199, 230, 355  
 provincial, 141, 434  
 traditions, 28, 116, 129, 137, 141, 143, 152, 166, 192, 319, 321, 399, 409–10, 413, 415, 433–4  
 farmers, 37, 89, 92–3, 114–15, 126–7, 154, 157, 193, 202, 275  
 feudalism, 23–4, 26, 32  
 fortress, 74, 76, 98, 107, 203, 221, 394; *see also* *kastron*  
 fortunes, 50, 98, 114, 232, 393, 395, 401–2, 405, 407–8, 411, 420, 434; *see also* *tychē*  
 freedmen, 111, 423  
 friends, 3, 19, 54, 62, 64–5, 67, 89, 96, 98, 100, 105, 150, 152, 213–14, 218, 220, 225, 234, 266, 301, 320, 414, 420  
 literary, 218  
 political, 220  
 friendship, 36, 42, 65, 102, 194–5, 212, 214, 436
- gasmuli*, 126  
*geitoniarches/ geitoniarchai*, 270–1  
*genos/descent*, 86, 92n., 143, 408  
*gerontes/elders*, 181, 198–9, 247, 268–9, 355  
*gerousia/gerousian* 131, 210; *see also* senate  
 gestures, 15–6, 41, 49, 57–63, 431  
*gonikē*, 150n, 359  
 government, 9, 17, 25, 37, 85, 105–6, 117, 136, 145, 158, 202, 206, 208–9, 220–1, 225, 228–30, 267, 269–70, 275, 283–4, 287–91, 306, 345, 363, 408, 424, 430, 432, 434–6  
 governors, 6, 53, 61, 76, 108, 121–2, 128, 137, 150, 201, 205–7, 214, 223, 234–5, 247, 266–9, 274–5, 278, 283–90, 297, 302, 307, 313, 361, 435  
*grammateus/grammatikoi*, 7, 114; *see also* secretary



- guilds, 39–40, 42, 115–16,  
167, 194, 201, 209, 230,  
271, 429, 435–6
- helots, 111, 115
- Hesychasm/hesy chast  
controversy, 9, 18, 104,  
219, 275
- hetaireia/hetaireiai*, 190, 194,  
212–13
- hetaireiarchēs*, 150, 309, 310n,  
318, 352
- hierarchy, 26–7, 31–2, 35, 41,  
44–5, 49–50, 52–8, 84,  
93, 107, 109, 111–12,  
131, 138, 154, 166,  
218, 220, 224, 229, 274,  
313–14, 321, 416, 430–2,  
435; *see also* taxis
- hieromonk, 94
- honestiores*, 32, 120
- honours, 33, 57, 59, 75, 81–3,  
88, 94–5, 98, 100, 102,  
106, 121–3, 136, 222,  
227
- hubris, 57, 71
- humiliores*, 32, 116, 120
- hyperpyron/hyperpyra*, 6, 29,  
123–7, 142, 159–60,  
162–5, 175, 180, 200,  
206, 232–5, 240, 242–4,  
246, 298, 301–2, 313,  
316, 322, 324, 346, 348,  
350, 352–3, 355–6,  
395–402, 405, 407–11,  
414, 416, 419–23
- hypomnēmatographos*, 320,  
413n
- identity, 5, 30, 154, 157, 194,  
202, 204, 208, 427
- ideology, 11–12, 30, 65, 71,  
105, 111, 216, 225
- idiōtēs*, 162
- illustris/illustres*, 26, 33, 84
- inequality, 12, 14, 20, 31–2, 41,  
43, 50, 70, 111, 182, 191,  
194, 231–2, 240, 242,  
245–7, 354, 356, 361,  
430, 435
- judges, 6, 114, 173, 205, 247,  
268–9, 398; *see also*  
*nomikon*
- jurisdiction, 33, 113, 118, 201,  
235, 277, 281–2, 297
- justice, 20, 75, 143–5, 161, 192,  
287, 289, 362, 425, 434
- kaballarios*, 317
- kaisaras/kaisares*, 57, 289, 404
- kaniskia*, 171
- kanstrisios*, 54n, 166, 323n
- Kantakouzenists, 4, 93, 216,  
217n
- karabia*, 353
- kastron*, 203; *see also* fortress
- kastrophylax/kastrophylakes*  
150, 269, 309, 314, 317,  
323, 346
- katagōgion*, 200
- katallaktēs*, 160–1; *see also*  
bankers/*chrysepilektēs*/  
*argyramoibos*/  
*ἀργυραμοιβοί*
- katapanikion/katapanikia*,  
150, 297
- kathedra/kathedrai*, 168, 239
- kathisma*, 397
- katholikos kritēs/katholikai*  
*kritai*/general judges,  
20, 117, 144–5, 149, 222,  
287, 306, 314, 323, 343,  
403, 413, 414n; *see also*  
*basilikon sekreton*
- katholikos mesazōn*, 87
- katouna* *see* pastures
- kellion*, 223, 225
- kelliōtēs/kelliōtai*, 223, 225
- kephalē/kephalai*, 151–2,  
234n, 235, 297, 302, 309,  
311, 404
- Constantinople of, 138
- Lemnos of, 127n, 138
- Serres of, 7, 299, 313–14, 316
- Selymbria of, 405
- Thessalonike of, 83n
- kile*, 243
- kinship, 195, 197, 212, 227;  
*see also* *syngeneia*
- klērikos*, 325; *see also* priests
- koiaistōr*, 84
- kokkia*, 164
- kommerkiarioi*, 107
- kritēs tou phossatou*, 150n,  
309, 312, 408
- ktētōr/ktētores*, 87, 108, 154,  
282, 299n, 347, 398
- kyr/kyra*, 44, 63, 82, 84n,  
107, 128n, 160, 164n,  
181, 308n, 318, 400,  
419–20, 422
- labour, 67, 72, 92, 111, 121,  
155, 181, 192, 199–200,  
243–4, 419, 423
- manual, 92, 167
- wage, 176, 237
- labourers, 89, 155, 270
- manual, 92–3, 103, 120, 167
- wage, 184
- lampadarios*, 145
- laymen, 53, 83, 118, 123
- letters, 18–19, 49, 53, 58,  
64–7, 72, 75, 97, 144,  
162, 207, 209, 218–19,  
272, 279, 283, 320n,  
424, 432
- lifestyle, 26, 33, 36, 41, 80–1,  
98, 102, 110, 112, 425,  
430–1
- literati, 31, 106, 110, 140,  
144–5, 154, 218
- livres*, 402, 405, 407–8
- logariastēs tēs aulēs*, 57,  
144n, 146
- logothētēs*, 313, 319–21,  
323n, 324
- logothētēs tōn agelōn*, 148
- logothētēs tōn oikeiakōn*, 144,  
208
- logothētēs tou genikou*, 414
- logothētēs tou stratiōtikou*, 148
- lords, 3, 58, 63, 65, 70, 75–6,  
78, 83, 112, 127, 169,  
171, 173, 175, 187, 192,  
201, 202, 206, 221–3,  
225–6, 230, 284, 292,  
312, 358, 430, 436; *see*  
*also* master
- lordship, 8n, 26n, 79, 98, 106,  
116–17
- magnates, 87, 114, 115, 131,  
132, 148, 168, 192, 271,  
290; *see also* *archontes*/  
*megistanes/magnus*
- marketplace, 203, 348; *see also*  
*emporio*
- marriage, 22, 28, 58, 71, 88,  
106, 108, 123, 136–9,  
146, 167, 175, 195,  
197–8, 223, 274, 401,  
403, 405–8, 410–11, 421,  
426, 430, 432, 436
- master, 59, 83, 96, 119, 175,  
225; *see also* lord
- mega allagion*, 125, 316
- megalē doukaina*, 298

- megalē thesis*, 190; *see also* cadaster
- megalēpiphaneistatos*, 84
- megalodoxotatos*, 7, 44, 84, 161, 315
- megalohyperochos*, 84, 161
- meas adnoumiastēs*, 125, 171
- meas archōn*, 103, 147
- meas chartophylax*, 6, 412–13
- meas chartoularios*, 7, 53, 304n
- meas dioikētēs*, 148
- meas domestikos/megaloi domestikoi*, 84–5, 137, 236, 298, 299n, 301, 302n, 312, 345, 404
- meas doux*, 3, 139, 241, 403–4, 408
- meas droungarios*, 53, 91, 217n, 416n
- meas hetaireiarchēs*, 151, 312
- meas konostaulos*, 403–4
- meas logariastēs*, 236n, 301
- meas logothetēs*, 6, 45, 52, 64, 132n, 137, 139, 145, 228n, 288, 299, 319, 403–4, 433n
- meas oikonomos*, 54n, 142
- meas papias*, 95n, 138, 147, 302n, 313
- meas primmikērios*, 83, 85n, 138, 302, 403–4
- meas sakellarios*, 6, 142, 412, 414, 416n
- meas skeuophylax*, 6, 413, 416
- meas stratopedarchēs/megaloi stratopedarchai*, 62, 73, 83, 85, 88, 91, 137–9, 219, 236, 238, 404–5
- meas tzaousios*, 45, 53, 103, 138, 150, 187, 302n, 307, 314
- melographoi*, 410
- mercenaries, 7, 40, 124, 126, 128, 155, 193, 211, 403, 408
- merchants, 93–5, 111–15, 121, 148, 154, 156–60, 166, 193, 203, 209, 234, 274, 396, 406–7, 409–10, 412, 417, 420–1, 424, 432, 436
- Byzantine, 5, 22, 157–9, 204, 273, 411
- Genoese, 398
- Italian, 21, 94, 203
- Ottoman, 6
- Venetian, 22, 159
- mesazōn/mesazontes*, 6, 7, 19, 52n, 73, 136, 152, 219, 228, 234, 300, 396, 403n, 404, 407–8, 415
- mesos/mesoi*, 121, 154–7, 432
- mesotēs*, 121, 154, 156, 432
- metochia/metochion*, 170, 178, 301, 302n, 310n, 311, 324–5, 343–6, 351, 358–60
- metron/metra*, 159, 242
- metropolis/metropoleis*, 10, 142, 147, 166, 228, 277, 281, 301, 320–3, 325
- metropolitans, 6, 53, 57, 75, 142, 213, 217, 222–3, 238, 269, 277, 279, 281, 283, 320, 416, 435
- Ankara of, 279
- Apros of, 145, 222–3
- clergy, 44, 269, 296, 321, 323, 433
- dignitaries, 319–20
- Ephesos of, 145, 414
- Gotthia of, 413
- Herakleia of, 93
- Medeia of, 279
- Naupaktos of, 75
- Philadelphiea of, 94, 220, 413
- Serres of, 54n, 149, 238, 314, 322, 324
- Thessalonike of, 68, 83n, 98, 146–7, 217, 272, 276, 283
- Zichna of, 324, 347
- mimesis*, 16–7
- mitaton*, 234, 245
- mobility, 116, 172, 174, 200
- geographical, 172, 200, 430,
- horizontal, 208, 302
- physical, 180
- social, 34–5, 80–1, 102, 104, 109
- modios/modioi*, 77–8, 124–5, 152, 164–5, 169–70, 173, 176–9, 182, 187, 191, 199–200, 211, 238–45, 298–9, 305, 307–9, 318, 322, 324–5, 344–8, 350–61, 395–7, 400–1; *see also mouzouria*
- monks, 53, 63, 76, 82–3, 95, 99, 104–5, 115, 123, 141, 174, 190–1, 202, 210, 217, 228, 268, 271–2, 282, 289, 295, 302, 307, 313, 315, 318, 344, 397, 409
- mouzouria*, 401; *see also modios/modioi*
- myrepsoi*, 162, 209; *see also* perfumers
- network, 5, 33–4, 42, 80, 88, 105, 141, 152, 194–5, 198, 212, 215, 218–19, 230, 269, 290, 362, 427, 431, 435–6
- political, 34, 197–8, 212, 431
- social, 12, 103, 212–13, 215, 226, 230–1, 238, 428, 436
- nobility, 25–6, 58, 62, 67, 71, 81, 85–7, 92, 102–3, 108–9, 112, 116, 140–1, 148, 191–2, 196, 201, 401, 425, 433–4
- noble, 27n, 57, 61, 67, 74, 85–8, 108, 110, 130–1, 136–8, 141, 147, 149, 155–6, 213, 272, 285, 303, 305–7, 358, 402, 408–9, 417, 430, 433, 436
- nomisma/nomismata*, 98, 124–5, 146–7, 151, 158–9, 164–5, 175, 179, 211, 232–3, 236, 238–42, 244–6, 308, 312, 318, 324, 343, 346–7, 350, 353, 358, 360, 394, 425–6; *see also hyperpyron*, coins, ducats, *kokkia*
- nomophylax*, 96, 324
- notable, 121, 130, 203, 267, 290; *see also onomastos*
- notarios/notarioi/notaries*, 83n, 93, 114, 143–6, 166, 247, 403n, 433
- nuns, 198, 398n, 400, 421, 422n
- oath, 16, 214, 275, 279–80
- occupation, 12, 41, 81, 92–5, 102, 111–13, 116, 118–19, 123, 144, 162, 166–7, 181, 202, 349, 399, 410, 415, 423, 428

- offices, 26–7, 29, 34, 44, 51–2, 54–5, 65, 81–2, 84, 86, 93–4, 102–3, 110, 121–3, 150, 156, 222, 229, 234, 236, 318–20, 323, 361–2, 402, 410–11, 417, 420–1, 425–6, 428–30, 433
- administrative, 52, 123, 224
- civil, 143, 321, 398
- ecclesiastical, 96, 123
- financial, 65n, 123
- higher, 107, 136, 166, 309, 321, 434
- imperial, 62, 278
- judicial, 96, 123
- lesser, 321, 433
- lower, 320, 433
- military, 45, 52, 108, 123, 143, 224, 229, 316, 399
- officials, 20, 33–4, 52, 57, 62–3, 82n, 83–4, 103–4, 115–17, 121n, 131, 148, 225, 236, 246, 271, 281, 284, 313, 435
- army, 192, 211, 269
- central, 268
- church, 217, 323, 411n, 415, 425
- civil, 139n, 146n, 152, 157n, 247
- ecclesiastical, 44, 148, 166, 398, 412–14, 435
- financial/fiscal, 57, 143n, 205, 301, 303, 398
- local, 112, 268
- military, 143, 152, 221, 268, 290, 317, 434
- provincial, 268
- state, 180, 217, 225, 281
- tax, 6, 145, 233, 283–4
- oikeios/oikeioi*, 36, 57, 83n, 131, 147, 160, 184, 220–1, 223–2, 235, 238, 303–4, 306, 308–9, 312, 314–15, 317, 348n, 352, 395n, 396, 399–400, 404, 406n, 408, 409n, 411, 419–20, 422, 424
- oiketēs/oiketai*, 36, 118, 145, 161, 221–5; *see also* servants
- oikodespotai/oikodespotes*, 174, 181
- oikonomia/oikonomiai*, 36, 37, 107, 117, 124–5, 128, 142, 147, 151–52, 169, 171, 173–6, 190, 206n, 208, 211, 218, 228–9, 236–41, 268, 284, 287, 300n, 301–2, 304, 309–10, 316, 318, 425, 428, 432; *see also* *pronoia*
- holder, 36, 38, 173, 211, 239, 304, 323
- oikonomos*, 6, 53, 63–4, 75, 141, 319, 321n, 322n
- oikos/oikoi*, 36, 97n, 195–6, 199, 220, 311, 348, 354–5, 432, 436
- oinochoōs*, 223, 407
- onomastos/onomastoi*, 121, 130; *see also* notable
- orchards, 169, 178, 191, 202, 240, 302, 305, 314n, 343–4, 353, 358, 360n, 398, 430
- orphanotrophos*, 274
- ospétion*, 225
- paradosis*, 354
- paideia*, 89; *see also* education
- paidopoulon/paidopoula*, 82n, 224, 234n, 317
- Palamites/Palamism, 10n, 89–90, 96, 147, 216–17, 219–20, 280
- anti-Palamites, 216–17, 220, 275, 280, 300n, 414
- paneugenestatos*, 44, 307–8
- panhypersebastos*, 35, 136, 150, 285, 289, 313, 404, 405n
- pansebastos*, 84, 316, 404
- parakoimōmenos*, 45, 87, 117, 149, 304n
- patriarch, 6, 56–8, 60, 63, 76, 119, 268, 277, 279–80, 416, 435
- Patriarchal
- documents, 16, 158, 211
- Register, 43, 53, 119, 213, 281, 395, 412, 422
- Synod, 6, 22, 43, 53, 57, 118, 213, 277, 282–3, 288
- throne, 105, 107, 141, 147, 220, 279–80, 283, 413
- patriarchate, 10, 67, 96, 104, 119, 141, 149, 223, 278, 280, 282, 288, 416
- patron, 28, 64, 66, 99, 108, 152, 218, 221, 226–7, 237, 277, 281–2, 345, 401, 431, 436
- patronage, 28–9, 33–4, 36–7, 42, 88, 90, 98–9, 118, 195, 211–12, 218, 226–7, 230, 345, 362, 431, 436
- peasants, 22, 24, 37–8, 43, 63, 75–9, 82, 93–4, 112–13, 115, 126–8, 161, 167–70, 175–81, 183–4, 186–7, 190–1, 198–200, 202, 230–4, 237, 240, 242–3, 245–7, 291, 306, 351–7, 361
- aktēmōn*, 178–9
- boīdatos*, 178–9
- dependent, 164, 168, 170, 172, 174, 184, 187, 192, 199, 291, 351, 429, 432–3
- eleutheroi/free*, 169n, 183, 200
- independent, 157, 167, 185, 190, 193, 291, 318, 359, 432
- onikatos*, 178
- paroikos/paroiikoi*, 38, 75–6, 83, 113, 117, 126–8, 167–74, 176–7, 179–87, 190–3, 198–200, 236–7, 239–40, 242, 247, 288, 291, 318, 350–3, 357–61, 429–30, 432–3
- proskathēmenoi*, 170, 183–4
- peasantry, 76–7, 113, 126, 181, 184, 288, 291
- free, 23, 36, 247, 358, 361, 433
- penēs/penēta/penētes*, 97, 120, 156; *see also* poor/*ptōchos*
- pentamoiria*, 180
- perfumer, 161–2, 209; *see also* *myrepsoi*
- petitions, 18–9, 63–6, 72, 162, 237, 427
- philanthropy, 8, 17, 65–7, 90, 99, 432
- philia*, 212; *see also* friendship
- philosopher, 18, 115, 144
- phoros*, 203; *see also* marketplace

- pinkernēs/pinkernissa*, 83n, 161n, 215, 304
- políteia*, 114, 131, 271–2, 409, 419–20, 426; *see also* state
- politēs*, 143
- poor/*ptōchos*, 13, 19, 25n, 31, 49, 64–8, 70–2, 74, 76, 89–90, 95–7, 108, 113, 115, 119–21, 129, 152, 156, 170, 175n, 183, 191, 197, 289, 353, 355, 360, 400, 419–20, 428–9, 431–2; *see also* *penēs/penēta/penētes*
- Poor Man, 50–1, 67–8, 70–2, 88, 100, 120, 432
- Pope, 4, 53, 59, 119, 137, 313
- posotēs*, 125, 236–7, 239, 241–2, 298
- poverty, 24, 41, 51, 66, 68, 71, 78, 93, 95–7, 109, 120–1, 156, 184, 276, 353, 395–6, 424
- power, 11–12, 66, 72, 80–1, 96, 111, 122, 140, 192, 235, 247, 273, 279, 284, 288, 427–8
- economic, 40, 42–3, 49, 112, 119, 121, 123, 295, 417–18, 425, 427, 429–30, 434–5
- political, 25, 33, 40, 42–3, 49, 62, 105, 112, 116, 119, 122, 126, 129, 140, 142–3, 165, 191–3, 209, 213, 215, 229–31, 234, 247, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 287, 296, 309, 419, 424–6, 428–31, 434–6
- social, 11, 14, 25, 43, 72, 105, 112–13, 119, 122, 191–2, 194, 247, 429–30
- powerful, 2, 14, 25, 29, 36–7, 40, 64, 105, 120–2, 136, 194–5, 213, 218, 220, 226, 228, 230, 237, 269, 280, 282, 284, 305, 343, 345, 431–2, 435; *see also* *dynatos*
- praitōr tou dēmou*, 274, 414, 419
- praktikon/praktika* (tax registers), 22, 77n, 78, 166, 172, 175–7, 179–80, 183–7, 190, 200, 240, 241, 246, 291, 352–3, 355, 357–61
- prelates, 147, 216, 267, 279, 281
- prestige, 12, 34, 80–1, 104, 197, 229, 233–4, 273, 278, 287, 362, 403, 419, 428–9, 431
- priests, 53, 63, 112, 114, 117–19, 139, 166, 173, 181, 272, 283, 325; *see also* *klērikos*
- primmikērios tōn chrysoboullatōn*, 308n, 309, 317
- primmikērios tōn taboullariōn*, 320–1, 323n
- privileges, 5, 8, 26n, 55, 61, 63, 79, 90, 100, 116–17, 123, 127n, 150n, 194, 202, 205n, 206–8, 228, 234, 238, 282, 284, 287–8, 291, 306, 309, 312, 315n, 317n, 318, 342, 361–2, 392, 425–6, 429
- fiscal, 202, 206–7
- imperial, 229, 281, 310, 427
- judicial, 117, 174, 202, 207–8
- Venetian, 6, 392
- prokathēmenos*, 309
- prokritoi*, 200; *see also* distinguished/*ekkritoi*
- pronoia/pronoiai*, 7, 8n, 29, 75, 122–8, 150–1, 174, 186, 211, 231, 236, 241, 284, 290–1, 298, 315–16, 398–9, 434; *see also* *oikonomia*
- holders 124–6, 128n, 150, 171, 193, 203, 211, 236n, 245, 316–17
- pronoiaros/pronoiaroi*, 7, 8, 125n, 126, 128
- prosalēntai*, 126
- proskynēsis*, 59, 62
- prostagma*, 206n, 311–13, 346n
- prōtalikarioi*, 209
- prōtallagatōr/prōtallagatōres*, 84, 150, 311, 315, 348n, 359n
- prōtasēkrētis*, 45, 84, 88, 146, 164n, 205, 301, 352, 403
- prōtogerōs/prōtogerōi*, 181, 198–9, 201
- prōthierakarios*, 53, 150–1, 274
- prōtopapas*, 142, 148, 308, 323–5, 419
- prōtopsaltēs*, 324
- prōtekdikos*, 6, 54n, 142, 299n, 319–24
- prōtobestiaros*, 85, 299, 404
- prōtobestiaritēs*, 53, 75, 138, 304n, 403
- prōtokynēgos*, 150, 353n
- prōtomaistōr/ prōtomaistorissa/ prōtomaistores*, 82, 162, 209
- prōtonōbelissimos*, 7
- prōtonotarios*, 6, 54n, 142n, 320, 322–3, 412, 433
- prōtos*, 54, 181
- prōtosebastos*, 35, 45, 85
- protospatharios*, 39
- prōtostratōr*, 61, 87, 109, 149, 300, 306, 404
- psōgos*, 90, 92, 96, 435
- rebels, 9, 73, 274–5
- rebellion, 230, 275, 288–90
- regency, 3, 4, 61, 139, 145, 155, 216–18, 222, 228–9, 280, 303, 312, 322, 345, 362
- revolts, 3–4, 28, 41, 50, 75–8, 363n, 405n, 431
- rich, 13, 67–8, 94, 96–9, 111, 113, 115, 119–21, 129, 152, 156, 191, 428, 432
- Rich Man, 51, 70–2, 89, 100, 120–1, 156
- rituals, 14–16, 41, 49, 53, 62
- roga*, 142, 236n; *see also* wage
- saggi, 159
- sakellarios*, 54n, 308, 319–21, 324–5
- sakelliou*, 54n, 223, 319–21, 322n, 324
- sebastokratōr/sebastokratores*, 35, 57, 109, 128n, 139
- sebastos*, 7, 35, 44, 84, 125, 168, 302, 316–17, 360
- secretary, 7, 82, 107, 114–15, 143, 398, 406, 413, 417, 432; *see also* *grammateus/grammatikoi*
- senate/*synklētōs*, 39, 61, 86, 118, 130–1, 141, 205, 272; *see also* *gerousia*
- members of, 130n, 131, 269, 308, 403, 407

- senator/*synklētikos*, 25, 32, 59, 91, 111, 115–18, 130, 131–2, 138, 143, 149–50, 213, 236, 272, 274
- servants, 54, 63–4, 89–90, 100, 110, 114, 118, 120, 167, 211, 221, 223–5, 266, 270, 279, 429, 436; *see also* *doulos/douloi*/slaves
- civil, 93, 115
- dependent, 197, 222, 432
- domestic, 151, 429
- service, 122, 141, 145, 154, 168, 212, 225, 320–1, 361, 412, 415, 431
- imperial, 142, 414, 425, 430–1
- military, 122, 126–8, 150, 310, 361, 434
- servitude, 59, 60, 62, 83
- shop, 164, 192, 232, 240, 312, 348–9, 399, 429
- cloth, 420
- milk, 423
- perfume, 163, 232, 234, 421
- vegetable, 232
- wine, 163
- skaranikon*, 55
- skeuophylax*, 54n, 308n, 319, 321, 323n
- skouterios*, 53, 151
- slavery/slaves, 111, 115–19, 223, 270, 423; *see also* *doulos/douloi*/servants
- social
- ascent, 80–1, 88, 102–3, 106–7, 109–10, 123, 136, 192, 195, 229–30, 406–7, 426, 428, 430–1, 436
- distinction, 41, 81, 84, 113, 116, 122–3, 268, 410; *see also* *timē*
- position, 36, 42, 50, 59, 89, 93, 102, 104, 107, 112, 121, 125, 140n, 163, 197, 223, 273, 426
- soldiers, 7, 61, 73, 74, 87, 97–8, 113, 115, 123–8, 143, 151, 153, 155, 157, 181, 192–3, 196, 212, 227–8, 230, 236, 238, 246, 276, 284, 288, 290, 310, 432, *see also* *stratiōtai*
- Barbarēnoi*, 125, 211
- Klazomenitai*, 125, 128, 211
- sommi*, 159, 410n
- stasis/staseis*, 169n, 352–3, 356–7, 360
- status, 1, 12, 26, 33, 52, 55, 62–3, 71, 80–3, 89–90, 95, 101–2, 109, 110, 112–13, 116, 118–19, 156–7, 163, 167, 174, 181–5, 190, 192, 196, 247, 281, 291, 317, 321, 347, 350, 358–9, 393, 404, 416, 425–6, 428, 433–6
- strata, 42–3, 126, 142, 195, 227, 268, 424
- higher/upper, 44, 80, 88, 98–9, 100, 109, 116, 143, 181, 227, 274, 276, 430, 432
- lower, 22, 116, 196, 268, 276, 295
- middle, 167, 276
- upper middle, 164, 274, 426
- stratēgoi*, 33
- stratiōtai*, 123, 350n; *see also* soldiers
- stratopedarchēs*, 124, 139, 274
- stremma*/ *stremmata*, 307
- stylites*/hermits, 25n, 81, 103
- sympentheros*, 95n, 304n, 410
- Synod, 22, 43–4, 118, 216–17, 273, 275, 279, 300n
- Patriarchal, 53, 57, 89–90, 118, 213, 216, 219, 277, 282–3, 288
- synteknia*, 198
- syntrophial* *syntrophiai*, 158, 209n, 402, 423; *see also* company/associations
- taverns, 6, 165, 240, 348–9, 392, 422–3
- tax, 22, 76–7, 117, 127, 154, 158, 168, 169n, 175–6, 180, 186, 190, 193, 199–201, 206, 226, 236–8, 240, 242, 245, 247, 273, 288, 291, 312, 322, 345, 348, 352–3, 356–7, 361, 392, 429–30
- abiōtikion*, 288
- aēr*, 200
- assessors, 114, 169n, 235, 247
- bigliatikon*, 291
- charatzin*, 235
- collectors, 36, 79, 107, 114
- commercial, 206
- decato*, 206
- ennomion*, 175
- exemption/immunity, 8, 23, 37, 116–17, 123, 126, 206, 208, 218, 236, 238, 310, 312, 314, 324, 342, 345, 392
- farming, 95, 98, 107, 123, 235
- fishing, 301
- free, 207, 325n
- heuresis thēsaurou*, 288
- kommerkion*, 5, 117, 200, 391
- paroikiko telos*, 357n
- parthenophthoria*, 175
- pendameria*, 206
- poll, 175, 184n, 235, 235n, 291, 356
- register *see* *praktikon/ praktika*
- sitarkia*, 175, 310n
- telos, 177
- tritomoiria*, 180
- unit, 37, 190, 355
- taxis* *see* hierarchy
- technitēs*, 92; *see also* artisans/craftsmen
- theatron*, 195, 219
- thelēmatarioi*/ *thelēmatarios*, 126–7
- thema*, 150, 203, 297
- therapōn*, 118; *see also* servant
- timar, 306, 362
- timē/timai*, 81
- titles, 7n, 44, 52, 65, 80–4, 94, 102, 106, 109–10, 121–3, 129, 163, 214, 222, 229, 234, 236, 284–5, 290, 361, 402–3, 410–11, 418–19, 421, 425, 427–31
- hereditary, 116
- higher, 136, 287, 289, 403
- lower, 136
- military, 399
- offikia*, 44, 83
- axiai*, 44, 83
- topos*, 91, 212
- tower, 108, 186, 201, 203, 239, 314n, 416
- towns, 38n, 39, 193–4, 201–2, 204, 231, 266, 432, 436
- Byzantine, 39, 202–3, 207, 350, 393
- coastal, 392, 394
- Inlands, 203
- provincial, 196
- Western, 202

- trade, 5, 21, 94, 98, 107,  
111, 120–1, 140, 149,  
156–9, 201, 203, 229,  
233–4, 347–8, 405,  
418, 432, 435; *see also*  
*emporía*  
activities, 94, 140, 157, 214,  
233–4, 274, 297, 393,  
408, 417, 426  
Black Sea, 274, 393  
grain, 423  
routes, 273, 347, 392, 394,  
426  
slave, 118  
trip, 396, 420  
wine, 165, 392  
traders, 93, 114–15, 155, 158,  
166–7, 193  
tradition, 190n, 197, 285  
administrative, 413  
aristocratic, 406  
civil, 148, 296, 361  
ecclesiastical, 296, 413  
family, 152, 166, 192, 319,  
321, 409–10, 415, 433–4  
military, 150–1, 296, 361,  
398  
treaty, 84, 286, 391–2, 394n,  
405–7, 415, 420  
tribunal, 55, 117, 183, 287,  
420; *see also* court  
*tychē*, 18, 50  
*typikon*, 99, 165, 282  
*tzakōnai* 126,  
Union of Churches, 3–5, 9,  
10n, 30, 53, 106, 136–7,  
215, 272, 275, 281  
Unionists, 3, 5, 136–7, 218,  
276, 406, 412, 414–15  
vineyard, 63, 65n, 142, 146,  
151, 160, 165, 167,  
169–70, 176–8, 180,  
182–4, 187, 191, 200,  
202, 207, 232–3, 239–40,  
242–5, 302, 307–8,  
312, 315, 318, 348, 350,  
352–9, 397–9, 401,  
420–1, 423, 430  
viticulture, 167, 182–3, 242,  
245, 356  
wage, 123–4, 142, 199, 230–1,  
236, 321, 356; *see also*  
*roga*  
labour, 176, 184, 237  
mercenary, 124, 126  
soldiers, 206  
workers, 170, 193, 268,  
429, 432  
wine, 6, 78, 90, 100, 159, 163,  
165, 180, 183, 233, 240,  
356, 391–2, 400, 417  
Zealots, 4, 96, 137, 155–6,  
206, 209  
*zeugēlateion/zeugēlateia*,  
165n, 300, 317–18, 346

# Index of Places

- Abramitai, 169, 177  
Achaëa, 58, 221  
Achinós, 200, 241, 295, 306, 353  
Adrianople, 39n, 58, 92, 159, 205, 215  
Aegean islands, 1, 6, 157, 203, 204, 392  
Aeidarokastron, 183  
Alexandria, 158, 409  
Anaktoropolis, 106, 108, 285, 290, 311  
Ainos, 1, 18, 285, 290, 302, 392, 405  
Alypiou, 174, 318  
Amoliane, 170  
Ankyra, 3, 73, 279, 424–5  
Argos, 290  
Arta, 129, 210n  
Athens, 111, 157n  
  
Bare, 76, 173, 183  
Basel, 137, 138  
Bera, 39n, 202  
Bernarou, 344  
Berroia, 39n, 86, 131, 140, 150n, 151–2, 170, 206n, 207, 221, 272  
Besaina, 344  
Bizye, 140, 272  
Blachernai, 148  
Black Sea, 5, 6, 157–9, 203, 273–4, 391, 392–4, 397, 402, 442n  
Bithynia, 6, 85, 150, 392  
Bitzyne, 142  
Brasta, 177–8  
Bulgaria, 3, 10, 54, 137, 141, 303  
  
Caffa, 148, 159, 396, 410  
Chalkidike, 1, 76, 127, 150–1, 168–9, 177–8, 181, 183, 185–6, 198, 206n, 234n, 313, 355, 357n, 394  
Chandax, 300n, 301  
  
Chilandar (monastery), 83n, 123, 168–9, 176, 301, 308, 315n, 324, 344–5, 357n  
Chilia, 159  
Chios, 1, 87, 150, 286n, 419, 421  
Chora, 108  
Chotolibos, 170, 354–5  
Christoupolis, 83, 85, 290, 297, 304–5  
Chrysoupolis, 305, 312  
Corfu, 148, 156  
Crete, 1, 68, 124, 159, 198, 397n, 411  
Crimea, 406, 410, 413  
Cyclades, 1  
Cyprus, 156, 414n  
  
Dekalista, 305  
Didymoteichon, 61, 74n, 149, 155, 290, 305  
Dimylia, 344  
Dionysiou (monastery), 186, 190  
Docheiariou (monastery), 83n, 125n, 187, 190, 234n, 344n  
Doxompo, 180, 186n, 200, 232, 344, 353, 355n  
Drama, 305, 361  
Drachoba, 317  
Dratzoba, 312  
Drimosyrta, 171n, 185, 246–7  
Dryanoubaina, 175  
  
Edessa, 132, 300n  
England, 13, 73n, 74n, 284, 424  
Epano Bolbos, 171n  
Ephesos, 145, 149n, 414  
Epirus, 1–3, 75, 148, 198, 292, 348, 391  
Esphigenou (monastery), 173, 177, 206n  
Euboea, 1  
Euergetis tes Sebastokratorisses (monastery), 400  
Eunouchou, 344, 354  
  
Galata, 213  
Gastilengous, 345, 358  
Genoa, 4–5, 21, 274, 391, 393n, 402, 407  
Georgelas, 344  
Gomatou, 183–5, 198n, 246–7  
  
Hagios Mamas, 76, 170, 180, 185–6  
Hebros river, 3  
Herakleia, 86, 93, 129n  
Hierissos, 82n, 83n  
  
Ioannina, 205n, 206n, 207, 234n  
Italy, 5, 157, 159, 162, 203, 219, 225, 226n, 407–8, 410, 414, 426  
Ithaca, 105  
Iveron (monastery), 54, 179, 180, 357, 410  
  
Kaisaropolis, 312, 322  
Kallipolis, 129n, 391, 394, 411  
Kamenikeia, 344  
Karakallou (monastery), 146n, 305  
Kassandra, 186  
Kastoria, 68  
Kastrin, 344  
Kato Bolbos, 198  
Kato Ouska, 301n, 312, 352–3, 356–7  
Kephallenia, 358n, 403  
Keranitza, 353  
Kometissa, 169, 181  
Kosmosoteira (monastery), 202  
Kosna, 240, 360n  
Kotyaion, 424  
Koutloumousion (monastery), 298, 314n, 343–4, 346, 348  
Koutzin, 344  
Krene, 171n  
Kretiko, 127  
Krimotas, 170

- Kritzista, 170  
Kroia, 207
- Lagoödontou, 19  
Lakkoi, 353–4, 360n  
Lampsakos, 104  
Lavra (monastery), 54, 161, 163–4, 171n, 173, 185, 232, 238n, 274, 305, 310n, 324, 344, 353, 394–5  
Leipsochorion, 344  
Lembiotissa (monastery), 76, 172–3  
Lemnos, 1, 127, 138, 143, 185, 187, 190–1, 238, 247, 291–2, 395, 405n, 425  
Lesbos, 1, 18  
Libobiston, 308  
Loroton, 185, 393–4  
Loukobikeia, 246, 359
- Malouka, 344  
Mamitzon, 176–7, 179, 187n, 355n  
Mani, 198, 201n  
Mantaia, 181  
Mantzikert, 37  
Mariskin, 186  
Maritsa, 3, 298  
Maurobounion, 353n, 358  
Megali Kastania, 201n  
Melenikon (Melnik), 83n, 137, 203, 206n, 237, 239, 302, 303n, 314n  
Melintziane, 198  
Mesothynia, 150  
Meteora, 21  
Mikra Neboliane, 312  
Monembasia, 206–8, 234, 314n, 408, 410, 426  
Monospeton, 228, 345, 350, 353, 356  
Morea, 171  
Mountzianis, 344  
Mperzitzikon, 299  
Mt Athos, 10, 21, 54, 104–5, 108, 169, 181, 184, 299n, 313, 315n, 318n, 435  
Mt Menoikeion, 295, 351, 353  
Mt Pangaion, 241, 297  
Mystras, 2n, 56, 87, 115, 137, 285, 290, 292  
Mytilene, 285
- Nea Mone (monastery), 139, 164  
Nea Petra (monastery), 175  
Neokastra, 103  
Nikaia, 2, 38n, 40, 106, 204, 275  
Nikomedeia, 162
- Ochrid, 97, 148  
Old Phokaia, 150, 285, 290
- Panagia Mavriotissa (monastery), 68  
Pantokrator (monastery), 108, 190, 302, 304  
Panygeristrea, 170  
Patmos, 21, 127n  
Pagai, 160  
Peloponnesos, 1, 2, 87, 127, 137, 201n, 208n, 285, 288, 314n, 404, 408, 426  
Pelorygion, 150  
Pera, 5, 119, 161, 397n, 398, 402, 405, 410, 421, 422n  
Peritheorion, 140, 272  
Phanarion, 206n  
Philadelphieia, 94, 165, 220, 290, 413  
Platamon, 221  
Politzos/Topoltzos, 353, 356  
Polystylon, 223, 407  
Potholinos, 169  
Prebista, 77–8, 126, 186n, 231, 236, 240–3, 246, 298, 356  
Prokonnesos, 117  
Propontis, 117, 394  
Psithyra, 142  
Psychosostria (monastery), 127
- Rachoba, 312  
Radobisdin, 239  
Radolibos, 356–7  
Rodope, 62  
Römania, 2n, 58, 148
- Sarveis, 142  
Selymbria, 4, 87, 108, 140, 398n, 401, 405, 416  
Semaltos, 63, 75, 170, 198, 355, 357  
Serbia, 10, 298, 314–16, 391  
Serres, 7, 21, 38n, 43–4, 54n, 86, 125, 127, 137, 141n, 143n, 145–6, 149–50, 166, 170, 186, 207–8, 211, 224, 228n, 237–8, 240, 284, 295–363, 394n, 406, 415, 433–4  
Skoteine, 92, 165  
Smyrna, 38, 76, 125n, 142, 166, 173–4, 183, 358n  
Sparta, 111  
St Anastasia (monastery), 322, 324, 358  
St Athanasios (monastery), 164  
St Demetrios (monastery), 301  
St John (Patmos) (monastery), 21, 127n  
St John Prodromos (Serres) (monastery), 21, 44, 84n, 127, 205, 237, 228, 295, 299–303, 306–7, 312–13, 315–19, 324–5, 344–51, 353, 357–8, 360, 362
- St Georgios Kryonerites (monastery), 325  
St Mamas (monastery), 282, 400, 409  
St Nikolaos (monastery), 344  
Štip, 168, 203  
Stomion, 169, 170, 177, 184  
Strumica, 137, 180, 184, 306n  
Strymon, 146, 168, 186, 198, 200, 203, 240–1, 295–7, 300–1, 304n, 344, 350–2, 355–8, 361
- Tana, 159, 161n, 410, 421  
Thebes, 210  
Theologites, 397  
Thessaly, 1–3, 128, 151, 175, 206n, 229, 285, 292, 310, 391  
Theotokos Eleousa, 346  
Thrace, 1, 3–4, 6, 78, 108, 150, 158, 162, 185, 202–3, 213, 215, 223, 235, 285, 291–2, 302, 313, 355n, 391, 394, 407  
Traianoupolis, 108  
Trebizond, 1, 114, 139, 204, 290, 307n, 403  
Trikokkia, 275  
Trilission, 179, 180, 299n, 302n, 303n, 351, 356
- Varna, 218  
Vatopedi (monastery), 54, 63, 75–6, 82n, 169–71, 173–4, 177, 180, 184–5, 187n, 191, 199, 238, 299n, 301, 305, 312–13, 315, 344, 354, 357, 394n, 409  
Venice, 4–5, 21, 56, 84, 157, 190n, 206, 391–2, 402, 406n, 414, 420
- Wallachia, 213, 411  
West, 13, 16, 30, 77–8, 112–13, 118–19, 168, 202, 212, 216n, 279, 282, 413–15, 417, 427, 436
- Xantheia, 150, 313  
Xenophon (monastery), 163, 170, 177, 184, 207, 301n
- Zabaltia, 297, 304  
Zabarnikeia, 170, 355n  
Zablantia, 128  
Zdrabikion, 324, 344  
Zelichova, 360  
Zichna, 44, 205, 211, 228, 295–324, 344–6, 348, 350, 358, 361, 433  
Zographou (monastery), 127, 241, 298, 359